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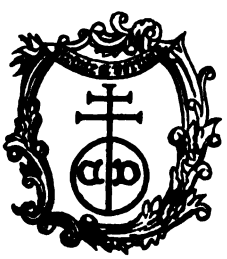

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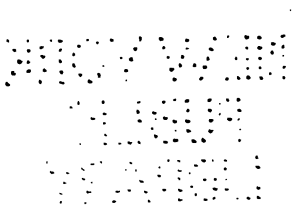

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MORES CATHOLICI;

OR,

AGES OF FAITH.

THE NINTH BOOK.

CHAP. I.

NOW we have turned to the seventh circle of beatitude our ascending step,—though had we not assurance that still two lines were to be passed, we might suppose that all had been already seen. We are, in truth, so near the sum of blessedness, that separate lights are swallowed up in the universal radiance. Encompassed with a perfumed air of such sweet intensity, we shall not easily be able to distinguish the fragrance of any fresh flowers of the divine garden. As a man, who has travelled over much of the earth, considers how he has been in this place and in that, and ponders many things, so we, having in our memory the children of grace who inherited the first six promises from the mountain, may feel it almost superfluous now to ask where are those to whom were made the seventh, or that which is the complement of all. We have already seem them. If, indeed, we sought to imitate the style of geometricians, we might consent to this suggestion and conclude our history here; for in their lessons they take for granted whatever has been taught before, and proceed to explain only that on which they have not already written. But we would follow rather that of the philosophers, who, as one of their own number says, accept whatever comes to their *hand, and heap* all things together, even such as had been discussed in another place. To those who ask now, were the middle ages remarkable for having produced a multitude of pacific men? it would be a sufficient reply if we referred them to the former books, in which they have seen that men in those ages possessed in rich abundance the first six of these graces; for this being proved, it is a necessary consequence that they were, indeed, the sons of peace. Clearly there must have been much peace to the poor in spirit and the meek; for if, as we have shown, the latter verified the promise, "Omnis locus quem calcaverit pes, vester erit,"* they were, as St. Bernardine of Sienna distinguishes, "pacifically constituted the lords of the world." As clearly there must have been peace to the blessed mourners who found it in their detachment from the world and in their tears; to those also who so loved the divine law as to thirst after its universal reign; to those, again, whom mercy and love necessarily rendered peace-makers; and, finally, to those who had obtained that wisdom from above which St. James describes as being first pacific, and which St. Augustin ascribes to the pacific, in whom all things are ordered, and no motion rebels against reason, but all things obey the spirit of man as he obeys God, whom to see is to *see peace.*

* Deut. xi.

Nevertheless, we will not content ourselves with such an answer; but to illustrate from history the two sentences which yet remain, we shall devote separate books; and if our wish may be fulfilled, although we have thus seen before that men in ages of faith were eminently the lovers of divine peace, and the blessed sufferers for sake of justice, we shall still adduce historic proof for each of these propositions separately.

Not without a mystery, according to the gloss adduced by St. Bernardine of Sienna, is the beatitude of peace ranked in the seventh degree; for in the sabbath of true rest will be given true peace. And St. Ambrose shows how justly it follows the beatitude of the clean of heart; since it is only when the interior has been purified that men can begin to enjoy that peace which they can then impart to others. The order of history after the sermon of our Lord upon the mount will not be found to exclude direct evidence in proof of the love and possession of divine peace. The wise, the great, the unforgotten,—those who wore mitres, and helms, and crowns, —were all encompassed with it. What others gained who with no less purity walked in the way of God unnoticed, may be learned from him who prophesied of old that such should dwell in peace upon the earth;* so that, in fact, it is the historian who has profoundly studied the character of the ages of faith, who is of all men the best qualified to explain the true nature of this divine state, and to appreciate its felicity. He best can tell how sweet to the generations of men is peace; he best can show how to cultivate, preserve, and impart tranquillity; so that when referring men to the thoughts and manners of Catholic ages, his counsel may be expressed in the words of that spirit which cried to Dante and his guide,

> "——If ye desire to mount,
> Here must ye turn: this way he goes,
> Who goes in quest of peace."†

To men, however, who are wholly ignorant of that history, and who judge only from the reports that pass current whenever the voice of modern sophists has prevailed, there will seem to interpose an objection of immense difficulty; for they are persuaded that the history of the middle ages contains nothing but the spectacle of social chaos, an uninterrupted course of wars, and violence, and confusion. The historians, like the poets of our days, sing the misery of man, and, like the fallen angels in Milton's hell, lament the destiny which is to them unknown; but, like them also, "their song is partial." Nevertheless, however we may be convinced that their view in this respect is mistaken, we cannot be dispensed from seeking to prove that it is so; and, therefore, from this elevation where we stand, our steps must lead us back awhile to regions of sin and darkness, and to those scenes of horror which modern writers love to unfold.

That wars and violence should have been found in ages of faith is an observation which affords no ground for combating the truth that is to be illustrated in this book respecting the multitude of those who inherited the blessing pronounced upon the pacific by our Divine Saviour. Under the religion of Him who said He came "not to send peace upon earth but a sword," and who never promised to secure the interests of the world and of material prosperity, the reign of temporal order can never be considered as an accurate criterion to estimate the degree of approximation of ages to the true end of man. The peace which He offered was, as we shall see presently, something different from this temporal external order which many enthusiasts, in various ages of the Church, proposed to establish. During the ages of faith all who heard the Church were perfectly aware that in the present condition of men there must be wars and disorders to punish, correct, and try the human race. If in the Church of God, for which Christ died, there must be heresies, what Christian could be scandalized at finding horrors affecting the material order in the world, for which Christ did not pray? St. Theresa was told by a spiritual man that he was not surprised at the evil which is committed by men in the state of mortal sin, but that he could not sufficiently wonder that they did not cause much greater.* Intervals of order, breathings, as it were, would occur, but nothing more. "We shall rest during a certain number of days, but on the next we shall fight again;" and in saying this to Achilles Priam relates the history of the world. What Tacitus says on the death of Vitellius might be its motto: "Rather war ceased than peace began."† "Dum paci dat tempus hiems"

* Baruch iii. † Purg xxiv.

* Castle of the Soul, chap. i.
† Hist. iv.

was all that Cæsar promised;* and, in fact, it was not a singular epoch when men might reckon summers, like Thucydides, by wars. It is a fond desire, therefore, of the poet to find a lodge in some vast wilderness where rumour of unsuccessful or successful war may never reach him more. Pindar, indeed, had said of the sacred race of the Hyperboreans, that they lived apart from toil and battles, undisturbed by the revengeful Nemesis.† But, however heroes and their feats fatigued the former, he was forced to see that in every heart are sown the sparks that kindle fiery war. "Is it a thing possible that this world should be at peace?" asks the author of the Tree of Battles, and he answers, "Truly it is not. Nature herself," he continues in his quaint but forcible style, "by difference of complexions causes war. Let there be two seigneurs in a country, one is of one complexion, the other of another. One loves justice, the other simony; one loves merchants, the other men of arms and pillage. One inclines to peace, the other to war; one sides by the King of France, the other by the King of England. Then, supposing them in an hotel together, one likes to eat early, the other late; one to speak too much, the other to listen; one likes white wine, the other red; and thus in consequence of the complexion of human bodies scarcely can there be accordance in this world. God, indeed, can make peace everywhere; for he can make all men good and wise, and for such men it will not be impossible to remain at peace; for the wise man is lord of his stars, and if by carnal inclinations he should be bent to war, by the virtue of wisdom he can surmount the inclination of the flesh; but the number of the unwise is great, and therefore, war must follow."‡ Nor is overmuch importance attached to trifles in this curious passage. Sparta sent out a great armament against Polycrates of Samos, in order, as Herodotus says, to revenge the plunder of a cauldron and a breast-plate. "Here bread makes peace for you," says St. Augustin. "Take away bread, and see what a war will be within you."§ The mere interview between worldly chiefs has produced great disorders. Such was the consequence of that between Don Fernando IV. of Castile, and Denis of Portugal, his father-in-law; and of that between Philip I. and Don Fernando. Between Hector and Achilles there was mortal anger which nothing but death could appease, on account of no other cause, if you can believe the poet, but that the highest virtue was in both.* Strange virtue as it would have been deemed in ages of faith, but, perhaps, consistent with all that fallen nature yields: the most amiable of ancient poets ascribes to youth in happiest times, as a matter of indifference, the occupation of either cultivating the soil or of shaking towns with war.† The schoolmen see the necessity of the evil from estimating the confusion within the human heart. "What a perturbation of internal peace!" exclaims Richard of St. Victor; "thoughts contradict thoughts, and affections resist affections; and contrary emotions meet. Nation rises against nation; the evil are divided against themselves, and the Lord makes the Egyptians contend against Egyptians. Nay, what is still more strange, the good sometimes rise against the good, and a man fights against his brother and against his friend; and each one would devour the flesh of his own arm. From weakness of the head and will, the good often rise against the good, and the kingdom of Israel is divided into two parts, and they contend with each other in many battles and seditions; and never in any state during this life can there be found a firm peace or a perfect rest."‡ "Yes," exclaims Petrarch, "such is the lot of all that are born, to be ever exposed to battle either against foreign or domestic foes. Our first and last hope must be Christ."§ "Genoa would be a happy city," says its historian, "if it could be proclaimed to be without conflicts against foreign enemies; but no such state can exist for the reason that no mortal can be supremely happy,"‖ or as Spenser says, "that blisse may not abide in state of mortall men." St. Avitus replies to Aurelien, who had congratulated him on some interval of rest amidst the invasion and domination of the Burgundians, "Yes, doubtless it is a manifest sign of prosperity, however fugitive and weak, to be able to receive news from one's friends; but this diluvian tempest of events and disasters which you describe can never wholly cease from agitating human things so long as we sail on the ocean of the world. If, then, we are allowed a moment for breath in these calamities, we must perceive it is

* Lucan ii. † Pyth. x. 56.
‡ L'Arbre des Batailles. § In Psalm xxxiii.

* Hor. Sat. i. 7. † Æn. ix. 606.
‡ De Statu Interioris Hominis, l. i. c. 17. 19.
§ Epist. x. 12.
‖ *Stellæ Annales Genuenses*, Lib. i. c. 6.

a suspension, but not a termination, of our dangers—a little gleam of light, less to dissipate than to reveal our miseries, in order that our souls may be the more tempered to suffering. Cease, then, to regard these evils as finished; and let not prosperity elevate or adversity depress you, and hope for no port till you arrive at the world where tranquillity will reign for ever."* Even when there is not war either between nations or between kings, between kings and people or monarchies and republics, still to vex man's peaceful state there must be battle between the two forms of the human intelligence, between faith and rebellious reason, those two distinct powers having each their chiefs, their assemblies, their pulpits, and mysteries; for with the world began a war which will finish with the world, and not before—that between faith or the Catholic power, and negation or the rationalist power serving a rebellious will, the one descending from God through the patriarchs and the Jews to Christ, the other from the demon through all those who have imitated his pride. History is nothing else but the narrative of this interminable struggle. "Impiorum omnium caput Diabolus est," says St. Gregory. So the author of the Tree of Battles asks, "Where was the first battle?" and answers, "in heaven, when an angel rebelled against the sovereign Lord God; and truly it is no great marvel that in this lower world there should be many great and marvellous wars and battles, since even above in heaven there were wars and battles."† This great battle was not fought, however, with material arms. "It was," says Bossuet, "a conflict of thoughts and of sentiments. The angel of pride said, Let us do our own will like God; and Michael asked on the contrary, Who is like God? whence is his name." The war in heaven was soon finished, but it broke out afresh within the human heart, where the demons hoped to re-establish their former empire. When there were only four persons in the world, one of them slew his brother. The conclusion which the philosopher comes to, had been drawn by St. Augustin, "the first founder of the earthly state was a fratricide, and it is not strange," he adds, "that its history should correspond with that archetype."‡ But we need not leave the middle ages to find profound views on this subject. Vincent de Beauvais says, "In Cain began the malice of the reprobate—in Abel the patience of the saints. Cain built an earthly city, and congregated wealth by rapine and violence, and invited his friends to robbery, and fearing those whom he injured, on account of security, collected them in cities; and Cain is born before just Abel, to show that in Adam the whole human race is corrupted in mass, and that when any one from that mould is made a vessel of honour, this proceeds not from nature, but from the mercy of God calling: the studies of the sons of Cain, he adds, "manifest to what state they belong."* In fact, as Frederic Schlegel remarks, "his decendants are distinguished in all the original records and traditions of mankind by a skill in the mechanical arts, in working of metals, by a turbulent and warlike spirit, producing at last the race of giants. On the other hand, the family of Seth are traced by the characteristics of piety, reverence, virtue, and peaceableness! These two races of men are marked in profane monuments, as well as in holy writ."†

Under these two different forms, the race of men is presented in all the ancient traditions of the world. On the one hand it is a devout race seeking God, loving peace, enjoying long life in a patriarchal condition of simplicity, yet not without a deep wisdom, as may be learned, not merely from perishable rolls of writing, but from durable monuments of stone. On the other hand, a colossal race, of strong, mighty, wicked sons of God's, of heaven-assaulting-giants, as they appear in our later heroic fables. This division of men into two opposite kinds, mutually opposed and hostile, forms the real contents of the whole of early history. As soon as this division of mankind had taken place, and two wills arisen in them, one a godly, or at least, a will desiring God, and the other a natural, desiring only nature, passionate and disordered will, it is immediately observable, that the human race takes two different and opposite directions, separating from each other. Although that opposition was pointed out as a difference of stem, and a division of two people, yet it was never the main point to remark it as a mere distinction between a noble and a weak race of men, as later writers have

* Epist. xxxiv.
† L'Arbre des Batailles, c. 11.
‡ De Civ. Dei, xv. 5.

* Vincent Bel. Spec. Hist. i. 57.
† Philosophie der Geschichte, l. i. 52.

in reference to the Celtic tribes. In olden times, it was much more an sition of mind, and of the spiritual osition, than a bare difference of origi- stock, which divided the world into two ions, each hostile and combating the r. However far removed in time from present, "they may be regarded," he eeds to say, "as answering to the two ies divided in their belief, only in her form and manner, and under other ions from what now exists. It was, in rd, the opposition of religion and irre- n, but on the vast scale of the original d, and accompanied with the gigantic er which the oldest traditions com- norate."*

hese are the giants spoken of in the hecies, from which the Church reads, were from the beginning, knowing whom the Lord hath not chosen, an sion to whom explains the saying of taigne, that there is more difference reen some men and others, than be- n some men and some beasts. There e, moreover, other considerations, to rince thoughtful Christians, in the ages aith, that the world could never enjoy nterrupted tranquillity. One of them s sung—

Numquam bella bonis, nunquam discrimina desunt;
Et cum quo certet mens pia semper habet."

t it be asked," says another, "what are causes of there being so many wars in world? I answer, that they are all for sins of the people, to punish which d permits wars. Men of arms are the urge of God, by his permission to punish mers, and to do execution upon them this world, as the devils of hell do in e next."† "Times of war," says St. gustin, "are according as God judges ing, to punish the human race."‡ They e also to correct it: therefore, the same at doctor said to the men around him, cipio wished you to be terrified by an emy, lest you should give way to luxury. w that you are ground down by an emy, you do not even repress it. Per- listis utilitatem calamitatis, et miserrimi ti estis, et pessimi permansistis."§

"Sadness," as Richard of St. Victor ys, "when it is chastized by God, tries to cuse not its own conscience, but His justice, and fears not to adduce in His reproach what God prepares for its correction, and as it were, a medicine for its special disease: what so impious, what so alien from true piety!"* But still the end is fulfilled. "By adversity," as he observes, "the reprobate are punished, but not corrected; while by adversity the good are corrected from their evil, or are promoted to better things."† "Hence," as St. Augustin remarks, "God sometimes executes his good will by making use of the evil will of wicked men."‡ For as the Master of the Sentences shows, "the will of God is always fulfilled by man, whithersoever he turns himself."§ From this knowledge it followed, that in ages of faith a poet would not, like Virgil, invoke with surprise the muse, to tell him what anger of the deity "insignem pietate virum, tot adire labores impulerit."‖

Hear how the chronicles of St. Denis speak:—"Thus was the good king Philip de Valois a true Catholic, therefore, our Lord wished him to have pain and tribulation in this world, in order that he might reign with him after death for ever.¶ Without such trials, there could be no exercise of fortitude, which is the science of enduring contrary and formidable things!** Still less would a poet then have referred, like Cowper, to the long security of his country from war, while inflicting it upon other nations, as an argument to prove that it was especially favoured by God, addressing it in lines like his.

"Peculiar is the grace by thee possess'd,
Thy foes implacable, thy land at rest;
Thy thunders travel over earth and seas,
And all at home is pleasure, wealth, and ease."

He speaks as if under the old law, not the new, which imposes penance on nations as on men. During ages of faith, in times of overwhelming disaster, as in the fifth century, when some minds, not firmly settled in its doctrine, were troubled and filled with doubts as to the providential government of the world, there rose up men to repeat and develop the doctrine of St. Augustin. Such were a Prosper of Aquitaine, a Salvien of Marseilles, a St. Eucher of Lyons, who philosophized like him on the invasions and wars of the barbarians. "These wars and desolations,"

* Philosophie der Geschichte, i. 55.
† L'Arbre des Batailles.
‡ De Civ. Dei, v. 22. § Id. i. 33.

* Annot. in Ps. xxv.
† De Contemplatione, ii. c. 19.
‡ Enchir. 24. § Lib. i. dist. 46.
‖ Æn. i. 10. ¶ Ad. An. 1350.
** Cicero Tuscul. iv.

says a writer in the year 890, alluding to the Huns in a letter to the bishop of Verdun, "are sent to punish our sins and lead us to mercy. In all ages they have been employed for that end. Blessed Gregory, in the close of his book 'on Ezechiel,' deplores the calamities of his times, saying, on all sides we are encompassed with swords, and with imminent danger of death. Blessed father Augustin reproves a bishop for lamenting over much the ruin of his city," and says, "non est magnus qui magnum putat quod corruunt lapides et moriuntur mortales."* In 1330, an historian of Pavia says, "though our city is now oppressed with discords, let our objectors know that God has inflicted these dissensions on it as on a city that He loves and wishes to correct in mercy; for doubtless the machinations of these sons of Belial, who by His just permission have risen up amongst us, will only conduce to enhance the crown of the good."†

That wars and troubles were unavoidable, had been recognised, notwithstanding the vain Roman formula,‡ by the ancient sages and poets, who endeavoured also to trace the evil to its source. Plato finds it in the body, which in fact, explains best the poet's words, "et multis utile bellum."§ "Wars," he says, "proceed from the love of riches," and we are compelled to gain riches on account of the body, *τὰ δὲ χρήματα ἀναγκαζόμεθα κτᾶσθαι διὰ τὸ σῶμα.*‖ St. Bonaventura shows this from holy writ. Property causes strife, as appears from the shepherds of Abraham and of Lot,¶ and those of Isaac and of Gerara.** Hence, the poet says—

"Si duo de nostris tollas pronomina rebus,
Prælia cessarent, pax sine lite foret."

The type of a multiude in all ages is the dealer in crests for helmets, with the Greek poet, who tells Trugæus that the peace has ruined him, *ἀπώλεσάς μου τὴν τέχνην καὶ τὸν βίον.*†† Such was Augnto, and we should thank Italians for so concealing his English name, who replied to the Pax tecum of two friars, who came to see him at the castle of Montecchio, may God deprive you of alms! explaining afterwards his reply, by reminding them that he lived by war, like the Roman conqueror who was an enemy wherever any money could be extracted,* and like others too whom we need not mention.

"Arma placent miseris, detritaque commoda luxu,
Vulneribus reparantur."

Such men by violence would seek the fortune of the Cid and his companions, who went to the king's court upon mules, and who returned upon horses. Æschylus only states the fact, that the Furies wish to be fellow inhabitants of the same city with Minerva.† Virgil speaks of her—

"——————— Cui tristia bella,
Iræque, insidiæque, et crimina noxia cordi."

Addressing that direful enemy, he says, "you can arm brothers of one mind against each other, and diffuse hatred and misery through houses,"—"tibi nomina mille, Mille nocendi artes."‡ He again represents the type of a large class of men that will always exist, in him who says—

"Aut pugnam, aut aliquid jam dudum invadere magnum,
Mens agitat mihi, nec placida contenta quiete est."§

Yet to fate he ascribes it, for with a deep groan Æneas says, "Nos alias hinc ad lacrimas eadem horrida belli Fata vocant."‖ In ages of faith, the poet had a refuge, "a stormy star rules this place," says Petrarch, "against which the best remedy is flight. But alas! whither can we fly from the thunder of fortune? One resolution I have come to, that the peace which we seek in vain from without, we seek within us; and that which the world hath not, we implore from God."¶ Lucan, whom Dante saw so high advanced,** enumerates all the causes which impelled to arms the raging people, and drove peace from the world. He speaks of wealth, new manners, luxury, prodigality, feasting, the dread of poverty, the desire of joining field to field, unbridled passions, and of Rome not able to bear herself, "Nec se Roma ferens." Passions, indeed, as another keen observer says, were, and ever will be, a fruitful source of war,†† before and after Helen, for whose sake so long the time was fraught with evil. And equally inseparable

* Ap. Martene Vet. Script. Collect. tom. i. p. 230.
† Anon. Ticinens. de Laudibus Papiæ, 22. ap. Mur. Rer. It. Script. xi.
‡ Dionys. Halic. Lib. vi. Procop. Lib. i.
§ Lucan. i. ‖ Phædo, 66.
¶ Gen. xiii.
** Gen. xxvi. Compend. Theol.
†† *Aristoph. Pax, 1212.*

* Petron. Arbit. de Bell. Civ.
† Eumen. 916. ‡ Æneid. vii. 335.
§ Æneid. ix. 186. ‖ Æneid. xi. 95.
‖ Epist. Lib. x. 7.
** Infern. iv. †† Hor. S. i. 3.

from this present life is that darkness which involved the mind of Scipio or of the poet Ennius, which makes him boast, that by the slaughter of enemies he had opened for himself a way to heaven. That the fallen nature of man is blindly amorous of war was well known to historians of the ancient world. "There being a numerous youth," says Thucydides of the states of Greece, "they were pushed on to war with eagerness," ὥρμητο ἐς τὸν πόλεμον.* In the year 1412 the old men and the young disputed in Padua as to whether they should make war or not upon Vicenza. "Let there be peace," said the former; "peace, to which every man tends finally." "Let there be war," cried the latter, and their voice prevailed; so that no one could speak of peace in Padua without danger of death.† It is something to find one point here in the dissent of the aged on which the resemblance fails to that picture by the Greek historian, who says, that of the Athenians, both young and old were smitten with the love of that unhappy expedition against Sicily; though the rest is sufficiently similar, for he says that if any man disapproved of it he was induced to keep his opinions to himself, fearing lest he should be thought disaffected to the state. So it set out amidst the blast of trumpets, and libations to the gods, and the cheers of an enthusiastic multitude, and the chaunt of pæons that rose simultaneous from the sea and from the shore.‡ It is certain that there is in men an inclination to kill and to destroy. Lucan says that Cæsar's soldiers were at first reluctant to march against their country, but that they were recalled by the direful love of war; and he says that Cæsar himself loved wars for the sake of wars. Some, conversant with later times, will think that we need not go back to Cæsar to hear those words ascribed to him. "In vain would storms rage if no forest intervened to feel their force: the flame would expire if it met not obstacle, so to have no enemies would injure me, and I should consider it a loss if those did not rebel whom I could subdue by arms." As De Maistre says, "Man sometimes kills for killing sake. Proud and terrible king, nothing can resist him." There are many nations of savages, as the Père Lafiteau remarks, who cannot exist without fighting. Cæsar himself is an instance, who, as the poet says, "Furious in arms, rejoices in having no way unless by bloodshed: has pleasure not in entering gates that are thrown open, but in breaking them down, 'Nullas, nisi sanguine fuso Gaudet habere vias.'"* Pompey ascribes the same mind to all his soldiers, eager for battle when he sought to avoid it, "Metuunt, ne non cum sanguine vincant."†

There is no age of the world secure from such images, so terribly expressed by Homer, when a hero says, "To me were always dear ships, and comrades, and wars, and arrows, and all the things which are bitter to other men. To me these things are sweet: they are placed in my mind by God, for each man has his particular delights, which are dear to himself and not to another."‡ There are even whole nations influenced by "that fierce spirit whose unholy leisure was soothed by mischief since the world began." The Corinthians said that the Athenians regarded rest from labour as no less a calamity than ceaseless toil, and that it would be a true assertion if any one affirmed, in brief, that they had never rest themselves, and would never suffer other men to have rest.§ But leaving heathens and their times, whose experience was not unknown to men in Christian ages, we may conclude from the whole, that conflicts and disorders so far from being thought by the latter irreconcileable with the existence of the true religion, seemed to them a fulfilment of its predictions, and an evidence of its truth. St. Bonaventura shows that there is a four-fold war distinguished in Scripture: "war between flesh and spirit, unless penance pacifies it; war between man and God, unless justice pacifies it; war between man and angel, unless the blessed incarnation of the Son is applied to pacify it; and war between man and his neighbour, unless patience pacifies it."‖ Seek peace, and follow it. He does not say, adds St. Augustin, that you will find it here; but seek, and follow it. Whither shall I follow it? To the place to which it is gone before: for the Lord is our peace, who hath ascended to heaven.

In this world it is impossible that there should not be contentions and sorrow.¶ The perverse society of the impious, observes Vincent of Beauvais, renders our condition so uncertain, that the prophet says, "Neither on entering nor on leaving the world is there peace."**

"Such is the state of men; thus enter we
Into this life of woe, and end with miseree."

* Lib. ii. 8
† Hist. Cortusiorum de Novitatibus Paduæ, i. 16. in Muratori, xii.
‡ Lib. vi. 24—32.

* Lucan. ii. † Id. vii. ‡ Od. xiv. 227.
§ Thucyd. Lib. i. 70.
‖ Dietæ Salutis, tit. vii. c. 6.
¶ In Ps. xxxiii. Enar. ** Spec. Mor. i. 4.

What is man? Pindar will answer, the shadow of a dream. What is man? Calamity itself, says Herodotus; the occasion of miseries, says Philemon; the plaything of fortune, and the image of mutability, says Aristotle.

"If you read all the writings of the philosophers," says one who sought in late times to imitate them, "you will find that no one wrote with more discernment than Heraclitus wept."* Christians in ages of faith, had, it is true, other views, and, as we have seen before, a different experience; yet, contrasted with the peace within them, which enabled them to discern what must be elsewhere, they would, with a slight reserve, subscribe to this description of the external world:

"O, why doe wretched men so much desire
To draw their dayes unto the utmost date,
And doe not rather wish them soone expire,
Knowing the miserie of their estate,
And thousand perills which them still awate,
And he that happie seemes, and least in payne,
Yet is as nigh his end as he that most doth playne?"†

Hugo of St. Victor, after citing the opinion of St. Jerome, that our Lord wept not because Lazarus was dead, but because he was about to recall him to the misery of this life, adds, "which, perchance, was so, since, from the sentiment of true piety which he there possessed as truly man, he wept over the miserable lot of the human condition to which he was about to recal Lazarus."‡ A tragedy, a tragedy, were the words which the venerable Dom. Didier de la Cour, abbot of S. Venne, was heard to repeat in his last hours. Some one, who heard him, at length demanded, "Father, do you wish to teach us that this life is a tragedy, and that you have played your part in it?" He replied by an inclination of his head to signify assent.§ Of the life of faith, opposed to that of glory, St. Augustin says, "Bona est, sed adhuc misera."||

Such reflections are a necessary preparation for the sad retrospect which now awaits us, to enable us to understand, with the great poet of the ages of faith, "how bitter can spring up when sweet is sown." For at that retrospect, in reference to these happy times, still we see the tenor of man's woe holds on the same. The glorious city of God is placed amidst the society of men living, as St. Augustin says, "after the manner of men under the domination of rebel angels."* To few generations, therefore, of the peaceful race can an historian apply the Thucydidean phrase, and designate them ἀπειροι πολέμων. Often into a fleet falls every grove.

"——————— it tristis ad æthera clamor
Bellantum juvenum, et duro sub Marte cadentum."†

Honoré Bonnor assigns as one of his reasons for composing his work, entitled the Tree of Battles, that he can hardly name a spot of ground, whether country or duchy, which at that time was perfectly at peace. "Many sons of discord and enemies of peace were still in the kingdom of France and in other kingdoms," says the great chronicle of St. Denis, on the accession of Charles the Bald; and when was it otherwise? Fearfully significant of disorder in the world are the very directions given to visitors of parishes, as these, by the Council of Rheims, in 1408, which command them to inquire in each, whether there be any chests in the church without necessity arising from war.‡

The Roman poet, speaking of the Pharsalian tragedy, declines describing the worst scenes, and wishes that they may be consigned to oblivion.

"Ah! potius pereant lacrymæ, pereantque querelæ?
Quidquid in hac acie gessisti, Roma, tacebo."§

If, in the review which we are now to make of the wars and discords which desolated the nations during ages of faith, I should omit to speak of many, for our limits will permit but of a rapid glance, which can only catch the most prominent, the silence will not proceed from a similar motive; for the glory of the city God has nothing to lose by bringing forward instances of the obstacles opposed to it by the perversity of men. These are the dark, troubled waters which, from the beginning, I declared we should meet, and which I pledged myself to pass, offering also to conduct others beyond them, a confidence in which none of the historians or moralists of the middle ages will be found deficient, for truth they felt needs no concealment. George Stella, in the preface to his Annals of the Genoese, declares, accordingly, that he will describe both the evils and the good of his country, in order that the understanding may be instructed as to the condition of the times, and that the mind may be more fer-

* Heinsii Orat. 23. † Spenser, iv. 3.
‡ Annot. Elucid. Evang. Joan.
§ Voyage litt. de Deux Bénédict. 106.
‖ *Tract. 124. in Joan.*

* De Civ. Dei, xvi. 17.
† Æn. xii. 409.
‡ Ap. Martene Vet. Script. et Mon. Collect. tom. vii. § Lucan. vii.

vently impelled to desire that peace which the world cannot give.*

The gests of kings and dukes, and in what strain sad war may be described, has Homer shown; but how can I undertake to give even a faint idea of the evils, contrary to the spirit of the blessed peaceful, which afflicted, for so many ages, the city of God? Schiller says, that it would require eternity to consider the perplexed image of the universal woe. To use the words of our great poet,

"We see the ground whereon these woes do lie,
But the true ground of all these piteous woes,
We cannot, without circumstance, descry."

"In the world," says St. Hildegard, "there are, at intervals, times of insolence, and, again, times of contrition, and occasionally, times of the lightning and thunder of diverse iniquities."† These are the funeral and Tartarean years, of which St. Augustin speaks, like that when Rome saw five consuls.‡ These are the hours of terrific judgment, when, as at the Passion, the angels of peace weep bitterly;§ when the holy patient are heard to breathe a prayer that the rude scene may end; for then, as an old poet says,

"Factum est in terris quidquid discordia jussit."‖

Then all things are in disorder excepting the constant minds of the saints, while impious Mars rages throughout the world. Then wars, that make such waste in brief mortality, announced with "cry of Haro," with harsh resounding trumpet's dreadful bray, and grating shout of wrathful iron arms, furnish occasion through all lands for deeds unsung by poets but chronicled in hell. Then, as one of late so grandly sings, "The sound is that of the assault of an imperial city, the hiss of inextinguishable fire, the roar of giant cannon; the earthquaking fall of vast bastions and precipitous towers, the clash of wheels and clang of armed hoofs, and crash of brazen mail, as of the wreck of adamantine mountains, the mad blast of trumpets and the neigh of raging steeds, and shrieks of women whose thrill jars the blood, and now more loud the mingled battle cry." Alas! poor sons of peace, where are they the while? Nearly the whole of the present book will be an answer to this question. But let us seek to distinguish in brief some few of these dread intervals. They occur early in our history. Witness what St. Jerome says, "The mind shudders to contemplate the ruins of our times. For more than twenty years the Roman blood has unceasingly flowed from Constantinople to the Julian Alps. Scythia, Thrace, Macedonia, Dardania, Dacia, Thessaly, Achaia, Epirus, Dalmatia, and all Pannonia, have been ravaged and laid waste by the Goths, Sarmatians, Huns, Vandals, and Marcomans. How many matrons, how many virgins of God, have been a prey to these animals! Bishops prisoners, priests slain, churches overthrown; horses stabled at the altars of Christ; the relics of martyrs untombed. Everywhere grief and groans, and many images of death. The Roman world is falling, and our stiff necks are not bent. The east did seem safe from these evils, and only terrified at the intelligence, when, lo! from the utmost rocks of Caucasus there have come down upon us wolves not of Arabia, but of the north, to overrun the provinces. How many monasteries captured, how many rivers swollen with human blood! To describe these things, Thucydides and Sallust would be mute."* The horrors which accompanied the fall of the Roman empire may be designated as the first act in this great drama. Passing over the long and cruel wars and spoliations which ended in the subjection of Italy by the Longobards,† if we turn to the state of Gaul in the fifth century, we have striking testimonies as to the extent of the evil. Affecting are the complaints of Sidonius Apollinaris on occasion of the war of the Burgundian chiefs, which filled all places with confusion and dismay. Fauriel remarks the melancholy which pervades men of this fifth age at the spectacle of the wars around them. He cites the letters of St. Avitus, and one from St. Germain, bishop of Paris, to Brunehaut, urging her to use her influence with Sigebert, to prevent war. "Although these countries," says the latter, "are accustomed to misfortune, and though we seem approaching our complete destruction, I should not have despaired of seeing the divine mercy suspend chastisement in expectation of an amendment, if it were not for the absolute rule of those wills which engender death, of that cupidity, root of all evils, and of that fury, which destroys all sentiment of prudence."‡ The wars of the

* Stellæ An. Gen. ap. Muratori, tom. xvii.
† Epist ad Anastas. Pap.
‡ De Civ. Dei, iii. 16.
§ Isaiah xxxiii. 7.
‖ Petron. Arb. Bell. Civ.

* Epist. xxxv.
† *Muratori*, Antiq. Ital. diss. 23.
‡ *Hist. de la* Gaule Mérid. tom. ii.

Franks in this century were peculiarly horrible, in as much as they devastated the country, and eradicated the very fruits of the earth. It was of the Franks that Libanius said, "Peace is for them a horrible calamity,"* and to Alaric that these words were ascribed:

"Atque utinam cunctos licuisset perdere bello!"†

Disordered as were these times, there was still something left of horror to distinguish that dark episode of eighty-eight years which saw the reign of Clovis and the fall of the Merovingian race in the confinement of Childeric. Then came the civil wars in the time of Louis-le-Debonnaire, whom Divine Providence seemed resolved to punish in his children, down to the third generation, in Charles the Simple, whom Herebert put to death in the prison of Peronne. Truly the domination of these sons was violent and disordered. What a piteous tragedy was that which in one act displayed the unrivalled grandeur and prosperity of Charles-le-Gros, and in the next showed his sudden destruction, and the race of Charlemagne extinct beyond the Rhine, while perishing in France about the same time in the miserable ends of Charles the Simple, Lothaire, and Louis! The sufferings of men during these wars may be conjectured from what took place at the storming of Châlons, or from the eloquent and pathetic picture given of the horrors which attended the dismemberment of Charlemagne's empire, by the monk who wrote the life of Wala, abbot of Corby. At this epoch a bishop of Brescia thus writes to another prelate: "I beseech your fidelity to inform me what events are passing and what peace our kings, the sons of Louis, observe with Carolomann; for we who live in Italy, a prey one time to this power, another to that, are anxiously expecting to hear of their coming to an agreement, that we may know to whom we are to be subject."‡ But let us return to the northern invasions. Men of early times had glimpses of what was in reserve for the world. St. Clement of Alexandria styles Christians "the peaceful race," opposing them to the Scythians, Celts, and Thracians.§ The Goths and other northern tribes, as Jornandus says, "used to boast that Mars had been born in their country."‖ The answer of Gaukater to St. Olaus, king of Norway, was, "I am neither pagan nor Christian. My con and I profess no other religion than a p confidence in our own strength and ir bility in battle." What terror pervad peaceful race in the ninth century, these Normans assailed France with armies of such men, driving before into the interior of the country the c carrying the relics of the saints as most precious treasures, when neithe Merovingians, nor the Carlovingian the bishops, could defend the country letter of Hincmar to the pope in th being a confession of the inability c latter! "The barbarians," as Murat marks, "not content with seizing citie towns, took possession also of the hous land of private persons, killing or exp their owners."* The ravages of the Da Ireland in the eighth century, men like of Homer, to whom war was sweeter t return in ships to their dear fathe their repeated invasions of England their wars with her Alfred and St. Edi bear witness that the desolation wa confined to the continent, but that where the peace of the Christian worl disturbed. Thus returned the race of g when "might only was admired, and and heroic virtue called. To overco battle and subdue nations, and bring spoils with infinite manslaughter, was c ed the highest pitch of human glory."

In the eighth century nearly the of Spain had been subdued by the Sar who afterwards seized Sicily; while c opposite side of Europe the invasion Huns was accompanied with indescri horror. These ferocious warriors ra pyramid of a hundred thousand h skulls, and boasted that they had seventy cities. After their passage c Rhine, say the great chronicles of St. I "all Gaul was afflicted with battles: c where were cries, tears, horrors, slau and rapine."† To learn the cala caused by the Huns in general, we s read the different chronicles of abbeys lished by Canisius and Leibnitz. notice which occurs of them when b no less significative. Thus, of the yea the annalist of Corby says, "The Hu waste the monastery and all the cc about."‡ Similarly, respecting the irr of the Tartars in the thirteenth centu chronicles of Austrian and other abbe

* Orat. ad Constantin. † Claud. Paneg.
‡ Ap. Heumann de Re Diplomat. ii. 271.
§ Pædag. ii. 2. ‖ C. 5.

* Antiq. Ital. i. † Liv. i.
‡ Ap. Leib. Scriptorum Brunsvicensia trantium, tom. ii.

etails.* It was after the wars of the princes that Italy was invaded by the hose cruelties may be collected from rs of condolence sent by Pope Ser-I. to Leopard, abbot of Nonantula, lestruction of his monastery by these in 908.† Salomon III. bishop of ce, who died in 919, laments, in a poem addressed to Bishop Dado, lation of Italy by these invasions, ere facilitated, he says, by the civil Lambert, Berengarius, and the sons is Boso. He begins by showing whole Christian life is love:

plus? possidet omne bonum possessor ris,
cus est meriti, si deest dilectio cordi."

after describing the state of Italy, plains, he says, are whitened with ies of the slain, he shows that the es have been caused by the absence ng hand to govern. "Wonder not," , "at such horrors, but rather that not all perished, when there was who could say, Do, or, Desist."‡ inconverted or apostate nations were only disturbers of the Christian We must make mention, too, of ngs and feudal tyrants who wrought a woe for fair lands. "The season year when kings proceed to war," devicus, the continuator of Otho of n, speaking of the deeds of the r Frederic I., as if the ancient § were still current.‖ "The wars our time through the cupidity of are raged in Italy," says an old Antonius Pontus.¶ Such senten-ey a mournful lesson. In fact, few e been exempt from the effects of pidity. The execrable avarice of I. in his latter years, was a great ent to his ferocity in making war.** me, kings and princes, hear me, I u!" says the monk Nicholas, in the of his great pilgrimage to Jerusalem; makes wars between you but irra-atred and the appetite of vain glory, satiable ardour for possessing lands? ou know that to die for such causes is not a safe thing but bitterly perilous."* What the pacific suffered from wars of this description may be collected from incidental notices. Thus, in the Saxon chronicle we read that, in the year 1087, "William went into Normandy and made war upon his own lord, Philip the king, and burnt Mante and all the holy ministers that were in the town; and two holy men that served God, leading the life of anachorets, were burned therein."† Our Norman kings were, indeed, terrible. Peter of Blois knew them well. "Oh, God!" he exclaims, "Deliver me from the necessity of returning to the odious and troublesome court which lies in the shadow of death, and where order and peace are unknown."‡

When the English deserted their fortress of Bernardieres in Limousin, they set fire to it; and when Dugueselin and the French arrived, "they found a priest burnt, and he still held a chalice in his hand; at which spectacle the chivalry of France had pity."§ The monk of Croyland, after describing the horrors of the civil wars which terminated with the death of Richard III., contrasts the misery of life with the happiness of dying; for, speaking of his abbot, Richard, he says, "thus did he exchange the troubled life of this world for eternal quiet." His conclusion is affecting: "Qui legis hæc hominum tot mutatoria rerum magnorum, cur non mundi mutabilitatem totam contemnis? Cur vanæ gloriæ pompa te mentemve tangit?"‖ The wars between France and England when the family of Valois came to the throne of the former kingdom on the extinction of the eldest branch of the Capetian line, and the wars of the two roses during fifty years in England, and those of the English kings in Ireland, must certainly be considered as indicating a cruel abuse of power by those who sought to preserve or to extend it.

The wars of the English kings in France, indeed, were regarded by the invaded country as a divine judgment in vengeance of the policy of Charles V., who may be said to have ordered the great schism by siding with the antipope. As a consequence of these wars must be reckoned the ravages caused by the companies of their disbanded troops, who continued to desolate countries, even after the original contest had ceased. Traces of them, perhaps, occur in the laws of the Visigoths, one of which is directed against those who assemble troops to commit mur-

Pez Script. Rer. Aust. Chronic. Cornelii ap. Martene vet. Script. Collect. tom. v. ratori, Antiq. Ital. i.
Canisii Lect. Antiq. tom. ii.
xi. 1. Par. i. 20—1.
14. Ap. Pez Script. Rer. Aust.
Art. Matthæus veteris ævi analecta.
ronic. Anglicarum an. MCXCIX. ap. Mar-Script. v.

* Le Grand Voyage de Hierus. f. cxix.
† P. 293.
‡ Epist. 14.
§ Chroniq. de Dugueselin, 437.
‖ Hist. Croyland. Rer. Anglic. Script. i.

ders: so fresh was still the barbaric element.* Muratori describes "the societies" which, in the fourteenth century, infested Italy. They used to plunder lands, seize solitary castles, take prisoners for ransom, and carry devastation wherever they went. So one ancient author exclaims, "O grief and shame of Italy! The holy name of society is now assumed by traitors and plunderers, who are not ashamed to prostitute that sacred and venerable name." These were not alone Italians, but Germans, French, and English.† In the fourteenth century, the grand companies; in the fifteenth, the brigands and the écorcheurs; in the sixteenth, the adventurers, who were also styled devils, having no more pay to expect from belligerent parties, ravaged France, and verified what pagans had experienced:

"Nulla fides pietasque viris, qui castra sequuntur:
Venales manus: ibi fas ubi maxima merces."

"Sir knight," says a stranger to Gyron le Courtois, who conversed with him, "I am Brehus the pitiless." "St. Mary," exclaims Gyron, "what say you? If, indeed, you be Brehus, I know that you hold faith neither with God nor man, neither with the world nor with chivalry."‡ Such were the antichivalrous mercenaries. Then was it the maxim not to travel in winter after the angelus had tolled; then, at one's gate one had to speak with men at whose hands, and not at whose countenances, one should look the while.§

Few abodes of peace could wholly escape the influence of disorders in the world. In an ancient dialogue between an old man and a boy, the former speaks as follows: "Henry, duke of Bavaria, and Lewis were ravaging the country with their wars when I was a student at Vienna, when scholars of both countries used to defend their respective princes in tedious combats of words." The boy then interrupts him: "Strange that Bavaria should have been so desolated, which was so shortly before at peace. Perchance, the demon who goes about the earth perambulating it, as he says in Job, caused these evils." The old man replies, "I do think that the demons provoke discords, as is related in the lives of the fathers, where the demon, by extinguishing a light wished to cause a quarrel between two brothers, but was prevented by the humility of one of them, who instantly prostrated himself b the other and appeased him. Howeve occasion of this war was given at Const when Duke Lewis insulted his brother H who, in revenge, wounded him wit sword, and then fled to Austria, where, his nobles, he made war against Louis defeated him. How many battles remember taking place in different cou in my time! The first was in 141C tween the king of Poland and the Tet order, in which there fell more than a dred thousand men. In 1446, the garians invaded Austria, and ravag with fire and sword. I omit to spe the other bank of the Danube, about M feld, which has seldom peace. Pangr a Hungarian, long disturbed it; but I seen the end of all consummation. man, sitting at table in Buda, crie 'Lo, they come!' and dropped dead. haps he saw the demons coming. H refused burial. Thus evil was his e often happens to the oppressors of c In our country there was another oppr who at length used to be seen wanc from town to town, to whom scarcely a beggar for God's sake, would an give bread. In Hungary, after the of Lord Albert, king and duke of A of happy memory, many battles were which I pass over; as also those be the Venetians and Milanese, the F and English."* Thus the experien each man's life could entitle him praise bestowed on Bayard, that "h a true register of battles."†

The decline of the feudal powers the centralizations of the later mon governments did not put an end worst evils of war. The French poe rather pedantically boasts of having the wars of Alexander and of Tro great, of King Arthur and Charlen of Bleopatois of Spain and of the Table, declares that in no history found mention of such calamities as time afflicted the world.‡ The suff of the pacific, in disordered times, ar spicuous in all the contemporary ments. The whole lives of some wer embittered. Behold, for instance troubles of Gerbert, afterwards Pop vester II.! He was at Rheims whe city was laid waste by the sword.

* viii. 51. 3.
† Antiq. Italicæ, Dissert. 16.
‡ ccxxxi.
§ Cardan. Præceptorum ad Filios Libell.

* Senatorium Dialog. Historic. Martini Scotorum Viennæ ap. Pez Script. Rer tom. ii.
† La Très Joyeuse Hist. du bon Chev.
‡ Regnier in Gouget Biblioth. Franc. ix

house was plundered, and his life sought for by his enemies.* In Bobbio, as at Rheims, at the emperor's court, as in his active career at Ravenna, and at Rome, he is seen as one whose life, though blameless, had incurred perpetual strife. Alluding to his three years' residence in France he says, in a letter to Raymund, abbot of Aurillac, "There, while I endured the anger of kings, the tumults of the people, and the fury of adversaries, I was seized with such disgust that I almost repented having undertaken the pastoral care." At that moment, he says, such are the distractions even of Italy, that he cannot say any thing for certain respecting his organs, or the mode of using them.† "Bear assistance to me, father," he says to Romulf, abbot of Sens, "that the Divinity, who is excluded by the multitude of sins, may be lent by your prayers to return to visit us and to remain with us for ever."‡

The peaceful race may seem now to have drained to the dregs the bitter cup, and yet we have not yet reached all that they had to taste, for in still worse desolation we shall hear them cry—"We seek not peace, O heavens! Excite against us the nations."

"——————— omnibus hostes
Reddite nos populis; civile avertite bellum."§

"Contention, sister and companion of homicidal Mars," as Homer says,|| "sooner or later arose in most states," not without that shame which indicates, to use Pindar's words, "the departure of divine protection, when enmity arises between those who are of the same blood."¶ O ye sons of meekness and desire, what was your country then? "No more your country, but an impious crew of men conspiring to uphold their state by worse than hostile deeds, violating the ends for which our country is a name so dear, not therefore to be obeyed. Such were the intervals which beheld the long civil wars previous to the reign of Rodolph of Habsburgh, the disorders of the great schism, the wars of the two factions of Guelf and Gibeline, the wars between the seigniors of Germany, and the free towns during the miserable reign of Wenceslaus of Bohemia, the rivalities of Burgundy and Orleans in France, of Habsburgh and of Luxembourg in Germany."

In Italy in the tenth and eleventh centuries, the wars of private men were multiplied to the disturbance of all states. Peter Damian describes these enmities thus, "a man kills another more powerful than himself, from whose son, after the manner of the age, not after the laws of the gospel, he has to sustain war, the avenger breathing slaughter and rapine.* In France, these petty wars and dissensions commenced about the year 1031.† In the twelfth centuries, the factions of Guelfs and Gibeline began to disturb Italy; but it was not until the time of the heretical emperor, Frederic II., that these first became serious.‡ Then after long striving, the divided citizens came to blood, and one party chased the other with much injury forth. This was the great moral plague which devastated that noble land during the thirteenth, fourteenth, and part of the fifteenth centuries. The name of Gibeline was first used to designate those who followed the family of the emperor Frederic I., and desired its domination in Italy. The Guelfs on the contrary were those who disliked that domination. "These latter," as Muratori remarks, "did not hate the empire, or refused to obey the emperor; but they detested the race of that Frederic I., who had destroyed so many Italian cities, and, therefore, when it was a question of choosing between a Frederic II., or an Otho IV., of the race of the Welphs of Este, they immediately declared for the latter. Moreover, whenever there was a collision between the empire and the Church, they stood by the Church, knowing that not even the emperor himself was exempt from its jurisdiction. These factions divided not only states, but cities, and even families and single houses, brethren being ranged against brethren with indescribable fury."§

"When Count Gottfred died," says an old writer, "there arose such a discord between the Counts of Languscho, and of Turriani, that if the stones had cried out, 'Pax fiat,' peace would have been impossible."|| Petrarch gives a sad picture of an Etrurian race, distracted by factions—"You behold nothing safe amongst the inhabitants of this region, you hear of nothing peaceable, you feel nothing humanized, but only war and hatred, and all things like

* Hock Gerbert und sein Jahrhundert, 82.
† Ep. 91. ‡ Ep. 13.
§ Lucan. ii. || iv. ¶ Pyth. Od. iv.

* Lib. iv. Epist. 17.
† Murat. Antiq. Italicæ, xxiii.
‡ Jac. Malveccii Chronic. Brix. vii. 103, ap. id. Rer. It. Script. xiv.
§ Antiq. Ital. 1. i.
|| Gualvanei de la Flamma Hist. Mediolanens. c. 311. ap. Muratori, tom. xi. Rer. It. Script.

the works of demons."* Our great poet has made us familiar with these scenes. "Where be these enemies? Capulet! Montagne! See what a scourge is laid upon your hate, that heaven finds means to kill your joys with love!"

To these calamities we must add the insurrections, which from the eleventh till the thirteenth century, attended the rise or struggle of the Communes, or free cities in France, and the local wars of the feudal nobles, who so often desolated the country around them, or sought to punish or destroy each other. "When such times come," says a later poet, "tyranny must be, though to the tyrant thereby no excuse." Reader, you will recollect with what reserve we spoke in the second book of those who dwelt within the feudal towers, only endeavouring to show that there was a chance for such men to enter on the way of blessed life. You will not then tax me now with contradiction, if I present before you many of that class, as cruel tigers, who never lay aside their ferocity. "Lust in their hearts, and mischief in their hands, they roam the earth to prey upon each other." The names of a meek age are all associated with fearful traditions, which attest the brute and boisterous force of violent men, hardy and industrious to support tyrannic power, but raging to pursue the righteous, and all such as honour truth! The πτολίπορθον of Homer, was now changed into a darker term. "Church destroyer," was the surname of the count de Châlons, in the time of Louis VII. He it was who massacred the monks of Cluny,* whom his ancestors so dearly loved.† In the reign of king John in England, there was in the English army in Poitou, a man named Enguerrand, of immense stature, and of a cruel heart. Such was his ferocity, that he often broke the gates of churches, whence he was generally called Brise-Moutiers. The churches were often exposed to pillage, but as fast as violent men deprived them of their property, the faithful hastened to make fresh donations, though at the risk of again plundered.* The abbot S his history of Louis le Gros, says c count of Corbeil, "hominem, nc nem quia not rationalem sed pec Suger wrote to Louis le Jeune, to that some of his barons were but wolves let loose upon the land. life was but a battle and a ma like the wind's blast, never restin less, they stormed across the war-c earth."

Many kings of France were o march at the head of their armie such disturbers of the public peac Philip Augustus made war upon de Charenton as also upon R Beaujeu and the count of Chal of these wars I shall have occa sently to speak more in detail. the same class of tyrannic men Pope Innocent thus speaks of Ec Romana, "Under the form of a countenance, with a bestial min ing for Christian blood, he carrie implacable war against the comm rations of humanity. Not cont raging against the bodies, he in means of corruptors of Catholic fai into the souls of men."† The chr Asti declares that he delighted i men, and in the act of shedding blood.‡ Such is a brief outlin chief disorders which disturbed th during the ages of faith. I have nc to palliate or suppress them. T of history, I am aware, will enabl proceed with the picture in as dar as any fancy can desire. But v resign such employment to oth inquire now what became of the race amidst such troubles, and a it will be a grand spectacle after s them to behold "the glorious city in this pilgrimage of time, amidst pious living by faith, and expec patience the stability of the eterna

* Epist. xi. xii.
† Capefigue, Hist. de Phil. Auguste, i. 85.

* St. Victor, Tableau de Paris, i. 214
† Ap. Murat. Antiq. Ital. diss. 1.
‡ C. 2. Ap. id. Rer. Ital. Script. xi.
§ St. August. de Civ. Dei, i. 1.

CHAPTER II.

RMS, slaughter, flames, and blood, float in fearful vision, before our eyes, when lo! a sound of prayer, as from a vast concordant multitude,

———May thy kingdom's peace,
ne unto us; for we, unless it come,
th all our striving, thither tend in vain."*

are the blessed peace-makers, that us fellowship of saintly men, whose l ministering to the will of God, as s upon earth, shall now be the object investigation, as far as can be at- by human memorials, which here nited, for in the trials of a disordered these souls desiring peace only rise noment upon the surface, to disap- gain in the refining flame.

order to signify the purport of this ct, in which they will appear to us, y adopt, as an expressive sentence, hich is prefixed to one division of story of Leopold William, Archduke stria, son of the second Ferdinand, sed by Nicolas Avancin, who sums is showing "the desire which he had ce in the midst of war." It is of esire that I have now to speak.

acem super Israel:" such was the , during ages of faith, of all who ed, internally, to that immense so- spread over the earth, the members ich were designated by Tertullian as rdotes pacis," by Clemens Alexandri- s "the peaceful soldiers of Christ,"† Bernard, as "the order of the pacific, ove all others;"‡ and the diffusion om throughout the nations was re- d even by profane historians, as g universally to a greater order and illity than the world had ever before enced. "One single century," says writer, "had transformed the Anglo- s from blood-thirsty savages into and humane, and affectionate men; anished from their hearts all selfish- ness, which is the distinguishing mark of barbarism, and in its place had implanted the self-denying and magnanimous virtues."§ In fact, these most cruel of the barbarians became the most zealous lovers of peace, insomuch, that more than thirty of their kings and queens left their thrones in order to serve God in the tranquillity of the cloister. The Franks themselves now gloried in a new character. The herald, whom they sent to Morvan, the chieftain of Brittany, warning him of the folly of becoming an enemy to the emperor Lewis, said to him, "The Franks are invincible in war, but pacific, full of religion and humanity, and never taking up arms without regret."† The very changes of names which were made in so many places, as at Beneventum, which had merited its former sinister title by the slaughter of 30,000 Samnites, indicated the new pacific views which followed the introduction of Christianity.†

"The Langobards, too, had been terrible, but when they renounced Arianism, and embraced the Catholic faith, they contended with other nations," says Muratori, "in piety, clemency, justice, and humanity, so that the people were happy under them."§ In short, historians of the middle age in general estimate the titles to admiration, of both states and individuals, by the desire which they evinced of peace. Thus, all that we read of the chief citizens of Pisa, in 1199, whom the writer wished to condemn, is "Filii pacis non erant:"‖ yet its generally meek, pacific character was deemed one of the glories of that people, while the warlike temperament of Genoa was traced to its old Ligurian blood. In those times, not to love peace, in fact, was deemed synonymous with imperfect conversion; and so another writer says, "The people of Placentia are prone to war and discord, after the manner of the Gen-

ante, Purg. xi. † Protrepticus, c. xi.
le Conversione, 21.

* Dunham, Hist. of the Germ. Empire, ii. 58.
† Ap. Fauriel. Hist. de la Gaule Merid. iv. 80.
‡ Italia Sacra, viii. 4.
§ Antiq. Ital. diss. xxiii.
‖ Gesta Innocent. iii. c. 46.

tiles, who had here a temple of Bellona;" though of this city the prophecy of Michael Scot declares,

"Piscis ut unda foret, sic pace Placentia floret."*

Other cities, as Padua, gloried in their love of peace. "Mild, quiet, pacific," says an ancient writer, "are the Paduans, therefore, their diligence is turned more to discipline than to arms; thinking that there should be more splendour and glory attached to letters than to arms, since by laws and precepts, rather than by wars, men are first collected together so as to form a republic. Therefore, when they contemplate glorious fame, they seek that renown especially which, in all ages, has followed letters. For by discipline and learning men provide for the ornament and utility of present and of future times, whereas the fame of soldiers is not rarely buried with them in the grave."† Thus, in fine, over cities might have been inscribed the line which is read on the portal of the ancient church of St. Peter, at Louvain, alluding to its origin:—

"Mars Petro cessit, pro clavibus hasta recessit."

Serving with faithful love, until iniquity should pass, and all principality and human power be evacuated, and God be all in all, the Catholic society was taught to refer all use of temporal things to the fruit of earthly peace in the earthly city, and in the celestial city to the fruit of heavenly peace.‡ The constant voice of its chief authority on earth was that "in the good of peace is comprised all good," as Clement IV. reminded the citizens of Florence.§ Every tongue that ventured to admonish it, would repeat, with the counsellor of kings, that "wherever Jesus Christ is, there is peace and union."|| Every teacher that its common voice proclaimed remarkable, dwelt upon this theme, and showed that peace, whether internal of the breast, or external in the condition of the times, or supernal in the peace of eternity, was the way of God, all whose paths are peace, whose name is the God of peace,¶ with whose favoured people the word peace signified every good,* whose providential government of the was known to have had, from the ning, no other object but the resto of peace to fallen man; so that Go of Viterbo, remarks that his own which signifies the peace of God, belongs to him, as the author of a called Pantheon, which contains the history of man from the creation.†

Let us hear speak some of the gui men in ages of faith. "Peace," sa Bonaventura, "is the language of h for Christ, who came from heaven, that language, as when he said, aft resurrection, 'Pax vobis.' The angel who are citizens of heaven, spoke it ing, 'In terra pax;' and the apostles, t by Christ, were to speak it on their mi saying, when they entered a house, huic domui.'"‡ Taught and form these divine instructions we find on page of the history of the middle traces of pacific hearts, diffusing a ra through the darkest gloom, still sh miraculously, like those tapers roun body of St. Hugh, which ancient w say were borne from London to Li in great wind and rain, without bei tinguished;§ looking, from their tra lity, like lamps into the world's s night; like stars, while clouds are p by, which wrap them from the v foundering seamen. They who, fro desire of eloquent harangues to sho excellence and good of peace, refer to ancient books may, perhaps, experie disappointment: for, in ages of faith, were less rhetorical.

"What shall I say of peace, or c praise of peace?" exclaims St. Aug "Your affections anticipate my word will not continue. I cannot; I am Let us defer all praise of peace t arrive at that country of peace. The shall be able to praise it where we more fully possess it. Jerusalem i vision of peace, and all who posses love peace are blessed there for everm Yet there was a language in which lovers of peace on earth could testify desire. Witness these altars in so churches, and especially in regions

* Chronic. Placentinum, ann. 1336. ap. Mur. Rer. Ital Script. xvi.
+ Comment. Savonarolæ, Lib. i. ap. Murat. Rer. Ital. Script. xxiv.
‡ St. August. de Civ. Dei, xix. 14.
§ Ap. Martene Thes. Anecdot. tom. ii. 436.
|| Lamentations de Salmon. 134.
¶ Rom. xv. Phil iv. 9. Heb. xiii. 20. 2 Thess. iii. 16. 2 Cor. xiii.

* Gen. xxix. 6. xli. 16. Jos. x. 21. I S 4. 2 Reg. vi. 6. Esa. xxvi. 3. Jer. xv. cxxii. 7. 1 Cor. i. 3. Eph. vi. 23.
+ Ap. Mur. Rer. Ital. Script. vii.
‡ Dietæ Salutis, tit. vii. c. 6.
§ Dorlandi Chronic. Cartus. Lib. iii. c. 1
|| Tract. in Ps. cxlvii.

devastated by war, like Belgium, which are consecrated under the invocation of St. Mary of peace. Over one in the church of St. Nicholas, at Brussels, there is inscribed, "From war deliver us as from pestilence and famine." Even in the streets and squares of Catholic cities, as in that capital, were placed solemn sentences deprecating war. Over the door of an ancient curiously-carved house in Beauvais, near the cathedral, I read inscribed, "Pax huic domui. In te Domine speravi: non confundar in æternum." Artists were representing, like Callot, in horrible imagery, the miseries and calamities of war, while others sought to express, in carved stone, the prayer of fervent souls, that the mountains might receive peace for the people, and the hills justice. To others, finally, forming, no doubt, the vast undistinguishable multitude who, from the depth of their souls, desired the countenance of the pacific king, was left the gift of tears, which, in the worst of times, was their resource and the universal language. We read of St. Geneviève, in the time of Attila, that whenever she looked up to the sky her eyes filled with tears. Thus did she and countless others comply with the injunction, "Rogate quæ ad pacem sunt Jerusalem." I said in the beginning that men who followed in the track of ages which had heard the Church, need not to be told of the horrors which afflicted her from wars and violence. Her children, though nurtured in divinest lore, had yet been conversant with books of poets and chroniclers, whose wild but holy talk had not left even their sweetest years ignorant of what she suffered. "Thus the dark tales which history doth unfold, they knew, but not, methinks, as others know; for they weep not." We cannot open any of the familiar letters of the middle ages, of which we have such immense collections, though a modern author has not been able to discover any, without finding traces of the same desire. Many of them begin with these words, "Pacem et caritatem diligere."*

Gerbert, whose calamities we have already noticed, calls to witness the clergy of Gaul, its kings and nobility, that all he asks is peace: "Non aurum poscimus, non prædam requirimus; sola caritas est, quam interruptam reposcimus." To the Emperor Otho he says, "To you, to your father, and your grandfather, I have evinced the purest faith amidst enemies and weapons, through wildernesses and haunts of robbers, in hunger and thirst, in cold and heat. Wearied by so many tempests I should have preferred death to not seeing the son of Cæsar reign, who was then a captive. I have seen him and rejoiced; and I wish it may be permitted me to rejoice unto the end, and to finish my days with you in peace."† Ratherius, bishop of Verona, writes to the Empress Adelheid, to beg that she would procure peace and deliverance from his adversaries while he is engaged in building the church of St. Mary. "If it be true that Nanno endeavours to persuade all my enemies desiring my destruction, I beg that by your power you will preserve my life a short time longer, until I shall have completed the structure of the church of the blessed mother of God."‡ Peter of Blois, writing to a foreign bishop, reminds him of the words of the prophet: "Seek the peace of the city to which the Lord hath made you migrate, for in its peace will be your peace;" and concludes that such is the duty of all Christians.§ We shall see as we proceed, how generally this was understood. One ancient author relates an impressive example. In the month of October, in 1338, "in the silence of the night," he tells us, "there appeared certain persons in the church of St. Maria Transtiberi, who cried, Peace, Peace! uttering no other words. The people, hearing of this, went to the houses of the Ursinis and Colonnas, who were enemies, and made peace between them in a manner miraculous."‖ It is a fact which we must notice early, that it was with the hearts and minds of the pacific that the people in the middle ages sympathized.

They were lambs, not wolves, that the pastors of the churches had then to feed; and in desires, at least, pacific were the nations whom cruel men urged on to battle.¶ In the reign of Edward III. everything had been done to make the English love war. After the battle of Crecy, being thoroughly weary of it, when the chancellor, wishing to rouse a false honour, addressing the Commons, exclaimed, "What, then! should you wish a perpetual peace?" "Yes, indeed, we wish and would accept it," was their reply. A

* Ap. Martene vet. Script. Collect. i. p. 733.

* Ap. Duchesne, iv.
† Ap. Pez Thes. Anecd. tom. vi. 99.
‡ Epist. lxxxix.
§ Sagacio et Pet. Gazata Chronic. Regiense ap. Mur. Rer. It. Script. xviii.
‖ Annalista Saxo, an. 876.

Genoese historian of the thirteenth century says, that in general it is necessary to compel men to engage in battle, and that the readiness of his countrymen to fight on one occasion was a remarkable exception.* In 1169, the forces of Pisa and Genoa were about to engage, when suddenly Guido de Mercato, consul of Pisa, rode forth, armed cap-à-pie; and coming up to the consul of Genoa, said humbly, "Why should there be this day a mortal combat between us? It would please me, and all that are on my side, if it should also seem good to you, that there should be no battle. Peace is more to be desired by you than war, and I for my city wish by all means for peace. Answer me, then, quickly, before our troops engage." "What sort of peace do you desire?" asked Roger, the Genoese consul: "He is the enemy of God who despises peace. Truly I too desire peace with you; only I deprecate a deceitful peace, and fear lest it may be such that you propose." To whom the consul of Pisa answered, "God knows that with sincerity and a pure heart I ask for peace." When, having called a council, the peace was declared and ratified.† The history of Germany presents a scene of the same kind, which shows the chiefs themselves the foremost in meeting peace. In 1198 Odoacer, hearing of the emperor's death, entered Bohemia, to recover possession of it, at the head of an army, declaring war against his brother; but Henry, abhorring civil war, and moreover, wishing not evil but well to his brother, in the very night before the intended battle, having held a secret council with his friends, both armies being ignorant of what passed, called his brother to a conference, at which he expressed his desire of peace, and his wish to remove the obstacles to it. Then the two princes gave each other the right hand in pledge of friendship, and returned to their tents. Early the next morning each army was on the march home, Henry returning to Moravia, having resigned Bohemia to his brother.‡ But still, in general, it was the popular voice that advocated peace. When the treaty was made between Philip Augustus and Count Philip of Flanders, which, according to the chronicles of St. Denis, was made "as if miraculousl made without effusion of blood, the we read, "in their joy rendered and praise to our Lord, who h saved those who trusted in Him."

The exclamation of the people gium, in 1306, "Moriantur mil habeamus pacem," and that of Italians, according to the same ch in 1331, "Vivat Rex Bohemiæ et habeamus!"† are other instances might easily be multiplied. Oh, ho amiable sons of the people, like found within the castles of nobility have responded to the complaint c ler's hero in the "Wallenstein!" me, where is the end of all this la this grinding labour,—that has st youth, and left my heart uncheer void, my spirit uncultivated as a ness? This camp's unceasing d trumpet's clang, the never-changin of service and parade, give nothin heart, the heart that longs for nouri There is no soul in this insipid b Life has another fate and other joys verses which Cowley addressed t land express the same thought:

"He is too good for war, and ought to
As far from danger, as from fear he's

"———— Those men alone,
Whose valour is the only art they kn
Were for sad war and bloody battles

"God has created iron for cul the earth, not for slaying men," sa Antonio de Guevara, writing to t stable of Castille. Writers of the age extol Galen for arguing, con the Stagyrite, that the formation human body, which is without v of itself, shows man to have been l gentleness. They knew that youth and made innocent by the true di is content with its own pacific spo limbs undecked with trophies of su war. Possessing its naked arms, n the ivory shoulder borne by the P would inspire it with envy. "Oh lar serenity of writing!" exclaims of Buri: "We see the Creator of th at whose tremendous name ever should bow, stooped down to wri to teach every generous youth that were given to men for writing rath

* Jac. de Varagine Chronic. Jan. pars v. ap. Mur. Rer. It. Script. tom. ix.

† Caffari, Annal. Genuens. Lib. ii. ap. Mur. Rer. It. Script. vi.

‡ Chronic. Monast. Admontensis ap. Pez Script. Rer. Austriac.

* Ad. an. 1184.

† Sagacio et Petr. Gazata Chron. ap. Mur. Rer. It. Scr. xviii.

for war."* You smile perhaps; but certain it is, that many in these ages resembled in disposition, if not in feature, the young page, of whom the warrior thus speaks in the Lord of the Isles:—

"Alas, poor child! unfitting part
Fate doom'd, when, with so soft a heart,
And form so slight as thine,
She made thee first a pirate's slave,
Then, in his stead, a patron gave
Of wayward lot like mine;
A landless prince, whose wandering life
Is but one scene of blood and strife."

The universal joy expressed at all terminations of war in the middle ages was sufficiently significative of what the nations loved. What Cicero says was then more than ever true: "Nothing was so popular as peace."† Gaufred, canon of St. Barbara, in Normandy, writes thus to a friend: "After finishing the letters which I intended sending to you, lo! a new day has risen on our regions, and the divine clemency has poured a bright light into our sad hearts; for peace is made between the king and his sons, and so peace, long an exile, comes back to us. I return thanks to the just and merciful Creator, who wounds and heals, who strikes and makes whole again."‡ The Spanish chronicles, relating the victories of the Christian arms over the Moors, are chiefly eloquent in describing the peaceful consequences: "In every direction arose stately monasteries, those fortresses of the faith. The sacred melody of bells was again heard among the mountains, calling to early matins, or sounding the angelus at the solemn hour of evening." "After the defeat of the French," says an ancient historian, "when the storm of war seemed to be passed from Italy, every one hoped that she would at length enjoy the long-desired peace; so in sure hope of quiet, with minds full of confidence, men offered up their prayers at every altar. I also, as if emerged from a common danger, or as if escaped from shipwreck, resolved to fear no more, and to bring my writing to an end."§

Thus again, in 1358, when universal peace was made in Italy, in the city of Milan, there were processions, we read, and litanies by clergy and laity, and games of all kinds, and infinite joy.* And again, in 1298, when, by the grace of God, as another historian says, "the kings of Hungary and Bohemia, with the dukes of Austria and Bavaria, were brought to concord, the earth rejoiced at the peace. The duke of Austria, invited by the king of Bohemia, entered his dominions to visit the queen his sister, and similarly the king of Bohemia visited Vienna, when he was solemnly entertained, all men praising the clemency of our Saviour for the tranquillity of peace."† See what are the temporal fruits of peace," says St. Bernardine of Sienna; "all things are filled with joy; agriculture flourishes when martial fury interrupts not the process of nature; men travel securely,—no robber is feared by the way; domestic virtues reign; cities are adorned by the arts; the flocks and herds are led to pasture to the sound of flutes and pipes; the woods are made tame; houses are built; families are multiplied; merchants go and return in safety; the tranquillity of monks is preserved; the offices of the Church are celebrated without interruption; literary studies flourish; exercises of piety are performed; the word of God is honoured and fructified amidst the multitude of people; every one has his rights; no one complains of injustice."‡ The ancient writers bear witness to the truth of this statement. "No sooner did the Cisalpine nations breathe from war," says an historian, "than the cities of Italy assume a pacific aspect. Immediately the citizens of Parma conspired to raise a grand church under the invocation of the mother of God, and persons of all ages and conditions engaged in this undertaking with one heart and soul; fathers and sons, beardless boys and married men, from the lowest to the highest rank; and it did not shame noble matrons in purple and precious robes to toil under the weight of vile burdens. Offerings were daily brought with festive rights and music, and to the music of sacred bells; not through ostentation, or as a spectacle of vanity, but to express the overflowings of a true piety. Towns and villages contended with each other in these gifts, and even from other states numbers came with offerings. This was in 1521, and for some months the whole city had but one object in view, nor

* Philobiblion, c. xvi.
† Pro Leg. Agrar.
‡ Ap. Martene Thes. Anecd. tom. i. 503.
§ Corpsani Comment. suorum Temporum, Lib. i. ap. Martene vet. Script. Collect. tom. v.

* Chronic. Mutinense ap. Mur. Rer. It. Script. tom. xv.
† Chronicon Claustro-Neoburgense, ap. Pez Script. Rer. Aust. tom. i.
‡ Serm. xi. 1.

any day was void of ceremonies. Already the august walls of the temple rose with admirable beauty, and showed the distinct chapels and the spherical termination, which by a certain new device, was to rise into an arched vault; when suddenly, warlike fury announced with the din of trumpets dispelled our joy, and gave signal of wide and enduring desolation."*

"At this time," says Albert de Ripalta, in his annals of Placentia, "peace was proclaimed between all the powers of Italy, so that the prophetic sentences seemed fulfilled—behold the days of desired felicity succeed: it is a time of delight for us. Let all that flourish rejoice with me. Wars cease; love reigns, every one crowned with flowers exults: and then the joy of the people of Placentia corresponded to the peace; and the Lord looked down benignly from heaven upon our city, and we began to construct a new church, and the bishop came in procession with all the clergy and people, and solemnly laid the foundations: and the next day there was a wondrous office for the souls of the dead who had been buried under the old church, and such was the multitude of persons bearing tapers in their hands, that from the fragments which remained after the office, five hundred pounds of wax were collected."†

Similarly as soon as Milan found herself at peace under Azo Visconti, the historians of that city are filled with admiration at the beautiful churches, towers, and cloisters, which were immediately commenced.‡ How remarkable is it to observe whole nations actuated like one man by the spirit of the wise king, who said, "Now Jehovah gave peace, therefore, I thought to build a house to his name."§ Thus was verified the sentence of Richard of St. Victor, that "by prosperity, which dissolves evil men into themselves, and deprives them of God, the good are nourished to good things, and protected from evil."‖

Some modern authors would make us believe that the French sophists of the last century, "were the first to advocate those profound and permanent interests of the human race, which are inseparably connected with a love of peace; that they, above all the earlier teachers, stripped the image of war of the delusive glory, which it took in the primitive ages of society, and turned our contemplation from the fame of the individual hero to the wrongs of the slaughtered millions." It is to be lamented, that men of ability should thus fall into the style of those writers, who possess no other qualification than a deplorable fecility of making vague and sonorous sentences. We shall know how to estimate the justice of such accusations, before arriving at the end of this book; but even already we can discern the imprudence of the zeal which prompts them, regardless of the terrible field for recrimination, supplied in the tendency of modern opinions, and in the facts which attest their power. For if the guides of men, in ages of faith, were to ask in the words of Æschylus to his rival, those who now direct the public mind, on what account they consider that a poet should be admired? they might indeed reply, like the pedantic moralist, "on account of his making men better citizens," but assuredly the former with the strictest justice could then repeat the great tragedian's words, and say, "this you have not done, but on the contrary, being good and generous, you have made them unholy, adulterers, fond of glory and of war, and of insurrection. You did not receive them from us such. Unlike what they are now, they were then breathing piety and love, and less qualified for war than for peace."*

"We were at all times they might continue, "for peace: you began with insurrection; the very hymns of your chiefs sounded like a war-song under the vaults of Worms. The old cathedral trembled at the new sounds of that Lutheran tumult, which terrified the birds in their obscure nests at the top of the towers. We founded and maintained, you have divided kingdoms; and upon the heights encircling towns, where we placed churches and monasteries of brethren, who were to pray for peace, you have mounted your artillery, turning into batteries the walls that were for abbeys reared. Are mountain valleys under your government? They present nothing but fortresses and citadels—magazines and men of arms. Are ancient cities? Their venerable sanctuaries of peace, adorned with all the precious works of contemplative art, are converted into barracks for your legions. We knew the calamities of war from the invasion of barbarians, and

* Carpesani Comment. suorum Temporum, Lib. vii. ap. Martene vet. Script. Collect. tom. v.

† Annales Placentini, ap. Mur. Rer. It. Script. tom. xx.

‡ Gualvanei de la Flamma de Reb. Gest. ap. Il. xii.

§ 1 Reg. v.

‖ *De Contemplatione*, ii. c. 19.

* Aristoph. Ranæ.

the local quarrels of petty tyrants
ly wicked, who waged it on a small
, not for glory or for empire, but, like
rsinis and Colonnas, for life.* You
ted them through system, as the re-
of national and honourable struggles,
h your victories were not the solid
f happy men, as St. Augustin says,
the vain solace of the miserable, in-
ents to the restless, to perpetuate
evils.'† Our wars, when not necessary
just, were the result of passion, and
nced, stigmatized as evil. Your wars
stematic. You make war by system
distant countries, for some frivolous
t, in order to preserve your own
ns from rebellion; you wage wars by
n, to maintain an equilibrium of
is, which would otherwise, thanks to
fects of your revolutions, prey upon
ther. Truly our neighbours, since
ave taught them your philosophy,
elp us to a comment on the text.
a contrast is there between the genius
presides over these palaces, in which
ttles of every age are represented in
as an inscription on their front de-
to proclaim all the glories of France,
e mind which imagined and admired
oor coin of the middle ages, contain-
e figure of St. Elizabeth, holding a
n in her hand with this motto,
a Elizabeth, gloria reipublicæ?' Alas,
t if the warlike fame of these sons
now rejoice the dead, according to
omeric notion."‡
w vain is modern rhetoric before the
of things! Europe was then cover-
er with pacific, as it is now with
ry institutions. "Whither have fled
ounds that soothed life then—the
ry and the majesty of religion, the
he exaltation, and the peace?" We
seen by what forms the youthful mind
hen moulded. Images or symbols of
, the festival of the boy bishop, or of
prince of youth, with his processions
tioned by the clergy, or the decoration
ttle altars on certain days of universal
seemed not opposed to the cultivation
hat heavenly childhood to which Christ
promised the kingdom of heaven; but
e men scorned the Church for accept-
with love whatever puerile decorum
mpts; and now the child, "ere he can
p his mother's sacred name," as Cowper
says, "swells with an unnatural pride, and lifts his baby-sword. This infant arm becomes the bloodiest scourge of devastated earth; whilst specious names, learnt in soft childhood's unsuspecting hour, serve as the sophisms with which manhood dims bright reason's ray, and sanctifies the sword upraised to shed the blood of hapless men." Trugæus, who could not hear a boy make use of the word spear, without crying out

'Ασπίδας; οὐ παύσει μεμνημένον ἀσπίδας ἡμῖν;

and who quarrelled with him when he heard that his father's name was Lamachus, because it resembled in sound

'Ανδρὸς Βουλομάχου καὶ κλανσιμάχου τινὸς υἱὸς,

could seldom have a respite from irritation now.* Our public spectacles—our palaces—our museums—our paintings, would all seem to announce war either present or impending. The *τεχνῖται τῶν πολεμικῶν*, and the arts which minister to the vilest luxuries, are alone in great repute. A nation may thus appear, like the Athenians of old, as described by the Corinthians, "bold and daring beyond their power, and full of hope in dreadful emergencies;"† but Christians, in ages of faith, desired not such renown. Curious it is to find the heathen poet representing Minerva, as exhorting the Furies to refrain from infusing the martial spirit, like the heart of cocks, into her chosen citizen—

Μηδ' ἐξελοῦσ' ὡς καρδίαν ἀλεκτόρων,
'Εν τοῖς ἐμοῖς ἀστοῖσιν ἱδρύσῃς Ἄρη
'Εμφύλιόν τε καὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους θρασύν,‡

when we behold the image of that bird that most delights itself in war, now chosen to supplant the lily, which betokened peace, as the emblem of nations. Assuredly it is difficult to believe those pacific, who so proclaim themselves. Their guides often resemble men described by Peter of Blois in these terms: "they pretend peace, and nourish hatreds: they speak of fraternity, and excite enmities: they are full of anger, contention, envy, detraction: they say peace, peace, and there is no peace."§ And are we to believe that these are the men who first stripped the image of war

' Carpesani Comment. suor. Temp. iii.
† De Civ. Dei, iii. 17.
‡ Od. xi. 450.

* Aristoph. Pax, 1291.
† Thucyd. i. 71. ‡ Æsch. Eumen. 861.
§ Tract. Quales sunt.

of delusive glory? What skills their protestations or the panegyrics of their admirers, when we see them every day verifying what the prophet long ago announced of them? "Mordent dentibus et prædicant pacem." When we see the fruits of their sowing to be injuries, suspicions, enmities, treasons; when, if they ever desire peace, it is only with the powerful, as when Abimelech came to Isaac on seeing him prosperous, when if they can triumph they make a solitude and call it peace.

It is in modern times that man, after perfecting the arts of destruction, has learnt to name all hurtful things, as formerly while continuing in charity, he had imposed names on all the innocent creatures of the sanctified muse, and had taught the office of each choir of angels whom he knew familiarly by their titles, their employments, and their beauty. That Great Britain always gains by war is a maxim that we have not inherited from Catholic times, when the desire of every people was that expressed in the old line—

"Pacem, felicitatem, sanitatem per omnia sæcula tribuat Deus."*

But we need not leave modern literature to find proof of what I advance here. For who has not remarked the scorn, and the bitter taunts with which Catholic nations were spoken of by men of the new discipline, for the very reason that they were not trained to war! Such travellers in their descriptions of them adopted the very words of Satan in disdain of the angels, of whom he said in mockery—

"Whose easier business 'twere to serve their Lord,
High up in Heaven, with songs to hymn His throne,
And practised distances to cringe, not fight."†

Truly the heroes of their predilection are not exactly imitators of an angelic type. Daniel Heinsius can hardly find words adequate to express his sense of the warlike glory of Gustavus Adolphus. He says, "that Mars shines in his countenance; that he is the offspring of Mars, and Augustus, greater and better than Alexander; that he was never a child, never a youth, but always a king; and that he is an object of admiration, like the sun."‡ Indeed, the men who teach philosophy to kings of the new religions, formally eulogise Alexander, whom Dante placed with Dionysius, where the souls of tyrants given to blood and rapine wail aloud their wrongs. Fichte defends him from what he terms "the misrepresentations of sentimental pigmies," and declares that "it was a generous and glorious idea, which gave birth to the enterprise and made it successful." "Tell me not," he continues, "of the thousands who fell on his expedition, tell me not of his own early death: what greater deed was now left for him after he had realized his idea than to die?" How a student conversant with the scholastic philosophers would start if he came to such a sentence as this, on the pages of St. Thomas, or of any other Catholic writer of the middle ages! Truly the highest praise that could be elicited for such heroes, from the lips of the schoolmen, would not exceed that of the poet—

"He is gone whom the world preferred to peace."*

Oh, with what solemn earnestness, with what majesty did they admonish kings! "That man carried with him to his grave," says the English Chronicler, William of Newbridge, speaking of his contemporary Henry II., "no part of those Irish spoils he had coveted so eagerly in life, risking his eternal salvation to amass them. He left to unthankful heirs all that he had acquired with such toil and danger, and thus afforded a salutary lesson to many."† Ratherius of Verona cites the words of our Lord, "By this shall all men know that you are my disciples, if you have love one for the other," and then adds, "I love God, each one will now reply, even the worst of all, even a tyrant; for, alas! hatred so much abounds, that no one has more glory than, O horrible to say it, a murderer; but no murderer or hater of his brother, however glorious in the eyes of the world, hath any part in the kingdom of Christ and of God."‡ He calls murderers men who made war through avarice or pride. St. Aldhelm, of Sherburn, denounced in solemn verse vain glory, and all the vices which lead to horrid war.§ But, in general, men who instructed kings in the middle ages, after they had sung their Litanies, in some of which was added, "Ab appetitu inanis gloriæ,"‖ never supposed it necessary to say that wars for glory were sinful; but,

* Ap. Goldast. Alemannican. Antiq. tom. iii. præfat. † Par. Lost. iv.
‡ Orat. vii.

* Lucan. ix. † Rer. Angl. ii. 26.
‡ Ratheris Ver. Epist. ad Omnes Fideles, ap. Martene vet. Script. ix.
§ S. Ald. de Octo Princip. Vitiis, ap. Canis. Lect. Antiq. i.
‖ Ritus Vet. Senensis Ec. ap. Baluze Mis.

appealing to the conscience in general terms, they asked, with Alcuin, "where will be the proud ambition of secular pomp when the spirit returns to the Lord who gave it?"*

"O, wondrous and miserable condition of men," exclaims Bartholomew de Neo Castro, "O, wondrous prodigy of divine power! Those whom we so lately beheld in glory are now prostrated. O ye, therefore, who glory in the world, learn that the turnings of this earth are in the hand of the Most High, and that besides the law of the Lord there is nothing durable. What profit is there in the favour and pomp of the sons of men, if laying aside the fear of Christ, you begin to rage against the innocent, and afterwards are struck and removed by the hand of the Lord? Learn whom you ought to fear in heaven, and whom to love on earth, that you may dread the Lord of heaven, and never rise up against your brethren."†

The school, however, had its formal decisions, following the holy fathers, which it adduced in all treatises on government. "To wage war upon neighbouring countries," it said with St. Augustin, "and then to proceed against others, like Ninus, who was the first to wage such wars, and to attack and subdue nations through the desire of empire, is nothing but robbery on a great scale. Kingdoms so extended are great robberies, just as robberies are little kingdoms. Only when the evil gains such increase that places are seized, cities occupied, and peopled subdued, the name of kingdom is applied to them, which changes nothing, for the cupidity is the same, only in this case there is added impunity."‡ "If with the wish of killing another," says St. Bernard, addressing the Templars, and alluding to secular warfare, "you should happen to be slain, you will die guilty of homicide. If you prevail, and with the will of conquering, or of punishing, should slay a man, you will live guilty of homicide: but it is not expedient for you, whether dead or alive, conqueror or conquered, to be guilty of homicide." The church knew the evils consequent on peace, but her voice was that of St. Augustin, who said that "it was better to pay the penalty of indolence than to seek the glory of arms, and afford the impious spectacle of nation warring against nation."§

Writing to king Æthelred, and to the princes and people of Northumberland, Alcuin says, "The sweetness of holy love often compels me to admonish you to maintain that peace which ought to be between you." To the former he says, "Amongst the good works, by which you can ascend to heaven, are the charity of God, the love of men, and mercy to men, and patience and benignity to all men. Let no secular ambition, no desire of vengeance upon enemies impede your course, but run while you have light, work while it is day, that you may come to eternal light, and with Christ and his saints to everlasting glory. A king must not desire to seize the inheritance of others, for the rapacious shall never possess the kingdom of God. See how your predecessors perished on account of their rapines. Alas! how miserably will they be tormented in eternal pains! Have peace with each other, and benignity, and mercy, and justice; and by concord let your kingdom be maintained."*

The sermon of John Gerson, chancellor of Paris, before the king of France and his nobles in 1408, beginning with the words of Isaiah, "Veniat pax," will show with what eloquence the scholastic and mystic wisdom of peace was announced to monarchs down to the close of the middle ages.† Indeed, many of the ancient laws and ordinances commence with declaring that nothing better than peace can be obtained in this life.‡ But let us hear what was taught by laymen respecting this beatitude. "War," says Savedra, "is a violence opposed to the nature and end of man, whom God has formed in His own image, and to whom He has imparted a share of His power over all things for their preservation, but not for their destruction."§ That kings must prefer an honest peace to a useful war was the maxim of every writer who touched upon the subject.‖

Petrarch, in a letter to Andrew Dandolo, doge of Venice, after reminding him that he had from the first exhorted him to preserve Italy from war, continues thus: "Beware, lest when nature has made you mild and pacific, and not you only, but all your people, whose happiness depends, not on the success of wars, but on the maintenance of peace and justice, you should seem to be of the herd of those who, as the psalmist says, 'thought iniquity in their hearts, and all day long urged battles.' For nothing, I think, is more odious to God than when He

* Epist. lviii. ap. Canisii Lectionis Antiq. ii.
† Historia Siciliæ, c. 36. ap. Mur. Rer. It. Script. xiii.
‡ De Civ. Dei, iv. 6. Palatius, Aquila inter Lilia, l. 2.
§ De Civ. Dei, iii. 14.

* Ap. de Civ. Dei, iii. 14.
† Gersonii Op. tom. iv.
‡ Carol. v. in Procem. Leg. Reg. Capit.
§ Christian Prince, ii. 321.
‖ Joan. Palatius, Aquila inter lilia, x. 2.

has adorned you with some especial gift, or virtue, of your own accord, to endeavour to become evil. Follow then, not the fury of the vulgar, but your own nature, and withdraw your foot while there is time, while, as yet, between the bitter and horrible threats of war, one can still hear pronounced the sweetest name of peace, that you may be called the peace-maker of Italy, and transmit that glorious title to posterity. I beseech and implore you; I conjure you, by the love of virtue, by the love of your country, by the five wounds of Christ, through which issued that most sacred and innocent blood which has redeemed us, not to despise this counsel."* In another letter to the same duke, he says, "Though armed, think of peace, love peace, and be assured that you can win no more brilliant triumph, and endow your country with no richer spoil than peace. When it is a question of war, I would use the words of Hannibal, who, though of all men the most warlike, said, as if the words were extorted from his lips by Truth, that 'a certain peace is better and safer than a hoped-for victory.' And if he, who burned with such a desire of conquering, and who disturbed peace throughout the whole world, said this, what will be urged by the friend of peace? Will he not say, better and holier is a certain peace than a certain victory; because the one is replete with calm, and brightness, and grace, and the other with labour, and crime, and insolence? What is pleasanter than peace? what sweeter? what happier? Never can I understand what pleasure there can be in making war upon men, who under other circumstances, would expose their breasts for your safety as for their own. They can tell this who feel an effeminate delight in the revenge of injuries. But it is better to forget than to punish, to appease than to destroy an enemy. Gentleness is the part of men, rage of wild animals, and of those only the most ignoble. If my voice can be heard in your grave deliberations, not only you will not reject peace when it approaches, but you will go forth to meet, and, with a close embrace, to welcome it, that it may remain with you for ever."†

That the new law of forgiveness was binding even upon states, and that public measures opposed to it were the evil deeds of worldly men, was a lesson taught by the great Dominican who filled the see of Genoa: "It would be long," he says, "to tell of the victorious deeds of our state; therefore, we shall only speak of four of these; for city has duties to fulfil towards God, to itself, towards its friends, and towar enemies. It is bound to evince hon God, to procure common benefits for to give consolation to its friends, an cording to the evangelic rule, to sho to its enemies; but as worldly men rather to have victories over enemie to show them charity, after relatin well our city has fulfilled the three these obligations, we shall have to sp its victories by arms in ancient and m times."* In fact, novel as the ass may seem to those who only read Fro the historians of the middle ages sp general with regret of all warlike deed is not in their volumes that we shoul a parallel to the seventh book of C Commentaries, where he describes, polished easy style of Madame de Se the terrible wars of conquest in Gaul, led to such immense results, so sm relating the numbers of the slain, ar shocking amounts of amputated limb relation to such events they migh chosen for their motto the verse rel to a battle in Ireland, cited by "the Masters," which says, "the poet su the slaughter of that field, for he away from it with sadness in his hear these lines of Fulbert of Chartres:—

"Salve summe pater, fer et omnibus in salutem,
Quicumque pacis diligunt quietem
Et qui bella volunt, hos contere dextra
Trudens gehennæ filios maligni."

Hear how Angelbertus speaks battle of Fontanet, at which he assiste combatant:—

"De fraternâ ruptâ pace
Gaudet Demon impius.
Gramen illud ros et imber
Nec humectet pluvia
In quo fortes ceciderunt
Prælio doctissimi.
Laude pugna non est digna
Ne canatur melode:
Oriens, meridianus,
Occidens vel Aquilo
Plangent illos qui fuerunt
Illic casu mortui.
Maledicta dies illa
Nec in anni circulis
Numeretur, sed radatur
Ab omni memoria;
Jubar solis illi desit;
Aurora crepusculo.
Noxque illa nox amara
Noxque dura nimium,

* *Epist. ix. 15.* † *Id. Var. Epist. i.*

* Jacobi de Voragine Chronic. Janue Mur. Rer. Ital. Script. ix.

In quâ fortes ceciderunt
Prælio doctissimi,
Pater, mater, soror, frater,
Quos amici fleverant."*

e chronicles of St. Denis might justly
ise the French for defending their country
inst merciless invaders; and yet, speak-
of the wars between Philip of Valois and
king of England, they only say, "This
a year of misery and confusion; for,
ween the two kings, there was nothing
e which deserves praise: but the churches
the poor common people were aggrieved,
he dishonour of all Christendom, which
e princes ought to have sustained."†
Then James de Voragine speaks of the
ory of his countrymen, the Genoese, over
Pisans, in 1245, which was in his day,
xclaims, "But it would move compassion
mention what was the slaughter of the
ns."‡ Relating how the Genoese and
etians were about to engage, Raphagni
esini, chancellor of Venice, says, "It
ld have softened the hardest hearts of
e to see two of the most notable and
erful communities of the world intent
destroying each other by sea and
."§
peaking of the wars of the Normans and
rs, another ancient writer says, "What
ue would suffice to describe all the deso-
ns, and slaughter, and horror of every
which followed! Alas! it would shame
to tell of what happened during that
in the Church of Christ: but these are
Divine judgments, which, though hidden
portals, are yet, in the providence of
, never unjust."‖ Otho of Frisengen, in
respect laudable, says, in his Prologue
e emperor Frederic I., that he esteems
by those who are now to write history,
e there is a return of peace, and that the
es of the reigning Cæsar promise a
and happy rest to the people of the
ire. It is in consequence of the en-
agement he draws from the cessation of
that he undertakes to record the deeds
Frederic."¶
Francis Carpensari of Parma begins his
ory of Italy, in his own times, with
hetic lamentations, on account of the
wars of the French, under Louis XII. and
Francis I., which had afflicted his country so
long. "Reflecting," he says, "as to the
cause of these evils, which have disturbed
my days since my boyhood, I concluded that
it was nothing else but the ambition of a
few, than which no pestilence is more fatal;
for this it is which subverts both public and
private tranquillity, as in the days of Marius,
Sylla, Julius Cæsar, and Pompey. Always
it has been the same study, the same insati-
able rage, agitating the minds of men."*
After relating the advice of Louis XII., on
his death-bed, to Francis I., to carry on the
war in Italy, he adds this terrible sentence:
"For as he thirsted after warlike deeds
while living, so going down to the dead, he
had still the same solicitude, as if his bones
would rest more softly when his ghost was
appeased with human blood."†
Speaking of the war of two years between
the kings of France and England, caused
by the Castle of Gisors, in 1109, the
chroniclers of St. Denis say, "They came
back to former love; but before this could
be, there were many innocent people slain
and destroyed."‡ And Suger calls that war
"an execrable perdition of men." Let us
hear the preface of another historian. "I
know not, venerable father, why you should
have committed to me what you could execute
better than any one else. You have com-
missioned me to write histories who are
yourself full of histories, old and new. What
I have written, therefore, is all to be ascribed
to your command; and if you should order
my whole work to be thrown into the flames,
I shall not be troubled. Four things,
especially, seem to have excited the ancients
to write histories:—the glory of praise, the
hope of gain, the love of eloquence, and a
desire of imitation, of which I approve only
of the last, and not even of that wholly,
for will it profit you, or rather, how fatal will
it not be to the salvation of your soul to
emulate either Hector the brave, fighting
for Troy, or direful Achilles, for the Greeks,
or the beautiful Turnus, or the pious Æneas,
waging war against each other, or, to go
farther back still, the giants, as they say,
sons of earth, taking up arms against God?
These things, however grand, are, in imita-
tion, most vain. What shall I say of the
glory of praise, what of gain, what of inflated
style? Nevertheless, such imitators have
not been wholly frustrated in their aim.

From a MS. of the eleventh century, in the
ent Abbey of St. Martial, at Limoges.
Ad an. 1340.
Jac. Vorag. Chronic. Januens. Ap. Mur.
t. It. Script. ix.
Raph. Car. Continuat. Chronic. And. Dan-
ap. Mur. Rer. It. Script. xii.
Hist. Monast. S. Florentii, Salmar. ap. Mar-
Vet. Script. Collect. t. v. 1084.
Ap. Mur. Rer. It. Script. vi.

* Carpensari Comment. suorum temp. Lib. i. ap. id. tom. v. † Id. vii.
‡ Chroniques de St. Denis.

They found what they sought. Their praise has ever been, and ever will be heard while the world lasts: but, oh, wretched men, who made war, and triumphed thus! Here is all your recompense, all the reward of your labour. You have nothing more to receive; but to a Christian man, who has a better hope, who not in this world alone expects to live, there should be a more reasonable ground and motive of action."*

Honoré Bonnor begins his celebrated manual, the "Tree of Battles," saying, "But since I have chosen this matter, it has come into my imagination to make a tree of mourning at the commencement of my book, to signify the state of tribulation in which the holy church is at present from the wars between princes, and the disputes between the nobles and the communes." Walafried Strabo contrasts the historians of wars with those of the saints :—

"Si tantam meruere suo pro carmine famam
Qui scelerosorum mores et facta tulerunt
Laudibus in cœlum perfusi dæmonis arte,
Frivola nectentes hominum monimenta malorum,
Cur non liberius sanctorum facta canamus,
Quos placuisse Deo nobis miracula produnt,
Quæ fidei virtute gerunt per munera Christi."†

A curious contrast with later writers occurs also in the desire of the old Catholic historians to avoid the least word that can possibly occasion animosities between the living. The Annalist of Modena speaks as follows: "In 1266 the Modenese besieged the Castle of Monte Valerio, in which were the Grasulfi and many nobles, who had been expelled by the Argones from Modena. One thousand persons were in the castle, many of whom were put to death by the besiegers, whose names, I think it is more honest to pass over for the sake of peace."‡

Finally, these historians generally take occasion to express their own earnest desire of peace. Thus William Ventura, in his history of Asti, says, "Though I have suffered many injuries, yet He, who knoweth all things, can witness that I have set down naught in malice. Only may he grant peace in our days;" a prayer to which we would, with a pure heart respond, Amen. "Fiat pax, Domine, fiat pax."§ Roderic Santius concludes his history of Spain by praying, that the Most High may teach the reigning monarch, Henry IV., to direct himself and his subjects in the way of peace.* Lanckmann of Valckenstein, in the conclusion of his narrative, after stating that the empress Leonora has left a son, Maximilian, and a daughter, Cunegond, adds, "to whom may Almighty God grant pacific times. Amen."† And the bendiction of God on the Emperor Lewis is thus invoked by Walafried Strabo:—

"Pacem consilio faciat retinere salubri
Quem paci æternæ muneribusque parat."

On the other hand, the horror with which every idea of war was associated is often expressed in a very striking manner by the ancient writers. John de Monsterolio, secretary to Charles VI. of France, writes as follows to Benedict XI., who is celebrated, he says, throughout the world for his love of peace, which, in one word, expresses all good. "It is now about sixty years, as I have heard from my elders, since this war between kings commenced, the thought of which fills me with bitterness. If I wished to relate the evils following from this war, I should not know where to begin. Who could describe the slaughter, robbery, burning of sacred places, and inhuman ferocities? O pious Jesu, who can relate with dry eyes how children were torn from their parents, and butchered before their eyes? O cruel deeds! O execrable barbarities! O heavens, to what times have we been reserved, when Christians thus persecute Christians? If the just can scarcely be saved, O what becomes of those multitudes living and dying thus?"‡

Radulf Coggeshale describing the devastations caused by the wars of the kings of France and England in Richard's time, and the desolation of provinces which ensued from their dissensions, adds, "the divine wrath was not slow to avenge such great impiety, visiting the territories of both princes with pestilence and intemperate seasons during seven years."§ "What then," exclaims St. Bernard, "is the end of this, I do not say warfare, but malice—non dico militiæ, sed malitiæ—if the slayer sins mortally and the slain perishes eternally? Nothing causes wars between you, or dissensions, but either a movement of irrational anger, or a vain appetite of glory,

* Joan. Legatii Chronic. Crenobii S. Godehardi in Hildesheim Prol. ap. Leibnitz Script. Brunsvic. illustrant. ii.
† De B. Blaithmaic ap. Canisii Lect. Antiq. ii.
‡ Annal. Veteres Mutinensium ap. Mur. Rer. It. Script. xi.
§ *Chronic. Astense,* c. 157. ap. id. xi.

* Ap. Hispania Illustrata, tom. i.
† Ap. Pez, Script. Rer. Aust. ii.
‡ Ap. Martene, Vet. Script. Collect. ii. p. 1315.
§ Chronicon Anglicarum a. MCXCVIII. ap. Martene, Vet. Script. Collect. tom. v.

or the cupidity of some earthly possession. Truly for such causes it is not safe either to slay or to be slain."*

Man may dismiss compassion from his heart, but God will never. That the blossoms of each generation should be destroyed, that war should leave once happy parents destitute ere the cheek of him be clothed with down, who is now rocked with lullaby asleep,† that the blood-stained sword destructive of young breasts, as the Greek poet says, σπλάγχνων βλάβας νέων, furious with rage not caused by wine, should leave them to deplore a comfortless old age, these were reflections which inspired with an infinite horror of war, the vast multitude who sought to imitate Him, whose thoughts, as is declared, are of peace and not of affliction. On one occasion the duke of Burgundy having ordered that no quarter should be given to the Liegois, the body of the sire de Perwez who commanded them was found on the field of battle, still holding by the hand that of his son slain at his side. These were the spectacles, the bare mention of which disarmed the eloquence of vain orators, when they magnified the advantages of war. The mind's eye of those who heard them, was fixed on the father's agony; they wept not, they were silent; but not all the decorations of a conqueror, though like another Siccius Dentatus, he might wear fourteen civic, three mural, one obsidional, and eight golden crowns to mark his success in a hundred and twenty battles,‡ could ever make such glory appear enviable again. An Irish synod in the eighth century, enumerating the evils of war, as consequent on a wicked king, notices even the sufferings of animals, which are so multiplied in such times,§ not overlooking those groans of the expecting creature, of which the apostle so beautifully speaks.‖ The hatred of war diffused throughout the people, is indicated strongly in these old national proverbs, one of which requires for an enemy who turns a silver bridge. The line of Prudentius was a popular axiom:

"Nil placitum sine pace Deo, non munus ad aram."

The collection of these sentences by Wipo, addressed to Henry, son of the emperor Conrad, which was printed by Martene from a manuscript found in the abbey of S. Matthew at Treves,* bears proof of the preponderance of the pacific desire: as in the lines

"Pacis donum omnibus est bonum.
Qui in pace fundantur non eradicantur.
Incendium bellorum corruptio est morum.
Bene credit qui neminem lædit."

Even artists conspired to the same end. Spanish writers say that Aurelius, son of Alfonso the Catholic, is always painted with his face turned back, as if through shame not showing it, but, like another Cain, for having killed his brother.†

It is very important to remark that Lucifer, the first-born of the demons, was chiefly known in the middle ages under the title of "the enemy of peace." Such he is called in the chronicles of St. Denis, as where we read, relative to Louis-le-Débonnaire, "the enemy of peace did not suffer the holy devotion of the good man to be without battle, but endeavoured by himself and his members to trouble him in every manner." So also Ottobonus, the continuator of Caffari, speaking of the civil feuds in Genoa, in 1183, occasioned by the murder of Ingo de Frexia, says, "the seed of Satan fell and took root in the city."‡ And in the book of the deeds of the Mareschal de Bouicaut, the parties of Guelph and Gibilline are described as "the diabolic custom sown amongst the Italians by the enemy of hell."§ The holy Scriptures dictated such titles, for Solomon makes the absence of Satan synonymous with peace. "Requiem dedit mihi Dominus per circuitum, et non est Satan." "The demons," says Vincent of Beauvais, "fallen from the state of peace, endeavour multifariously to disturb our peace."‖ Now observe how this idea was ever present upon suitable occasions. "In the second year of his reign," says a chronicle, "the emperor Henry III. celebrated Pentecost at Mayence. Shortly before mass, while seats were preparing in the church, a quarrel arose between the men of the archbishop and those of the two abbots of St. Gall and Fulda, both of whom by usage were to sit with the emperor. The two parties came to blows; the bishops and princes hastened to appease the tumult; the combatants were reconciled; the church

* Exhort. ad Milit. Templi, c. 2.
† Dante, Purg. 23. ‡ Aul. Gell. xi. 11.
§ Capit. Canonum Hiber. xxiv. 3. Ap. Dacher. Spicileg. ix.
‖ Ad Rom. viii. 19.

* Vet. Script. Collect. ix.
† Alfons. Carthag. Reg. Hisp. Anacephalæosis, ap. Hisp. illustrata, 1.
‡ Annal. Genuens. Lib. iii. ap. Mur. Rer. It. Script. vi. § P. II. c. 1.
‖ Spec. Mor. l. iv.

was cleansed and purged, and the holy mass began. At the words of the sequence 'Hunc diem gloriosum fecisti,' a voice was heard saying, 'hunc diem bellicosum ego feci.' A shuddering ran through the crowd: but the emperor understanding the joy of the demon, said aloud, 'thou inventor of all malice, thou hast made this day warlike and sorrowful to the proud, but we by the grace of God, who has made it glorious, will make it benign to the poor.' Then the sequence being resumed with great weeping, he implored the grace of the Holy Spirit, and perceived by the tears of all present, and the striking of breasts, with sighs and groans, that his invocation was heard. Mass being over, he sent heralds to assemble all the poor, and then ordered to be given to them the banquet which had been prepared for himself and the princes."* Such were the convictions which taught men that "even were there rightful cause of difference, yet it were better fayre it to accord than with blood-guiltinesse to heape offence and mortal vengeaunce joyne to crime abhord."† The principle of Greek, and especially Spartan humanity, which forbade all rejoicings for victory,‡ entered essentially into the manners of Catholic nations in ages of faith, who, as we observed before, had no triumphal arches or permanent memorials of successful war. St. Clement of Alexandria remarks that Numa, being a Pythagorean, was the first who erected a temple to faith and peace,§ and we must remember that all temples, being erected in ages of faith by Catholics, were so many memorials of the love of peace. Sometimes even formally so, as when the people of Brescia built the church of St. Francis for brethren of that order, in pursuance of a vow by which they engaged to build it, if God would deign to make peace between their contending factions.‖ Many things in ancient manners, are to be referred even to a wish like that expressed in the Virgilian line,

"Ne, pueri, ne tanta animis assuescite bella."¶

Thus hunting was condemned by holy men, as by Ambrose, Gilbert, and Rupert, expressly on the ground of its being calculated to make men love war.* While the vain and giddy, and profligate part of society desired troubles, who could doubt but that the vast majority were represented by the grave, thoughtful barons, and the holy communities of monks, who so often reflected in the silence of their halls or cloisters on the miseries which follow war? Those innumerable poetic men too who so deeply sympathized with the loveliness of nature, had peculiar grounds of their own for abhorring military operations. Hear how Hugo Falcando speaks to Peter, treasurer of the church of Palermo, in the preface to his history of Sicily. "I was intending, dearest Peter, after the asperity of winter had been mitigated, to write something joyous and agreeable, that I might dedicate it to you as certain first-fruits of the reviving spring, but hearing of the death of the king of Sicily, understanding and considering within myself what a change of things that calamity will bring about, and how this most peaceful state of the kingdom will now be shaken either by a hostile invasion or a popular sedition, through consternation of mind I abandoned the thought, and I prefer turning to grief my harp and changing my song to mourning, although the bland serenity of the clear heavens, and the beauteous aspect of the groves and gardens infusing an incongruous joy into my mind, endeavours to turn me aside from that resolution: for what place is there for lamentations, or who would not be offended at the unseasonable tears which flow at such a moment as this, when the year throwing off the white hairs of decrepit age, becomes adolescent again in the flower of youth, and the vernal temperature succeeding to the winter's cold, invites the birds to revive the sweetness of their long intermitted song? Yet I cannot refrain my tears when I think of the woes approaching Sicily, which, like a tender nurse, has with such devoted love cherished and nourished me in her bosom: for now I already behold the turbulent host of the barbarians rushing onwards, opulent cities that had so long enjoyed peace, devastated, and all the horrors which must ensue from the Teutonic violence agitated by an innate fury, stimulated by rapacity, deaf to pity, insensible to religion." This prediction was written on the death of King William II. in 1189, and verified in 1191 by Henry VI., who married Constantia of Sicily.† How affecting are these lamenta-

* Hermanni Corneri Chronicon. Ap. Eccardii Corpus Hist. Medii Ævi, tom. ii.
† Spenser, ii. 2.
‡ Plut. Ages. 33.
§ Stromat v. 1.
‖ Jacob. Malvecii Chronic. Brixianum, viii. 65. ap. Mur. Rer. It. Script. xiv.
¶ vi. 832.

* Andr. Cirino de Venatione, Lib. i. c. 25.
† Hist. de Regno Siciliæ, ap. Mur. Rer. It. Script. vii.

sions! They remind one of these ancient lines, so beautiful and sad:

Εἰρήνη βαθύπλουτε, καὶ
Καλλίστα μακάρων θεῶν,
Ζηλός μοι σέθεν, ὡς χρονίζεις.
Δέδοικα δὲ μὴ πρὶν πόνοις
Ὑπερβάλῃ με γῆρας,
Πρίν περ χαρίεσσαν προϊδεῖν ὥραν
Καὶ καλλιχόρους ἀοιδάς,
Φιλοστεφάνους τε κώμους.
Ἴθι μοι, πότνια, πόλιν
Τάνδ', ἐχθρὰν στάσιν εἶργ' ἀπ' οἴκων,
Τὰν μαινομέναν τ' ἔριν.*

"O Peace, fruitful Peace, the fairest of the happy, I am wearied waiting for thee! I fear lest old age may overwhelm me with sorrow before I can behold thy gracious countenance, and hear thy love-crowned choirs and thy dulcet strains. Come to me, beloved, and ward off from this city hostile rage and mad contention." If the lovers of the beauties of nature had thus peculiar reasons for detesting war, those who were devoted to learning had also theirs. Indeed, the consequences of war to men of studious and philosophic life seem to be regarded by Plato as the most calamitous of all, as depriving men of the leisure which is necessary for contemplation;† and in the same light they appeared to the learned of the middle ages. Let us hear the lamentations of Richard of Bury, bishop of Durham and chancellor of England, in the time of Edward III. "O Almighty Author and Lover of peace," he exclaims, "dissipate the nations wishing wars, which more than all kinds of pestilence are injurious to books. For wars wanting the judgment of reason, make furious aggressions, and not using the moderation of reason without any discernment or distinction destroy the vessels of reason. Then Apollo is subject to Pluto; then wisdom is reduced under the power of phrensy. Then winged Pegasus is shut up in the stable of Corydon, and Mercury perishes. Then Minerva is slain with the sword of error, and the sweet muses are seen oppressed under a morose tyranny. O cruel spectacle, when Aristotle, to whom the Lord of dominion has committed dominion, bound by wicked hands, is beheld carried out from Socratic houses; and he who deserved to obtain empire over empe-rors, by the unjust right of war is subjected to a vile scoffer. O iniquitous power of darkness, which fears not to cast under foot the divinity of Plato, who alone was worthy in the sight of the Creator, before he had appeased the chaos of war and strife, and had induced continuity to propose ideal species, to demonstrate the world's archetype, and to trace the sensible world from the supernal example. O tearful sight, when moral Socrates, whose acts were virtue and words doctrine; who from the principles of nature produced the justice of policy, is beheld enslaved by a vicious wretch. Then we weep for Pythagoras, the parent of harmony; then we pity Zeno, the prince of the stoics, who rather than betray counsel, bit off his tongue and spat it in a tyrant's face. Alas! we cannot sufficiently lament with adequate mourning each of the books which, in different parts of the world have perished by the calamity of wars. Who would not shudder at the thought of such holocausts as have been offered, when devouring flames have consumed so many innocents in whose mouth was found no guile, and so many treasuries of eternal truth? We are scattered abroad through foreign countries; we are torn and horribly mutilated; we are buried under the earth; we are cast into the sea, and destroyed by every mode of destruction. How many of us, by Theodoric, during the exile of Boëthius, were dispersed through different climates like sheep without a shepherd! Truly infinite are the losses of books which have ensued from wars. Therefore, since we cannot adequately deplore them, here let us cease, and only beseech the Ruler of the world to establish firm peace and to remove wars, that the times by his protection may be tranquil."*

Let us hear another of these men, who, on similar grounds, detested war. "If I were all tongue, holy father," says Marsilius Ficinus, writing to Pope Sixtus, "I could not express with what joy I heard of God having appointed you for our pastor; for I hoped that when the highest power was joined to the highest wisdom, that golden age predicted by Plato would return. Alas! my joy is changed into sorrow. Who would have thought that under so wise a pontiff, not a golden, but an iron age, would succeed? An iron age has returned. I see nothing but arms fabricated for destruction; I hear of nothing but the sound of arms, the sound of horses, the thunder of bombardments. I observe nothing but weeping and rapine, and flames and slaughter."†

* Stobæi, ii. 401.

† *Phædo.*

* *Richardi de* Buri Philobiblion, c. vii.

† *Epist. Lib.* vi.

Pericles said that for those who have a choice, and who can prosper otherwise, it is a great folly to make war.* Christian teachers in ages of faith went farther; and, heedless of the promised gain, they pronounced it to be a crime. Hereafter we shall see what were their distinctions. At present I shall only remark that penance was formerly imposed on all who had been in battle, even though it were just.† "By the ancient canons," says Chardon, "those who had borne arms in a just war were irregular, as well as those who occasioned the death of a criminal, whether as parties or judges; for, though there was no crime, there was something contrary to the gentleness of the church, which abhors blood.‡ Grotius remarks that with the Greeks the canon was long observed which excluded for three years from communion those who had slain an enemy in any war whatever.§ Even in the west, in the Penitential of Fulbert, bishop of Chartres, we read, "If any one should kill a man in a public war, let him do penance during one year."‖ By a council held in 923, in the diocese of Rheims, a penance was imposed on all those who had fought in the battle of Soissons, between Charles the Simple and King Robert. The danger of rushing into a fixed eternal condition out of the very flames of rage and hate, explained such discipline to which the consciences of men, in ages of faith, gave many signs of responding, without the distinction which some moderns ascribe to them who think they calmly saw slaughtered the nameless people, the "multam sine nomine plebem."¶ The chronicles of St. Denis relate that Sisebode, the great warrior and king of Spain in the seventh century, who conquered Catalonia, used sometimes to evince marvellous great pity when his hosts hewed down knights and people. He used to call out to the enemy to put themselves under his protection, or to save their lives by flight; and then, with deep sighs and great lamentations, used to say, "Alas! how unfortunate I am that during my reign there should be such a slaughter of people, and so great an effusion of human blood!"** Bauldry de Cambray relates that after the check at Soissons, when the emperor sent to Lothaire to ask him to fix a field for battle, Geoffroy, count of Anjou, vassal of Hugues-Capet, cried out that the two kings m fight in single combat for the empire order to prevent so many men from ing each other for their quarrel. Ed III., in his letter to King Philip of Va expresses his repugnance at the tho of the consequences of the contest bet them, of the destruction of the peop the country, which he says, every Christian should shun; and to avoid s ding the people's blood, as the quarr personal between them, he offers to him either in single combat or with an hundred knights on each side.* terms of the treaty procured three later by means of the cardinals, are, " it is granted through reverence for church, and in order to spare the sub of the two kings." Even under the ter dynasty of the Merovingians the same cern for the common danger breaks for when the armies of Chilperic and tran were about to engage, we read th was some good men who had compas at the perdition of the people who labo to make peace between the two kin

In the Romances of Chivalry these ples are ascribed to the most warlike. in the book of Baldwin, count of Flan the chiefs challenge each other to si combat: "In order," say they, "tha more of our people may be slain on ei side, let us fight singly."‡ And a when the Count de St. Pol challenges rant, count of Flanders, we read that agreed to fight together, "in order the people on neither side should be longer butchered."§

Edward III. before making war Philippe de Valois, caused to be rea the churches a circular stating what ef he had made in vain for the sake of pea He might well be alarmed at the do around him, though it was easy to n his cause appear just or plausible. son, in a dialogue between a French an English knight, has shown how they were founded. To the question deed, of the former, "are you contrite penitent for the impieties and execr homicides committed by you against French?" he makes the latter reply " and defend his negative by the asser that it was a just war; but the p which he then adduces to the contr

* Thucyd. ii. 61. † Thomassin. III. ii. 70.
‡ Hist. des Sacramens, tom. v. c. 4.
§ De Jure Belli ac Pacis, ii. 24.
‖ Fulberti Carnot. Opera, p. 167.
¶ Æneid. ix. 343. ** Liv. v. c. 7.

* Chroniques de St. Denis, an. 1340.
† Id. Liv. iii. 17.
‡ Le Livre de Baudoyn, c. 6.
§ Id. 79.
‖ Michelet, Hist. de France, iii. 298.

not have been unremarked at the
But must I not obey the king?
ıe English knight, to whom the other
ı; it is an unjust war, founded,
ınte diabolo, in the lust of rule and
pleasure of subduing Christians:
ainst the counsels and against the
ides written by the finger of God.
ır people should protest against such
ınd because they do not, they are
of obeying man rather than their
r." "But you say this," continues
er, "because you are a Frenchman,
sh to discourage the English." "I
s," concludes his adviser, "because
God, who is truth, and not the
tors of my country."*
ırds the close of their lives, these
and scruples became really trouble-
ɔ the authors of such tragedies.
represents Cæsar after his victories
; with oriental luxury, and spend-
f the night in proposing questions
ısophy. "O sage devoted to sacred
tell us," he says, "the origin of the
ı nature, the site of its territory,
nners of its people, the rites and
of the gods, and whatever is in-
on ancient temples. Always in
lst of battles I have had leisure to
plate the stars and the heavens;
:h is my love for truth, that there is
; I so much wish to discover, as the
ɔf the Nile so long concealed."
questions which occupied the minds
ors in the middle ages after their vic-
ere not exactly of this kind. Such
llity after causing the death of men
longer possible. It was not the
y of discovering the source of the
ıt troubled them, but that of find-
ıns that could wash out the spot—
ıned spot that mocked and tortured
ı their glory.
t a sense of the criminality of wars
nced by William the Conqueror on
th-bed, when he made that long
ɜe on his own life from childhood,
ɨends who stood around him in the
f St. Gervais! As the noise of a
ıs city incommoded him, he had
himself to be carried without the
f Rouen to his convent, on a hill
the west, which duke Richard his
had given to the church of Fecamp,
as here that, attended by Gislibert,
ıf Lisieux and Gontard, abbot of

ɣg. inter Francum et Angl. Opera, tom.

Jumiège, with some physicians, he breathed his last.*

"——— Seros, et non nisi tantum
Ut doleant, oculos aperit Fortuna tyrannis."

At the siege of Brionne, Gilbert du Pin commanding the assailants, was mortally wounded in the head by an arrow. Recovering for a moment from his swoon, he cried out terribly to those who stood round him, "Wretched, wretched men, what is it you do? Why waste your time? Why attach yourselves to the vanities of the world, and forget the things which are truly salutary and durable? If you knew the miseries and torments that you deserve for living ill—if you were to see the horrors of which I have been a spectator during the last hour, certainly you would esteem as worthless all the goods of this perishable world." With these words, and while endeavouring to add others, speech failed him, and this illustrious knight expired.† Doubtless too, the impression was profound and often productive of great effect, with which men heard related the visions granted to different persons revealing the doom of warriors who had desolated the earth through avarice, or the love of glory. Such was that recounted of the fiery torments inflicted on Lewis the Landgrave, when after death he was seen emitting from his eyes and nostrils sulphureous flames on drinking from a cup presented to him by demons, and, finally, with an ironical welcome made to descend into the bottomless pit which was uncovered for his reception.‡

Such, again, was the terrible account which Peter the Venerable gives. A gentleman named Humbert, son of a Seigneur named Guichard de Belioc, in the diocese of Macon, who had become a monk in Cluny, having made war against other Seigneurs in the neighbourhood, Geofroi d'Iden was slain in battle. Two months after this, Geofroi appeared to Milon d'Ansa, and prayed him to tell Humbert de Belioc in whose service he had lost his life, that he was in torments for having assisted him in an unjust war, and that he begged him to have masses and alms offered for him. Milon performed the commission; Humbert was terrified; but he continued to make a bad use of the fortune which his father had left him. After some time, in

* Orderic Vitalis, Hist. Norm. Lib. vii.
† Id. Lib. viii.
‡ Cæsar Heisterbach. illust. Mirac. et Hist. Memorab. Lib. xii. 2.

broad day-light, Geofroi appeared to him, armed cap-à-pie, showed him his mortal wound, reproached him for his neglect, and warned him not to go to the war with Count Amedée. Humbert from that day changed his conduct, and made a pilgrimage to Jerusalem. Peter the Venerable heard this history in great detail, as having occurred the year in which he went to Spain.*

"About the time," says an old writer, "when king Philip was at enmity with Cologne on account of Otho, a certain John the Dane laid waste the province. When he came to die, he cried out to those who stood near him, 'Give me a sword, that I may drive off that black Moor.' 'We see no one,' said they, 'invoke God.' The despairing wretch replied, 'What could He do for me if I did?' 'Much,' they answered. 'Then,' said he, 'if you can, O God, help me;' and with these words he expired. I fear such a weak and extorted invocation profited him but little."† Remorse for having taken part in wars was a fruitful source of conversions to a religious life, as is attested by all monastic history. Many a successful warrior wished, like the Homeric hero, that he had never gained such victories:

ὡς δὴ μὴ ὄφελον νικᾶν τουῷδ' ἐπ' ἀέθλῳ.
Od. x. 548.

Adolphus and Everhard, brothers and counts of Castro Abzena, in 1133 were in the expedition of the duke of Limburgh against the duke of Brabant, in which so many fell on both sides. Everhard, though he had slain no one with his own hand, was yet touched with extreme grief; so that on returning to his castle with his knights and soldiers, being full of compunction for the perpetrated sins, in order to satisfy God, he made a holy resolution, changed his clothes, and in the dead of night escaped unseen, and set out for Rome: after visiting which he went as far St. James, in Gallicia; whence returning he came to Deildorf, belonging to Morimond, where for a long time he lived as a hired swineherd, till he was at length discovered by two of his old companions in arms, who recognised him by a scar on his face. After becoming a monk at Morimond, his brother Adolphus gave him his castle of Aldenberg, in the diocese of Cologne, where he founded an abbey, which was supplied with monks from Morimond.* It w similar conviction that caused Si Comte de Crépi, in 1077 to embrace monastic life. Young, rich, and pow his conscience was alarmed at the a his father Radulf, who had unjustly s the city of Mondidier, where he was bu Having consulted the pope, he was to remove his father's body elsewhere to have mass said for his soul. In plying with this injunction, the sigl his father's body struck him with hc "What is this my father who has sub so many castles?" He removed it t monastery of St. Arnoux, at Crépi, w he then took the habit. Of him an Romance testifies,

"Ains vous veuil amantoivre de Simon de C
Qui le Comte Raoul son pere defoui,
Et trouva en sa bouche un froit plus que c
Qui li rougoit la langue, dont jura et ment
Li cuens vit la merveille, moult en fut ébi
Est-ce donc mon père qui tant châteaux b
Ja n'avoit il en France nul Prince si hard
Qui osa vers li fere ne guerre ne Estre.
Dedans une forêt en essil s'enfoui,
La devint charbonners: y tel ordre choisi

In 1266, when Paganinus de la T was slain, the party of the Turrian revenge put to death their pris of the party who had slain him. N de la Turre, who was then lord of M not being able to prevent that cruelty, all his efforts to oppose it, fled from M weeping and exclaiming, "Woe, w fear that the blood which has been this day, will be on my head, and or children."‡

When the Lord Canis the great of Ve came to die, he consigned to the Vene 100,000 florins, as restitution for wha he had unjustly seized in war.§ In dial statutes of the year 1247 we read no alms can be given from rapine; that with a view to restitution, sol must be advised to make great and taneous alms, clothing the poor, endowing churches, "and what is holier," say these fathers, "giving, or r returning, to such persons as have injured."‖ Down to very late times Catholic instruction relative to war duced memorable effects. Many

* Bibliothec. Cluniac. i. c. 7. Dom. Calmet, Traité sur les Apparitions, tom. ii. 171.

† Cæsar. Heisterbach, Lib. xi. 52.

* Notitiæ Abbat. ord. Cistertiensis per u sum orbem, Lib. ii.

† Longueval, Hist. de l'Eglise Gal. vii. 4

‡ Annales Mediolanens. c. 38. ap. Mu tom. xvi.

§ Hist. Cortusiorum de Novit. Paduæ, v ap. id. tom. xii.

‖ Statut. Eccles. ap. Martene, vet. Script

before his death, the Prince de Conti sold his possessions, in order to repair the injuries caused by his army.*

Thus did the Catholic religion revive and strengthen those sentiments implanted in the human heart, or those unextinguishable traditions of the divine law, to which Homer was not insensible, when, at the close of the Odyssey, he seems to evince a certain melancholy, not without remorse, for having so often sung of war; since he makes Minerva herself thus address Ulysses:

Ἴσχεο, παῦε δὲ νεῖκος ὁμοιΐου πολέμοιο,
Μήπως τοι Κρονίδης κεχολώσεται εὐρύοπα Ζεύς.
xxiv. 541.

In those solemn verses which were to express his last desire, the poet represents Heaven as wearied with human wars, and anxious to confer peace on men. "Let us consign to oblivion," says the highest voice he had learned to invoke, "the slaughter of sons and brethren, and let there be the abundance of wealth and peace."

CHAPTER III.

WE had occasion to remark in relation to the thirst for justice, that the love evinced by men in ages of faith for the offices of the church was an indication of their desire of peace. Here we must observe more direct proof of what we then inferred, and at this turn, let him who would conceive what history can never adequately tell, imagine that he enters that dunnest gloom or night unlustrous, through which journeyed Dante; and that straight he hears voices, and each one seems to pray for peace, and for compassion to the Lamb of God that taketh sins away; their prelude still is, "Agnus Dei," and through all the choir one voice, one measure runs, that perfect seems the concord of their song.†

This supplication of the suffering was that also of the militant church, which daily offered it as now with sighs and tears, and by the light which this reflection casts on history, we can catch a glimpse for an instant at the immense multitude of the pacific men who in the middle ages were existing upon earth; for as many as were joined in spirit to the church, were united with her in this ardent and insatiable desire of peace. How do we know that the Catholic church, which the holy fathers call the house of peace, was so profoundly attached to peace? From a simple review of her liturgy: for in the first place, her great daily sacrifice itself was nothing else but the mystery of peace, the pledge of future and eternal, the diffusion of present peace to man. At this holy and tremendous celebration in which God hath given peace reconciling the lowest with the highest in Himself, the good of temporal peace was also formally invoked, at the Gloria, at the Te igitur, at the spreading of the hands before the consecration, at the Libera nos, at the salutation of the people, at the Agnus Dei, at the three prayers which follow it, and in the prayer for the king; for, as the apostle assigns the reason for the latter, "that we may lead a secure and peaceable life," so with that intention the holy church prays for all rulers, even for such as are transgressors of the Divine law;* which intention is formally expressed in her solemn litany where she prays that kings and Christian princes may have peace and true concord, and all the people peace and unity. The innumerable priests, who celebrated throughout the earth, knew that the inestimable price of the world, and the great Victim for the salvation of men, could only be immolated in a spirit of peace, and with a contrite heart; and that,

* Testament du Prince de Conti, Paris, 1666. Réparations des dommages causés par la guerre, ap. Monteil, Hist. des Français, viii.

† Purg. xvi.

* Hugonis Floriacensis de Regia Potestate, *Lib. i. 4. ap.* Baluze Miscell. ii.

as Peter of Blois says, it is never lawful to offer it without that preparation.* Ought a man to approach the altar who is excited against another, not so as to wish to injure him, but so as to be glad that he may be injured by another? Ought he to wait, you ask, until the excitement be passed? "Never may it happen to me," replies St. Bernard, "to approach the sacrifice of peace when disturbed, or with danger to participate in the sacrament in which God reconciles the world to Himself."†

St. John Chrysostom, being unable to reconcile two persons at variance with each other, was somewhat vexed at their obstinacy. This was only an effect of his zeal and charity; yet he did not attempt to celebrate the Divine mysteries, or communicate on that day. In order to teach men always to possess their hearts in peace, and bear in mind this mystery, it was the custom to wear an image, called the Pax, next the bosom. In the office of the regular Hours the same desire is expressed; for, at matins, at that "most sacred time of quiet hours," the lips are opened to the voice of psalmody, which is to finish with the day; and, as St. Augustin says, "the psalm is the tranquillity of souls, the harbinger of peace, restraining the perturbations and the flood of thoughts, repressing anger, reducing to concord the dissentient, reconciling enemies; for who would ever count him an enemy with whom he had sung to God that one great voice of the psalm?"‡ At Lauds the church sings of that oath to Abraham, "a pledge that, delivered from the hand of our enemies, we may serve God without fear, and have our feet directed in the way of peace;" at the sweet hymn of Prime, she prays to have the angry tongue restrained, lest there should be heard the horror of contention. "Pacem et veritatem diligite," is then her lesson, and "Dies et actus nostros in sua pace disponat Dominus Omnipotens," her prayer: at Tierce she prays for that charity which is synonymous with peace; and at Sext she sings:

> "Extingue flammas litium,
> Aufer calorem noxium,
> Confer salutem corporum
> Veramque pacem cordium."

At the ninth hour she announces that great peace which is for those who love the Divine law; and her vesper of with that commemoration of pea is so familiar to all her children that peace may be in their day; God, from whom are all holy desi counsels, and just works, may gr servants that peace which the w not give; that their hearts, bei to his commandments, and th enemies removed, the times, by tection, may be tranquil throug their Lord. At the complin c prays for a quiet night and a pe beseeches God to visit the hab her children, and send His holy dwell in it, and guard them in pe then, in the words of holy David, them to Him, into His hands c their spirit, places them under th of His wings, and thus sweetly an dismisses them to their rest. "A to Plato," as St. Clemens of A remarks, "the greatest prayer is peace."* We may conceive th this one observation alone, wh have been his judgment of the Cath gy, and of our hallowed domes whe orisons ascend. But every thin church was intended to express t of peace. The mere ceremonial t susceptible of the beauty of order a solemn and delicious calm. Deacon, in his life of St. Greg that the Gregorian chaunt was su in Gaul for the Gallican, because t so far from inspiring in the heare gious serenity, only excited vio disordered sentiments. That th in making this substitution was is attested by innumerable w Some declare that the mere into the preface can often make th flow. Others, like the painters middle ages, repair to the asser the faithful to find countenances t a divine peace. In effect, there find them. One time it is the in the painting of Guido, offering, innocent smile, the chalice to the at another it is the deacon, as in Domenichino, of the last comm St. Jerome. The very structures an the good of peace; for, as St. A says, "If these stones and beams cohere together in a certain or pacifically unite into each other, it were, love each other, no one wo them."† How many, in fact, m

* Petr. Blesens, Epist. lxxxvi.
† De Præcepto et Dispensat. 19.
‡ In Psal. [illegible]

* Stromat. ii. 5. † Serm. 336.

ıateaubriand, "I have often expe-
on entering a church, a certain
ment of the troubles of the heart."
ı est in pace locus ejus."
ho can worthily extol the language
numerous collects, in which we
at God would grant us to rejoice
aceful life in time, and to find the
life eternal. On the second Sun-
:r the Epiphany, the words are,
he almighty and eternal God, who
lestial and terrestrial things, would
th clemency the supplications of
ple, and grant them peace during
nes;" and towards the close of the
same words are repeated. "May
d open your heart to His law and
precepts, and may He make peace
days. Creator of all things, God,
and mighty, just and merciful,
ı peace."
:s of a sense of danger from present
nding wars occur repeatedly in the
of the church, and I know of no-
ıore affecting than these indications
ı associated with festivals of peace-
A sense of the contrast between
:rnal kingdom of God, established
multitudes of men, and the external
ın which they found themselves,
many of the prayers. Thus, on
t Sunday of Advent, the Church
hat God would not permit them
ubject to human dangers, to whom
ı to rejoice in the participation of
mysteries; on the second Sunday
e Epiphany, she beseeches God,
derates things, both celestial and
that He would grant His peace in
es; and, on the twenty-third after
st, that those whom He admits to
in Divine participation, He would
fer to succumb to human perils.
day of the Invention of the Cross
ırch beseeches God, that the sacri-
ich she immolates to Him, "may
us from all the iniquity of wars."
solemn invocation of the Holy
which she repeats so often, she
Hostem repellas longius pacemque
otinus." She prepares for festivals
licating the peace which is requisite
celebration. Thus, on the eve of
ımption, she prays for protection,
that she may assist at the coming
with joy: and, on the vigil of St.
ıd St. Paul, "that God may not
us, who are consolidated on the
ıpostolical confession, to be shaken
erturbations." Indeed, *the ancient* preachers remind men, that "they must, on the approach of every festival, purify their minds from all anger and ill-will."* Hence, in 1211, after the burial of the Abbot John, when the community of Monte Sereno met on the Friday of the week Lætare Jerusalem, it was the advice of the prior, that the election of his successor should be deferred till after Easter, "lest, by chance, any discord should ensue that might trouble them in that holy time."† Hardly a day of high festival occurs without her seeming to cast a look of terror at the citizens of Babylon and their wars. Witness the hymn of St. Michael:—

"Angelus pacis Michaël in ædes
Cœlitus nostras veniat, serenæ
Auctor ut pacis lacrymosa in Orcum
Bella releget."

And that for All Saints, which alludes to the invasion of the Northmen:—

"Auferte gentem perfidam
Credentium de finibus,
Ut unus omnes unicum
Ovile nos Pastor regat."

At the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin there is the prayer, that "On whom her birth was a beginning of Salvation, the votive solemnity of her nativity may confer an increase of peace." On the feasts of her Conception and of her Visitation the same words nearly are repeated. When about to leave her temples to celebrate the procession of Palm Sunday, the deacons say, "Procedamus in pace." To whom her choirs answer, "In nomine Christi."

The first of the prayers on Good Friday is for the Holy Church of God. That God our Lord may deign to pacify, unite, and protect it throughout the entire world; subjecting to it principalities and powers: and that he may grant to us, leading a quiet and tranquil life, to glorify God the Father Almighty. Then follows the prayer for the most Christian Emperor, that God may render all barbarous nations subject to Him, to our perpetual peace; and that He would look down benignant on the Christian empire, that the nations which trust in their ferocity may be repressed by the right hand of His power.

In the office of Holy Saturday, when she lays aside her penitential vestments, and prepares to celebrate, with all the beauty

* Sermo S. Maximi, ap. **Baluze**
† Chronic. Montis Sereni, ap. **M**
Rer. Germ. tom. ii.

of holiness, the glorious mystery of the Resurrection, still vigilant and forethoughtful in that hour of triumph, she prays Almighty God to grant her peace for the season of the Paschal joy: "Quiete temporum concessa, in his Paschalibus gaudiis." She prays that He would deign to grant to kings and Christian princes peace and true concord. At the Consecration of the Candle, she prays that all the clergy and most devout people, with the blessed pope, and each bishop, may be granted quiet times in the Paschal joy; that God would please to vouchsafe the king a tranquil time of perpetual peace, and a celestial victory with all his people.

The vesper hymn, which closes the Paschal solemnities, indicates the same apprehensions:—

"Quæsumus, Autor omnium,
In hoc Paschali gaudio
Ab omni mortis impetu
Tuum defende populum."

At Pentecost again, in the vesper hymn, she prays that God may repel far from us the enemy, and grant us peace; that by such protection we may avoid all injury: and in that for Lauds of the same day she sings,

"Dimitte nostra crimina
Et da quieta tempora."

On the second day of Pentecost her words are "ut quibus dedisti fidem, largiaris et pacem;" and again, "Be present with thy people, Lord, and those whom thou hast imbued with heavenly mysteries, defend from hostile fury." Finally, when four Sundays have succeeded, and the summer season reigns, she prays "that the course of the world may be directed by Divine ordinance pacifically for us; and that his church may rejoice in tranquil devotion." What must have been the feelings of men in the middle ages, since, as each thing to more perfection grows, it feels more sensibly both good and pain, when they repeated such prayers! and what echoes must they have found in the pacific hearts which only God and angels heard! History and the experience of all ages can attest how grounded were these fears. "The Norman army," says Orderic Vitalis, "passed the sea from the port of St. Valeri to conquer England during the very night when the Catholic church celebrates the festival of St. Michael the archangel."* Rigaud observes,

* Hist. Nor. Lib. iii.

that it was in the holy week of our
passion that Richard, king of Engla
sieged the castle of Chalus-chabrol,
sake of a treasure found there, wh
through avarice and ambition, des
possess; at which siege he was slain.
find it related in old annals, as a r
able felicity, that in 1038 the e
Conrad, in the castle of Stella, paci
and without any molestation, cele
Easter;† and that in 1099, the lor
celebrated Christmas in great peace
great Gerbert was not so happy a
for, writing to Arnulph, bishop of O
whom he styles the guardian of hi
to whom God has given both fait
science, he says, after thanking G
having given him such a constant
who refuses to believe the probal
false things reported of him by his en
"This is thy gift, O good Jesu
makest men to dwell with one m
a house. Far from hence," he con
"be all deceit: let peace and fra
come hither, so that he who inju
may injure both. Under the pro
of the power of Christ no tyranni
shall deter me from this resolutio
not the threats of kings, which i
Paschal festival we have so grievou
dured."§ In remonstrating wit
enemies of order, the clergy used ex
to avow that they desired tranquil
the solemn rites of religion. Th
Hilary of Poictiers said to an opp
government, "suffer the people to
their own pastors, that they may ce
in peace the divine mysteries, and c
your safety, free prayers."|| The c
however, in the middle ages, never t
of permanently suppressing her soler
in consequence of persons wishing
turb them; a danger to which the
always exposed. In general the c
thority lent its aid, as when King
II. wrote to the senechal of Lyons, to
him that the procession of the appro
festival of Corpus Christi render
cautions necessary to prevent the l
from interrupting it.¶ We may r
too, that the joy with which a rest
of peace was received left traces
liturgy. Pope Gregory the Great,

* De Gest. Phil. August. ap. Recueil d
de France, xviii.
† Annales Hildesahemenses ap. Leibnit
Bruns. illustrant.
‡ Baronius. § Epist. 2
|| Epist. ad Constant.
¶ Paradin. Hist. de Lyon. iii. 32.

red a peace on the festival of SS. ıise and Protasius, decreed, that the it on that day should be "Loquetur nus pacem."*

t it is not alone in the regular offices : universal church that we find the) of peace so fervently and religiously ssed, with indications of the difficulties intaining it. We find many ancient liturgical monuments which convey nilar testimony. The Litanee of mann, that used to be sung in the ıstery of St. Gall, contains these lines:

em perpetuam rogitamus, prospice, Christe,
:t sanæ vitæ gaudia longa diu."†

nother, used by the same monks, we :

'Ætheris blandos facilesque motus
Frugis et largos remeare quæstus,
Regibus vitam, populisque pacem
Da Pater orbis."

in the hymn for the festival of St.

'Temporum pacem, fidei tenorem,
Languidis curam, veniamque lapsis,
Omnibus præsta pariter beatæ
Munera vitæ."

ome ancient collections we find the ıl of a mass for peace.‡ In a sacra- tary which Martene found in the abbey 'auclair, at the prayer "Hanc igitur tionem," there was added, "which we to thee for peace and charity, and the y of the holy church, and for all the nolic people, for those who are in dis- ion and discord, that all may be re- d to charity and concord:"§ and in archives of the canons at Modena there ı sacramentary of Gregory the Great, tten in the ninth century, in which is nd "Missa contra tyrannos," from which may infer what was the ferocity of ny feudal lords.‖ Celebrated in the ldle ages was the antiphon Media Vita, ich was sung to invoke the protection God against the enemies of the church o disturbed the public peace.¶ "Media ı in morte sumus; quem quærimus jutorem nisi te Domine, qui pro peccatis stris juste irasceris. Sancte Deus, sancte tis, sancte et misericors Salvator amaræ morti ne tradas nos." Such were the words of this hymn, of which the origin and history are remarkable. It was composed by Notker Balbulus, who, born of a noble family in Zurich, became a monk of St. Gall, where he attained to eminence by his learning, his skill in music and poetry, and his knowledge of the holy Scriptures. "No one," says the historian of that abbey, "ever saw him unless either reading, writing, or praying: he wrote many spiritual songs: he was the most humble and meek of men, and most holy. The faint sound of a mill-wheel near the abbey induced him to compose a beautiful air applicable to some pious verses; and the looking down into the deep gulph at Martistobel, and the danger incurred by some labourers in building a bridge, whom he saw working over the abyss, suggested to him the celebrated song of Media Vita."* So far this old writer respecting the monk who composed it, who died in 912, and whose name was inscribed in the calendar of the saints by Pope Innocent III. So profound were the emotions inspired by this antiphon, that, in the thirteenth century, it was necessary to caution men against attaching to it a superstitious importance; for there was a disposition in some profane men to regard it in the light of a charm that could avert death, or cause the destruction of an enemy; so that in war it used to be sung by both sides with this intention, until the synod of Cologne, in 1316,† declared that no one should sing it without the bishop's permission.‡ Down to very late times it used to be sung at St. Gall every year on the Monday in Rogation week during a procession to an awful spot in a valley between lofty mountains, where the river was crossed by a bridge; and the people were still inclined to credit a wild legend respecting its origin, which was deemed mysterious. The devotion of the forty hours prayer instituted by a poor Capuchin friar, Joseph of Milan, was another exercise especially designed for times of public danger or calamity. This exercise was in memory of the interval during which the body of our Lord rested in the sepulchre.§

Besides these general and local supplications at all times, history mentions many particular occasions when God was solemnly

* Andreæ Danduli Chronic. vi. 2. p. 13. ap. Mur. e. It. Script. xii.
† Ap. Canisii Lect. Antiq. ii.
‡ Mansi append. ad Baluze Miscell. ii.
§ Voyage Lit. de deux Bénédict. 40.
‖ Muat. Antiq. It. diss. 46.
¶ Gerbert de Cantu Sacra.

* Eckehard Min. in vita.
† Can. 21. Albert. Concil. German.
‡ Ildefons von Arx Geschicht. des S. Gallen. i. 93.
§ Annales Capucinorum, an 1556.

invoked to grant peace. In 472, Sidonius Apollinaris celebrated the Rogations round the walls of Clermont, to obtain peace from the assaults of Euric. In a letter to St. Mamertus, he says, "It is reported that the Goths are in motion to invade the Roman territory, and it is always our unfortunate country which is the gate through which they pass. What gives us confidence in such peril is not our calcined ramparts, our worm-eaten machines of war, our battlements worn down by our breasts; but it is the holy institution of the Rogations which sustains us against the surrounding horrors."* Charlemagne, after taking counsel with his spiritual and temporal faithful, orders a fast of three days with abstinence from food and wine, till nones, at which hour all are to repair to the churches and sing the litanies; and among the causes which call for this is the continuance of war upon the borders of the pagans.† Charlemagne, in a letter to his wife Fastrada, relating his victory over the Huns, says, "During three days we made litanies supplicating the mercy of God, that He would deign to grant us peace."‡

Let us hear the old historians speak. In 1260, on occasion of great cruelties, men began to lash themselves at Perugia, and thence successively on the way to Rome. Peace was then made between many at Bologna; and twenty thousand men came from thence to Modena, and lashed themselves, and peace was then made between all the Modenese, that is, between those of Gorzano, Rodilia, and Gomola; and from all discords and wars they universally ceased; and more than twenty thousand of the Modenese went to Reggio and Parma; and those two cities made peace with each other.§ In 1260, says another, "The devotion of the flagellants prevailed in Lombardy. Then hermits came forth from their caves, and entering cities, preached the gospel. The citizens of Asti, with the bishop and clergy, went in procession, and, kneeling down in the public places, cried with a loud voice, 'Misericordia et pax nobis fiant.' In those days many discords were appeased."‖ "All the people of Parma," says another, "great and small, with the consuls and the Lord Podesta, went in these processions, and peace was made between those who were at war."* In 1261, says another, "by means of the devotion of the flagellants, who went about crying, 'Pax, pax!' many enmities and wars both new and old, in the city of Genoa, and throughout all Italy, were appeased, and exchanged for peace. Many who had committed homicide when they went against enemies, placed now their naked swords in the hands of their enemies, in order that they might take vengeance on them if they chose; but these foes threw the swords on the ground and prostrated themselves at the feet of their enemies, weeping, so as to move all who beheld them to piety and exultation of heart."†

Another writer says, that "the tyrants of cities, by edicts and fines, put a stop to this devotion of the people."‡ Philip de Valois opposed it, in 1349, in France, where according to the chronicles of St. Denis, there were as many as eight hundred thousand who practised it, amongst whom were many great men and gentlemen.

But there are still more admirable examples. Dante seems to have had a soul prophetic when he says, "I marked a tribe that walked as if attendant on their leaders, clothed with raiment of such whiteness as on earth was never:"§ for let us hear what Italy beheld seventy-seven years after his death. In 1398, says an ancient writer, "there was in Italy and other Christian nations, a certain wondrous movement of religion and ceremonies called 'the whites.' This began in the kingdom of Grenada, where a number of men and women clad in white linen went processionally through cities and towns, singing canticles and praying to God for the safety of the human race, and at intervals kneeling down vociferating, 'Misericordia Dio, misericordia.' This devotion spread through all Spain, thence into Gaul, and England, and Germany, and to other most distant regions, with an incredible similarity of ceremonies. It was on the 1st of September that four of the company of the whites, in that habit, came to Ferrara, who were received with admiration and devotion, because the fame had arrived before them; and on the 2d, which was Sunday, one of them preached in the great church, and explained the cause and manner of the institution, and related the miracles which had occurred in Spain.

* Epist. vii. 1.
† Ap. Martene, vet. Script. coll. tom. vii. 23.
‡ Ap. Duchesne, Script. Franc. ii. 187.
§ Annal. vet. Mutinensium, ap. Muratori Rer. Ital. Script. tom. xi.
‖ Chronic. Astense, c. i. ap. id. tom. xi.

* Chronic. Parmense, ap. id. tom. ix.
† Jacob. de Voragine Chronic. Januens. p. xii. c. 6. ap. id. tom. ix.
‡ Chronic. Francesci Pipini, Lib. iii. c. 36. ap. id. tom. ix.
§ Purg. 29.

There were more than four thousand persons at the sermon; after which a procession was made through the city, with all the clergy, and a multitude of the people of both sexes, and even of children, all clad in white. On the 8th of September, which was the feast of St. Mary, the illustrious lord marquis of Est, with his consort, the Lady Ziliola, and all the courtiers and nobles, with the bishops of Ferrara and Modena, and the patriarch of Jerusalem, and many other prelates, and all the clergy, assisted in the procession, clad in white. Going out of the town, they went in order to the suburb of Belflora, followed by an immense multitude; and there, in an open meadow, the bishop of Modena preached, and the numbers were about thirteen thousand. On the following days there were similar processions within and without the city to different churches. After which the said four persons departed to Padua and into the marshes of Trevisa, and to the province of Friuli, instituting everywhere the same ceremonies; and by these means many reconciliations were made, and all kinds of enemies brought to concord and peace."*

Another ancient writer thinks that this devotion first began in Ireland and Scotland.† It is curious to hear how the learned Leonardus Aretinus speaks while lamenting the cause which led to these processions. "At this time there was no rest from war. All works were martial. Louis of Anjou now came into Italy, and at his coming the Florentines and people of Arezzo were alarmed. In the dreadful night when our city was taken, that most cruel of all the nights I can remember, my father was cast into prison with John, bishop of Arezzo, and other great men of the side opposed to the conquerors; but because I was a boy, they placed me, not with the other captives, but in a more decent chamber, in which there was a picture of Francis Petrarch, which I daily gazed upon; and I was inflamed with an incredible ardour for his studies. Shortly after the departure of the French there was a wonderful movement of the people, for all the multitude put on white, and with certain penitential exercises proceeded to the neighbouring cities, crying peace and mercy. Truly it was an admirable and incredible thing. The peregrination lasted generally ten days, and the fast was on bread and water. No one was seen in the cities otherwise clad. There was free access to all towns, though but lately hostile. No one then attempted any kind of deceit or oppression. There was a tacit understanding between enemies to keep peace. The movement lasted about two months. Wonderful was the hospitality and benign entertainment then exercised by all cities one with the other. Whence this began is obscure. From the Alps it came into Cisalpine Gaul; and the people of Lucca were the first to come to Florence. At the sight of their procession the Florentines were seized with ardour, and they who before derided what they heard, were the first to put on white; and, as if impelled by God, joined the processions. An innumerable multitude of the Florentines proceeded then to Arezzo, and others went to other places; and wherever they came, the people of the place did the same."*

Let us hear a Dominican friar speak of this devotion. "In 1400, in the month of September, there was a wonderful event in Italy, for at that time multitudes of men and women clothed themselves in white, and went about carrying the cross or the standard of some saint; and when the body of Christ was raised at the altar, they used to cry often, 'Misericordia, misericordia.' And I remember, while celebrating at the altar of St. James, that I was terrified at the novel kind of clamour. But they went processionally like brothers, some singing 'Misericordia, Signor' Iddio, non guardate al nostro errore,' and others sung, 'Stabat Mater dolorosa;' and thus each society had its song: and they fasted nine days, and some went barefoot. Some bishops and some monks went with them to lords of states and castles too, and preached to them; and many were reconciled to each other, who had before been mortal enemies, and some bore candles in their hands; and they went thus, singing day and night: and coming from the mountains and other adjacent places, there were about twenty thousand persons in the great square of Friuli. And the same occurred in all other cities, excepting in the wise Venice."†

Let us hear another account. In 1399, on a Saturday, a company of men and women from Soncino Galerano, Anteriate, Fontanella, Covo, and Rumano, in number about 1300, clad all in white, came to

* Jacob. de Delayto Annales Estenses ap. Muratori Rer. Ital. Script. tom. xviii.

† Annales Forolivienses, ap. id. tom. xxii.

* Leonardi Aretini Commentarius, ap. id. tom. xix.

† Fra. Hieron. Chronicon Foroliviense, ap. Muratori Rer. Ital. Script. tom. xix.

Coloniola, singing litanies, and crying peace and mercy; and in that place the Lord John, lately a knight of Lord Baldinus, gave them abundant wine; and at the hour of vespers they came to the gates of the outskirts of Bergamo, and the citizens carried out to them meat and drink in abundance: and on the Sunday the priests who were among them celebrated an infinite number of masses without the gate of Oxio; and then an eloquent priest preached about the duty of making peace between Christians; and more than six thousand of the Bergomese came to this sermon; and he said that they ought to observe nine days, and then, being truly penitent and confessed, they should be absolved. He said that six thousand English and French had lately gone to Rome clad in white, with the same object. After hearing him, all the clergy of Bergamo, with the nobles, judges, physicians, and other good men, in great numbers, and with an infinite multitude of women, made a procession on Sunday to the church of St. Alexander the greater, and there after mass brother James de Urio, a Dominican friar, preached, and on the Monday they made a procession to the village of St. Andrea to the church of St. Vincent, where another friar of the same order preached, and on the Tuesday there was a similar procession, and many masses were celebrated in the church of great St. Mary, and there preached brother Aloysius de Scalve of the order of Minors; and on the Wednesday the procession was to the villages of St. Stephano and of Oxio, and returning through Coloniola they entered the church of St. Stephen, and there, after many masses, brother James de Urio, the Dominican, preached. In the name of the eternal God, and of the blessed Virgin mother Mary, amen; and to their praise, and the glory of the blessed martyrs, Alexander and Vincent, I record and write that on this Wednesday, the 27th of August, a vast multitude of men and women of the cities and villages and district of Bergamo, assembled on the mountain of Fara in number ten thousand and more; and all unanimously cried out, "Peace and mercy." On that mountain many masses were said by the bishop of Milan and brothers James de Urio, Oprandinus de Cene, Petrus de St. Pelegrino, and Aloysius de Scalve, with certain brothers of the order of Hermits, and all the canons and clergy of the churches of St. Vincent and Alexander, and all the clergy of Bergamo; and there was a solemn sermon devoutly preached by the venerable brother John de Rumano, of the order of Hermits; and there were present John de Urio, Pantaleon de Roxiate, and Antonio de Barillis, judges, besides procurators and other good men and many noble women of the city, as the ladies Clement de Gronago, Franceschina de Lancis, Bona de la Sale, and others. Then they went in great order two by two to the village of St. Laurence, where they halted; and the Lord John de Castiliono seeing them, made proclamation by the public crier of Bergamo, that they must depart from that village, and move elsewhere for lodging; whereupon the company decreed to proceed to the Ponte S. Pietro, and there they rested; and that night they all spent in the territory of Ponte, and Curno, and Maragolda; and then the Lord John de Castiliono made proclamation that all banished persons might come securely to the said processions; and they came on this safe conduct; and the people of each village and parish carried its banner, of which there were more than forty; and then, on that mountain of Fara, peace was made between many citizens. On the Thursday the procession was made through St. Gervaise, and Capriate, and Brembato, and Gridignano; and peace was made between infinite numbers of the men of Bergamo and others: and on the Friday they passed the night at Pontita and the places about; and again many durable reconciliations were effected: and on the Saturday they remained in the same region, and made peace between great numbers, as for instance, between Salvinum, of the castle of St. Gallo, in the name of his sons, who had slain Mazola of the valley of St. Pellegrino, and John of that valley, and other relations of the said Mazola: and on the Sunday the blessed company, which by this time was estimated at sixteen thousand persons, all clad in white, came to Lemen; where it remained also on the Monday and the Tuesday, making peace between an infinite number of persons; only that on the Monday two hundred of the company went to Zonio to make peace between the men of Ultra Agugia and those of Cornello, of St. John, and certain others of the communes of the valley of Brembana; and on the Wednesday the blessed company came to the mountain of Fara; and celebrated peace between many; and one most remarkable was that between Bertosolo and the brother of Bosellis, and their adherents, on the one hand, and John de Bosellis and his sons, and Patasellus and Lotta of Bosellis, and their adherents, on the other; and about nones on Wednesday they left the mountain, and went to pass the

in the territory of upper and lower
o and of Nimbo, making peace be-
multitudes; and on the Thursday
aid company, which now amounted to
y thousand persons and more, remained
and in the adjoining districts; and
was made between those of Cumen-
and of Desinzano and their adherents,
f upper Albino on the one hand, and
of lower Albino with their adherents
e other; and on that day about one
and of the blessed brigade went to
nica and Vertua, and made peace
en many Guelphs and Gibellines. On
riday, the blessed company, all clad in
, came back to the mountain of Fara;
t was about the eighteenth hour; and
peace was made between innumerable
ns, and forgiveness was passed for all
cides, robberies, and injuries of every
; and the sermon was preached by
er Aloysius de Scalve, of the order of
rancis; and he dismissed the multitude
benedictions, and all returned to their
ations; and the said brother, in his
on, said that every one of them ought
y a Pater and an Ave ever afterwards,
mory of the said blessed company, and
der that the Lord God might preserve
d and tranquil peace.*

eorge Stella, who describes as an eye-
ss the processions of the whites in
a in 1388, says that they began in Pro-
. He cites the "Stabat Mater" as a
n then sung for the first time, and with
as which had especial reference to the
e of peace and order which then moved
eople. Thus they sung:

"Alma salus advocata
Morte Christi desolata
Miserere populi,
Virgo dulcis, virgo pia,
Virgo clemens, O Maria,
Audi preces servuli."

hildren of twelve years sung the alter-
verses, the rest being chaunted in full
us, and at the end of every three stan-
ll joined in singing 'Stabat Mater do-
a,' often falling on the ground, and with
ud voice crying thrice, 'Misericordia,'
thrice 'Peace,' afterwards repeating the
r, and some short prayers in Latin.
s devotion was practised all through the
oese territory. In Pulcifera there had
a most odious enmities, which were then
ienly appeased. In Genoa, goods which
been seized in times of war, were now
ored to their rightful owners; many
miracles occurred in and near the city. At Vulturo, a boy, who had been laid out dead for three hours, only without the paleness of death, whose mother then interceded, rose up sound and well, while the multitude were crying thrice 'Misericordia;' seeing which, many of the Genoese who had before derided the holy processions, were moved with zeal and the fear of God. It was on Saturday, the 5th of July, that they first entered Genoa from the valley of Pulcifera, being about five thousand persons. Some nobles who were then residing in their country villas, took leave of their families and joined the crowd, putting on white. Each church sent its clergy and its cross to the procession; thus they moved in order two by two. The citizens of Genoa stood still, looking on in great sweetness of spirit and contrition; and on hearing them cry out 'Peace and mercy,' many burst into tears. Passing through the city, they proceeded as far as the Basilica of St. Mary de Monte Bisanno, and afterwards returned home. On Monday, 7th of July, the archbishop having convoked the clergy in the cathedral, sung solemnly the mass of the Holy Ghost, in order to prepare the minds of the citizens for the salutary gift of peace. That vast church could not contain the multitude. It is said that lights were seen in the air over the Basilica of St. Maria Coronata, and of St. Lorenza. On that day a vast crowd from the valley of Vulturro came to the city about nones, and the boy who had been dead was with them, whom they carried on their shoulders, as the people pressed too close in order to touch him. That night a boy who had been lame for six years, so that he could not walk without crutches, prayed to God that he might be healed as the other boy, and that night he recovered the use of his limbs. The citizens of Genoa went to confession, and demanded forgiveness one from the other. On Thursday the 10th of July, many received the Eucharist at the mass of the Aurora; after which, all the citizens, the nobles, the delegates of the people, the matron, the virgins, the widows, the boys, and children, and servants, all in white, proceeded following the clergy to the cathedral, where was the archbishop of Genoa, James de Flisco, on a horse, because through old age he could not walk, but the horse was covered with white; and then bearing the sacred relics, the whole procession moved on to the gate of the monastery of St. Thomas, and to that of St. John de Pavairano: the number may be estimated, since the whole population of

* Chronicon Bergomense, ap. id. tom. xvi.

Genoa was present; and, between many, peace was made; and as they passed along, the villages sent forth their inhabitants, girt with a cord. This was done by the people during nine days, exclusive of the Sunday, walking for a great part of the night; and during the whole time all labour was suspended as on Sundays. On one of these days the brothers of the order of Minors bore the relics of their church, and on another, the Dominicans carried theirs; and on the Sunday the laymen of the city, who were of the fraternity in memory of the flagellation of Jesus, made their procession. This devotion of the city spread along the eastern shore, so that in Clavari and Rapalli, where were most acute hatreds, that spiritual rite restored sincere peace to Gibelline and Guelph. These ceremonies ended on Saturday, and on the Monday following, the people resumed their works. From Genoa this devotion extended to Pisa and to Rome. At Savona, the townsmen refused to admit the procession, until every one laid aside the white, for they feared some design against their town. At Venice, the jealousy was stronger, so that the Dominicans, who wished to establish it, were even fined. At first, John Galeazo, duke of Milan, refused to allow it in some of his cities, through fear of a sedition; but when he fell sick, he permitted it, and the processions were made with great devotion of the people.*

* Georgii Stellæ Annales Genuenses ap. Muratori Rer. Ital. Script. tom. xvii.

The anonymous author of a Paduan chronicle says, "this devotion so pleased the people, that many on their death-beds used to desire themselves to be clothed after their decease in the white habit, and carried to their graves by men similarly clad, which used to cause great compassion in the beholders;" and Muratori remarks, that "this was the origin of the custom still prevalent in Italy, of clothing the dead in white."* I can find but one contemporary writer who speaks of it with disrespect, and his whole style is pagan. He calls it "the new superstition which descended from the Alps into Italy." He expresses disgust at every one wearing white without distinction, of rustics and citizens, servants and masters, and at their sleeping in the open air like cattle; yet he does not charge them with a single fault.† After what we have seen, methinks the reader may be left to form his own judgment of the modern historians who have dwelt upon these events with a view to expose the barbarism and ignorance of the middle ages.

The speedy effects of this supplication have led us to details, of which we shall see more hereafter. Let us retrace our steps, and inquire what was the kind of peace that the children of beatitude expected and obtained on earth.

* Antiq. It. lxxv.

† Platinnæ Hist. Mantuanæ, Lib. iv. ap. id. tom. xx.

CHAPTER IV.

HE peace which is invoked for us by bishops, as the successors of the Apostles, in celebrating the sacred mysteries, when they say 'Pax vobis,' is e worldly and uncertain, but the divine ernal peace which our Lord bequeathed disciples, when he announced to them, in the world they should have tribula-

" So writes Florus, in the year 840, e reign of Charles the Bald, in his ful exposition of the mass.*

e sole good, according to the school, the Prince of Peace has promised in fe to his disciples and to his elect, is , not of the body, but of the breast,† of heart—tranquillity! the sovereign vainly sought in heathen schools of ophic lore. With magic incantations goras of old was said to tranquillize ind of mourners, and restore distem- bosoms to apparent peace.‡ Cicero s of certain chaunts and precepts which depts of that school used to deliver ly in order to impart tranquillity;§ to Horace also makes allusion.‖ These e pomps of orators. What they sought e, in the hearts of men in ages of faith ace. "A peace unsung by poets, and ators unpraised, which monarchs could ant, nor all the powers of earth and onfederate take away."

dversity," says one of them, "is to man according to his interior. The dness of one man cannot hurt another remains innocent. If you are good, imple, and devout, no one can take your peace, unless you voluntarily re- it."¶

Although horrible thunder and light- came from the throne," says another, the seven lamps continued to burn uilly before it, and in the midst of the est were not extinguished. So no diffi- culty or terror can disturb the peace of holy men."*

The world, in the middle ages, was filled, as we have seen, with war and misery, while were fulfilling, as St. Thomas shows, the words of the prophet, who said that of peace there would be no end; for he spoke of that interior tranquillity which those enjoyed who all the while sat, unappalled, in calm and sinless peace.

Let us hear how they explain this mystery. In a two-fold manner, according to Nicolas de Lyra, there can be peace in the mind—by human affection, and by divine affection, or by beatitude, which was a gift, creating a state of peace, and bearing its fruits. " Peace of beatitude," says Dionysius the Carthusian, " is when the mind, by charity, rests in the true good."† " In the love of God," says St. Augustin, " alone is rest, such as eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, nor the heart of man conceived."‡ " It is God alone," says St. Thomas, " who can give quiet to the desires of man, and make him happy."§ Without an union with the sacred heart of Jesus never can peace and human nature meet. " This is the true rest of the heart," says Hugo of St. Victor, "when it is fixed by desire in the love of God; when it seeks nothing else, but is delighted with a certain happy security in Him."‖ Then cease the toils of the imagination, those wide-wandering errors which drove it round the world: the floods of passion, swollen with horrid woes, are calmed, love divine heals man's distraction, and with gentle hand soothes him to peace.

" Think that God and you are alone in the world," says another, "and you will have great rest in your heart."¶ He to whom all things are one, and who refers all things to one, and sees all in one, can have a firm heart, and remain at peace in God."**

Flori Magistri opus de exposit. Missæ, ap. ene vet. Script. Collect.
St. Thom. de Reg. Princ. iii. 16.
Porphyr. de Vita Pyth. 65.
Tuscul. iv. ‖ Ep. i.
Thom. à Kempis Epist.

* Nieremberg. Doct. Ascet. Lib. iv. iii. 26.
† De Pace Interna, i.
‡ De Catechiz. Rudibus.
§ De Regim. Princep. 8.
‖ Erudit. Theol. Miscell. Lib. i. tit. 171.
¶ Thom à Kempis de Discip. Claust. c. vi.
** Imit.

"A man will have no rest," says the Abbot Allois, "until he can say from his heart, I and God are alone in this world."* As St. Augustin says, "God cares for each of us as if He cared for him alone; and for all as for each."† Or, as St. Gregory says, "God has regard to each man as if He had no thought for all; and He has regard for all as if He had no thought for each."‡ "With a certain simplicity of purity," says Albert the Great, "imagine that you are alone with God, out of the world, as if your soul were already separated from the body in eternity, and, therefore, no longer concerned about secular things, nor caring for the state of the world, neither for peace nor war, nor fine weather, nor rain, nor for any thing, but adhering only to God, and totally fixed on Him."§ "Cease to think many things," says an ascetic: "join yourself to one: let others seek many and external things. Do you seek one internal good, and it will suffice to you. Behold, one man seeks a villa, another goes to his merchandize, another heaps up gold and silver, another desires pleasure and honour, another friends and relations, another delights in visiting his neighbours, another repairs to cities and castles, and, led by the desire of the eyes, traverses various parts of the world; another labours for wisdom, power, authority. Thus there are few who seek one thing purely and simply, therefore, few there are who find peace."‖ Again, he says, "Between the hope of good and the fear of evil the secular and carnal heart continually fluctuates: because the anchor of hope is not fixed in a celestial desire, where all goods abound and perpetually endure;" "while others," as Dionysius the Carthusian says, "find that nothing is sweeter in the present life than to adhere, with a tranquil mind, to the Omnipotent God, the fountain of all excellence,"¶ not praying for what they wish, but for what He may choose to send, according to the sublime answer of Thymarida, of whom old philosophy so justly boasts,** "You speak of what may happen," says Marsilius Ficinus, "approve of whatever may follow, as done by God." Cardan says, "Whatever happened to me through life I knew would happen, yet saving free-will; and I never wished any thing to happen otherwise than it did. This alone grieves me, if I offend God in any manner, for he is the Author of all good, ar thought alone sometimes distresses Thus one perceives that the lay philos of the middle ages held the same lan "There are two causes," says Cardan the great misery of man; for wh things are vain and empty, man seeks thing which is full and solid, and ever thinks that he wants that solid; and he seeks, and does not find it, he i mented; but much more, when found what he sought, for he then that he has been deceived, and som else must be sought; for always th something wanting, and so Augustus plained that he wanted friends."† alone has peace whose heart rests in all other men," he says, "float on a te tuous sea, with their cargoes of honours, magistracies, and acquaintanc princes."‡ "When the worldly mind," Petrarch, "does attain to the object desire, still it cannot rest."§ So ex the modern bard:—

"Alas, that love should be a blight and s
To those who seek all sympathies in one
Such once I sought in vain; then black d
The shadow of a starless night, was thro
Over the world, in which I moved alone.

How unlike the Catholic poet, whom with secret vision, leads on to peace! exclaims Michael Angelo, to one wh loved, "it was not a mortal object presented itself to my view when the splendour of thine eyes first shone upo and my soul hoped to find in them the of heaven, which is always its sole e "Detached from the world, to seek a calm in thee, O Lord, I come like bark, long tempest-tossed. Thy t crown, thy wounded hands, thy b humble countenance, are a pledge t troubled soul of an immense atone and of its fruit, salvation."¶ "No says Hugo Victorinus again, "can b or afflicted unless in that thing whic loves; therefore, he who loves Him who can never be taken away, cannot i way be injured."** The one remains many change and pass: cities and p are transitory—high temples fade like v —God alone remains, whose will has when all beside is gone.

* Doroth. Doct. 7. † Conf. iii. 2.
‡ Mor. xxv. 19. § De adhærendo Deo, c. 8.
‖ Thom. à Kempis, Soliloq.
¶ De arcta Via Sal.
** Jamb. de Pyth. Vita, 28.

* De Libris propriis.
† De Vita propria, Lib. ii. 49.
‡ De Utilitate ex Advers. cap. i. 4.
§ Epist. ii. 12. ‖ Sonnet i
¶ Son. xxviii.
** Exposit. in Cœlest. Hierarch.

"Worldly men," says St. Thomas, "who are not joined to God by love, have tribulations without peace; but holy men, who have God in their hearts by love, although they have tribulations from the world, in Christ they have peace."* All others only seek to blunt the keenness of their spiritual sense with narrow schemings and unworthy cares, or 'madly rush through all violent crime to move the deep stagnation of their souls.'" St. Augustin speaks of one, who, being asked why he wished to become a Christian, replied, "On account of the future rest." To whom he answered, "Thanks be to God. Brother, I congratulate you: that, amidst the tempests and perils of this world, you have thought about some true and certain security; for in this life men, with great labours, seek for rest and security, but do not find them: for they wish to rest in unquiet things, which remain not; and because these pass, and are withdrawn, they are agitated with fears and sorrows, which prevent them from having rest."† "Believe me," says St. Augustin, "it is good for us to adhere to God to be attached to the Divine will. This is heaven out of heaven." "Peace," says St, Bonaventura, "is the state in which there is delectation in God, without efficacious contradiction from the flesh, the world, or the Devil; therefore, peace is the state of the most purified souls, and, consequently, above all, the pacific are said to be sons of God; for though mercy makes man most resemble God as far as external works, yet peace more assimilates him, as far as internal works."‡

What new sounds are these to men conversant only with the works of the philosophers, and what concord! "One voice comes forth from many a mighty spirit, recalling the echo of primeval years, and the tumultuous world stands mute to hear it, as some lone man who in a desert hears the music of his home. Truth's deathless voice is heard among mankind; and though from multitudes there were no responses to her cry, though there were men to rise and stamp with blind fury on their pure names who loved them, still there were many who, at the summons, yielded up their hearts, and found peace."

After reading Cicero's Tusculan Disputations, or any other ancient treatise relating to the art of tranquillizing minds, if one takes up the Catholic works on the same subject, one experiences a most singular impression. The twentieth chapter of the third book of the Imitation, for instance, will then give rise to other reflections besides such as are merely pious: for it will be clear at once from the contrast, that some great change has been accomplished in the world of thought. We should never think then of saying, that this is a writer of a superior school, and of a higher philosophy; for a conviction immediately ensues that some extraordinary fact has occurred in the intellectual world, like those revolutions which we find to have taken place in the physical structure of the globe. The transition is so sudden, the intervening space so immense, that one can only sink upon one's knees, as if one heard "the angel who came down to earth with tidings of the peace so many years wept for in vain, that opened the heavenly gates from their long interdict."* The angel of the school in few words relates this fact. "At the opening of the side of Christ, there has been opened the gates of Paradise: his blood being shed, the stains are washed out. God is appeased, weakness is removed, sin is expiated, exiles are recalled to the kingdom."† Thus then according to the holy martyr Boniface, the blessed were pacific first by having peace established between themselves and God, observing what He prescribes, and flying from what He hates.‡ "Conformity with Him," says St. Bonaventura, "is the first fountain of peace,"§ "without the dignity of which peace," as St. Leo says, "there are only similarities of wicked desires and treaties of vices." "This peace," says Peter of Blois, "is followed by eternal peace, and the Lord gives both, as is written, Peace upon peace the Lord will give."‖ To the preservation of this actual peace between the mind and God, all other kinds of peace were directed; for hear what St. Bonaventura says, "it is a high degree of concord to agree with all men as far as one can, in order that all perturbations may be avoided. It is a still higher to agree with all men for the sake of one's own quiet, lest one should be afflicted in one's self. It is the highest to agree with all men, lest on account of disquietude of heart, God should be for a long or short time alienated from the man, or he from God. In all these degrees was Christ."¶ Here might be long delay to mark what peace resulted to the intelligence from the

* Lect. viii. in Joan. xvi.
† De Catech. Rudibus.
‡ Compend. Theol. Veritatis, Lib. v. c. 54.

* Dante, Purg. x.
† S. Thom. opusc. vi. 6.
‡ S. Bonifacii Mart. Serm. iv. de Octo Beat. ap. Martene, vet. Script. ix.
§ Dietæ Salut. vii. 6. ‖ Epist. xlviii.
¶ De Gradibus Virtutum, c. 19.

submission of the will to God. With what a tranquil heart does St. Bonaventura treat upon the awful mysteries of predestination and reprobation, and how clearly does he perceive that necessity is excluded!* Be at rest is his conclusion, the present is thine own, and love and joy can make the poor heart become a paradise, where peace will for ever dwell. Rest from superstition was another fruit of being at peace with God. The letter of Peter of Blois to the friend who asked whether the fall of a certain master into a ditch of water, was not foreshown by his having met the monk William of Blois that morning on first leaving his house, is an excellent reply to those who imagine that men of the middle ages were unacquainted with this rest. He shows how Satan only attempts to destroy the peace of the heart by vain curiosity, and concludes with these words: "It is my opinion that Master G. would have incurred the danger of submersion, although he had met with no monk on his way."† "The Christian law having forbidden us to observe omens, they have rightly grown obsolete," says Cardan.‡ Peace with the evils of life in general, was a grand result from this restored harmony between the soul and its Creator. "Verum tamen in imagine pertransit homo, sed et frustra conturbatur;" "for his trouble," adds John of the Cross, "can be of no use to him, so that a spiritual man is preserved from the misery of the world: for if the whole world were reversed, it would be in vain that man would vex himself, and the soul would receive more harm than good; whereas if it supported patiently all these disorders, it would learn to judge more justly of its adversaries, and to apply the remedy with more facility and success."§ "Yes," says S. Gregory Nazianzen, "all that has occurred requires on our part courage, a great courage: who can doubt it, my dear Theodore? We have seen our altars profaned; our mysteries troubled; placed ourselves between the most sacred objects of our worship and those who assailed us with stones, we have found the only remedy for our wounds in prayer. The chaste shame of virgins, the modesty of monks, the misfortunes of the poor, nothing has been respected. Notwithstanding all this, what can we do better than have recourse to patience and gentleness, than give to our brethren a strik ample of endurance and of peace?" effective in Christians was the spe of the ancient poet, who says that the best, adding,

Μάτην γὰρ οὐδὲν ἀξίωμα δαιμόνων ἔχω

In no approved work of the midd do we find any trace of the dispos cavil at or "sadly blame the jarri inexplicable frame of this wrong Illustrious lord and complaining ble, is the salutation which Don de Guevara addresses to Don D Velasques, constable of Castille, him on his habit of filling his lett complaints. There was always monitor for the Catholic hero, if time like Achilles, he horribly *σμερδαλέον δὲ ᾤμωξεν.* "Why shoul our peevish opposition take it to was the reply. Fie! 'tis a fault to a fault to nature, to reason most whose common voice proclaims th be so. Accordingly he is at pea whatever God sends, and finds, even the uses of adversity." He knows, as sius the Carthusian says, "that ther a beauty even from the evils and of nature in its present state;"† an Thomas says, "that God would not evils in the world, unless good result them, to the utility and beauty universe."‡ "Malos pro Deo toler superare," says Wipo to the son of t peror Conrad, adding, "what will tolerate for Christ for you crucified?" the death of sinners is wished by th High, who wished to die himself for says Richard of Bury, "but that we raise the fallen and correct the perv a spirit of gentleness."‖ "Whoev not tolerate evil men," says St. G "bears witness against himself by tolerance, that he is not good." "we have not the power to correct," s Augustin, "we must tolerate." "] meek pacific heart for all men, wl may be their offences," says St. Bonav "for if you ought not to seek fam with a man on account of the defor his life, let not the evil which he ha himself so displease you, as to ma hate the good which he has nov

* Compend. Theol. Lib. i. 29—31.
† Epist. lxv.
‡ De Utilitate ex Advers. cap. ii. 5.
§ *Ascent of Mt. Carmel.*

* Soph. Œd. Col. 1451.
† Dionys. C. de Venustate Mundi, 22.
‡ De Regim. Princip. i. 9.
§ Ap. Martene Vet. Script. t. ix.
‖ Philobiblion, c. 6.

nature, and which he will perhaps soon have from grace, for the vicious are often converted."* But it was not alone the just who were tranquil under the hand that inflicted injury, we find in the middle ages that there was provision made for inspiring guilty men with a disposition to regard the sufferings which they underwent, as the earnest of a blessed peace which was for them as if personally prepared. By crime they were not so destroyed, but that the eternal love might turn while hope retained her verdant blossom. The rite of public penance for homicide in the thirteenth century, or the form of sending penitents to prison, shows that men who had committed crimes were at peace with the evils which were their punishment, and that the prison itself became a holy place, designed for spirits going on to blessedness. Let us hear the formula which was composed in 1220. "On the fourth feria in the beginning of Lent the penitent who for homicide is to undergo imprisonment, ought first to receive penance for all his other sins from his parish priest. After this he is to come to the church with his confessor before the penitentiary, who is to ask him whether he has been to confession, and whether for that homicide he wishes to enter the prison; and then on his answering rightly, the penance is imposed in this manner. Through the whole of Lent, except on Sundays, he fasts on bread and water, and makes one hundred genuflexions, and says one hundred paternosters by day and one hundred and ten by night. To no one he must speak till the hour of tierce, nor after compline; nor must he wash his hands: the priest alone must give him food each day. He must sleep in his clothes, and upon straw. The prison being chosen, the penitentiary goes with him to the place, and on arriving before it the penitent lays aside his former dress, and all linen, and puts on a rough tunic and cap. Then the penitentiary asks him whether he is truly penitent for all his sins: and if he rightly answers, he tells him to cast himself prostrate on the earth before the prison, and say thrice 'Mea culpa peccavi, Domine, miserere mei.' After the third time the priest begins 'Deus, in adjutorium meum intende,' and says the seven penitential psalms, with the litanies and prayers. After this the priest sprinkles the prison with holy water, and incenses the whole place in every part with blessed incense. Then coming to the penitent, who still lies on the earth, he gives him holy water and incense, and then taking him by the hand he leads him into the prison, and repeats this prayer, 'Commendamus tibi, Domine, famulum tuum in vita præsenti, ut ab omni malo eum eripias, et intercedente beata Maria semper virgine, cum omnibus sanctis ipsum ad vitam perducas æternam.' Then he admonishes him to give alms thrice of the bread brought to him, and let one loaf alone be of such quantity that with the residue he may be able to support himself."* Alas! those who now endeavour to discover the best discipline for prisons, when disappointed of their aim, might learn somewhat from this passage, if they could be brought to believe that Heaven's supreme decree can ever bend to supplication, and that love's flame in a short moment all fulfils. "In times of unreflecting violence," says Michelet, "of crime without depravity, pity was all on the side of the guilty. The old laws style him paternally 'the poor sinner.'"† The very word for him in old French signified the unhappy.‡ "Great care must be taken," says St. Gregory, "lest the inordinate defence of justice should pass into pride, and so while rectitude is incautiously loved, humility, the mistress of rectitude, be lost."§ But to return to those of whom peace with God was the uninterrupted state. Of such men we may truly say that with the evils of this mortal life, in general, they were at peace—at peace with evil men, at peace with whatever Providence permitted. With the same tranquillity of heart, Sir Thomas More regarded the tyrant who condemned him to death, and the destruction of his property by the fire, in 1529, which he describes in his letter from Woodstock; so that the poet unconsciously does but express the Catholic mind, when saying,

"Gentleness, virtue, wisdom, and endurance,
These are the seals of that most firm assurance,
Which bars the pit over Destruction's strength.
These are the spells by which to re-assume
An empire o'er the disentangled doom.
To suffer woes which Hope thinks infinite;
To forgive wrongs darker than death or night;
To love and bear, to hope, this is to be
Good, great, and joyous, beautiful and free;
This is alone life, joy, empire, and victory."

* De Institut. Novitiorum, c. xi.

* Murat. Antiq. Ital. Dissert. lxviii.

† Origines du Droit, xl.

‡ Méchant, in the chronicles of St. Denis, is used for mal chanceux. Racine was the first to say, "le bonheur des méchans." Paulin Paris. Note ad an. 1340.

§ Lib. Mor. 25.

With regard to the judgment of the middle ages, there can be no exaggeration here. St. Bernard has peace with abuses, and prescribes it to all superiors. "Some abuses," he says, "may exist without involving men in censure: for some use all these things as not using them, and, therefore, with no offence, or as little as possible; and some do this through simplicity, some through charity, some through necessity, some simply hold this because it is prescribed to them, being ready to act otherwise if it were otherwise prescribed; and some do so lest they should live discordantly with those with whom they dwell, following in these things not their own desire, but the peace of others; and others do so because they are not able to resist the multitude of contradictors who defend these things."* Had the apostate of Erfurt followed the advice given him by Staupitius, who used to say when he complained of others, "Abi in cellam et ora," he would not have had to say at the close of his life, "I am the enemy of the world, I know nothing in all life in which I have pleasure. I am quite weary of living." But as St. Augustin says, the heretics have not peace. "For peace," he adds, "forbids us to judge of things uncertain, like the hearts of others. Peace is more prone to believe well of men, than to suspect them. Peace orders us to believe well even of the evil; whereas heresy judges and condemns;"† "they hate peace," he says again, "who separate themselves, saying that they wish not to mix with the unjust; but this is not our doctrine. They who humbly bear with the evil for a time, will come themselves to eternal rest; this is the Catholic voice. They say, Touch not the unclean,—be separate; and we say, Love peace, love unity. You know not those from whom you separate yourselves. Love peace: Christ is love, Christ who is our peace, and has made both one: how can you then be pacific, if when Christ has made one of two, you should make two of one?"‡ Peace with the changes that occur in all human things was also formally inculcated. "It is a sign of the divine spirit," says Cardinal Bona, "to follow those works, which are peculiarly accommodated to the age in which we live. For it is clear that a different mode of leading men to salvation is observed by God in different ages. Thus to go no further back than the Christian æra, at first it is by the visible descent of the Holy Ghost, then by martyrdom, then by the writings of doctors confuting heresy."* As with the changes of the world, so with those of their own life, the silent work of years, men were then sweetly and unostentatiously at peace. We find no allusion to it in any solemn discourse of senators, as imparting a sad privilege. What a picture does Petrarch give of the last years of Garcius, who closed a holy life of one hundred and four years on his birth-day in the same bed in which he was born, in the midst of a sweet crowd of children and grandchildren, speaking of God, and with his last breath saying, "in pace, in idipsum dormiam et requiescam! O with what delight," he exclaims, "have I lived with these old men! Who will feel displeasure at the thought of becoming old, when he remembers that such men were old, or rather who would not rejoice to resemble them even in their age! Let us struggle no longer against nature, but resign ourselves gladly to age and death."† In fact, he invokes no impossibility, for with sickness and death, as we before incidentally observed, men in ages of faith showed themselves to be unfeignedly at peace. The chronicles of St. Denis after describing the anguish and distress occasioned to Louis le gros in his last days, from the quantity of medicine ordered for him, add, "that all the time he was sweet and gentle, and amiable and kind, and that he received all as if he felt no ill."‡ The memory of their own meekness as evidence of their conformity, conduced to peace with death, for they could then truly say of themselves, "memento, Domine, David; et omnis mansuetudinis ejus." "Compare, I beseech you," says St. Ailred, "with all the riches, delights, and honours of the world, this one privilege of Christ's servants, they fear not death."§ The men in ages of faith who lived so much in temples, who received daily Christ as if in their arms, "who thus," as St. Ambrose says, "saw life, could not, as he argues, have seen death." "The death of Christ," as St. Bernard reminds the Knights Templars, "was the death of their death, because he died that we might live."‖ "Death," says Marsilius Ficinus, "is the end of dying." When John Bonvisia of Lucca, a Minor, was dying in 1472

* De Præcepto et Dispensatione, c. 8.
† In Ps. cxlvii. ‡ In. Ps. cxix.

* De Discretione Spirituum, c. viii.
† Epist. Lib. vi. 3. ‡ Ad an. 1137.
§ Spec. Charitatis.
‖ Exhort. ad Mil. Templi, 2.

ıvent of St. Mary of the Angels
ım, to the physician asking, "if
d for any thing?" he replied,
but death and God."* Thus
ːed what the ancient poet fanci-

ax illis cum morte data est."†

ː, we read upon an ancient tomb,

vos lacrimis dulces cum conjuge natæ
temque Deo credite flere nefas."‡

ː may go farther still, for as with
with the grave itself, the pacific
eace. There was peace with the
ːause Christ had hallowed it by
ı it. O wondrous power of faith,
n so that grim dwelling for the
ıor partner! St. Bernard says,
ıong spots dear and venerable, the
ː holds a principle place;" and
l of Jerusalem, citing Isaia, "erit
sepultura ejus," adds, "for by
ılture he made peace between
nd earth."§ In a garden he was
ı the earth, that the malediction
ı might be eradicated, and hence,
the cemeteries of the ages of faith
n spots of natural beauty. In the
ıs, the imagery is all designed to
ıeerfulness,—we see only paintings
s and fruits: the tomb was made
n engaging and almost smiling as-
St. Denis, the church of tombs, is
ːs Michelet, "a sombre and sad
ːcropolis, but glorious and trium-
rilliant with faith and hope, vast
ıout shade, like the soul of the
ıo built it; light and airy, as if
ːigh upon the dead, or hinder their
pward to the starry spheres."‖ The
a remembrance of the holy sepul-
ınciled men in ages of faith to their
esture resting in the tomb, is indi-
that intense interest inspired by it,
ːpears in the writings of St. Augus-
. Cyrill of Jerusalem, and Bede;** he popular opinion that the object usades was to recover it, as when the monk of Cassino and bishop of ıa, entitled his poem, written in De transitu Peregrinorum ad Sepul- Domini."†† In order that so holy a monitor of peace with the grave might be every where present, sepulchres were erected in churches in imitation of it. Thus we read that on the return of the Milanese from the holy land, they built in Milan a church resembling that of the holy sepulchre. Peter Adornes is said to have made three journeys from Flanders to Jerusalem, in order to give an exact copy of it, to serve as a model for the church of the holy sepulchre to be erected in Bruges. At Abbeville, on the spot where Godfrey of Bouillon and the crusaders assembled before going to Palestine, the beautiful church of the holy sepulchre was erected, in which was one of those tombs where the solemn office of the holy sepulchre used to be celebrated on the Sunday nearest to the 15th of July; and such crowds of pilgrims used to attend, that tents were generally pitched in the cemetery to shelter them at their prayers. Similarly in the church of the holy cross in Torgau, was a holy sepulchre erected by the elector Frederic the Wise, in 1499, after the model which he had brought with him from Palestine.* Sometimes, as we before observed, the very soil of the holy city was added to show more palpably the sanctity of graves. In Sicily, as at Pisa, were cemeteries filled with the earth of Jerusalem.† Generally lights were burning to denote the immortal hope of those who slept in peace, and each grave was incensed as an altar, on which was laid the last offering of Christians. Who would feel horror at the tomb in which Christ had reposed? No, each grave was a holy place, representing the end not of life and its enjoyments, but of death and of all dead, dreary things. Thus solemnized and softened, death and the grave were mild and terrorless, and as the serenest sky, redolent of joy and peace.

Such were the fruits of reconciliation between the soul and God; from which divine and present source followed immediately the second kind of peace expected and enjoyed by men in ages of faith; namely, peace with themselves within their breasts, for they found there nothing selfish opposed to the order of charity, having as the author of the Imitation counselled, "relinquished themselves, resigned themselves, and reaped in consequence a great internal peace."‡ How sweet were the effects of such tranquillity is shown by Dante in these bright words:

L an. Minor. tom. xiv.
ın ix. ‡ Aringhi Rom. Subter. 193.
ːh. 14. de Resur. 3.
de France, 11.
Civ. Dei, xxii. 8.
ıosit. in Marc. iv. 16.
ia Sacra, i. 1292.

* Chronic. Torgaviæ ap. Canisii Lect. Antiq.
† *Sicilia* Sacra, ii. 813. ‡ iii. 32.

"As when to harbinger the dawn, springs up
On freshen'd wing the air, of May, and breathes
Of fragrance, all impregn'd with herb and flower;
E'en such a wind I felt upon my front
Blow gently, and the moving of a wing
Perceiv'd that, moving, shed ambrosial smell:
And then a voice, 'Blessed are they, whom grace
Doth so illume, that appetite in them
Exhaleth no inordinate desire,
Still hung'ring as the rule of temperance wills.'"*

The maintenance of this interior peace was reduced to a science in ages of faith. Tasso speaks of the science of peace as a true science, by means of which men can pacify their minds and overcome the passions which lead to war.† This art was taught by many of the Carthusian order; as by Dionysius, who wrote de Gaudio spiritali et Pace interna, and by Apselius of Breda, who wrote de vera Pace.‡ as also by other great mystics, as by Richard of St. Victor, who wrote de Eruditione interioris hominis. Its necessity was recognised even by the physicians or empirics of the middle ages, who were also ministers of peace; not by merely inculcating the repression of angry passions, as in the address of the school of Salerno to an English king; but practically, by always looking first to the restoration of the moral health, and by insisting on having the soul treated before the body: for they began by requiring the patient to confess and receive the communion; that is, they replaced him in harmony with God and man, an immense result to commence with! and accordingly the fact is, that with all their inferiority of skill, and their deplorable want of material remedies, with every thing physical against them, they succeeded; they cured. The state of nature without this supernatural peace, was regarded by all as involved in a disease incurable, in an eternal tempest never to be calmed. The Gentile philosophers knew that the mind by evil habits was broken and lacerated; and as Cicero says, "that with such evils afflicted, not only we could not be happy, but not even sound."§

St. Augustin says, "that God permitted man to seek himself, and find his own misery; and then he exclaims, "O malum liberum arbitrium sine Deo!"

In human nature was the triple evil which Vincent of Beauvais ascribes to the fallen angels—irrational fury, concupiscence, and a perverted fantasy.‖ "Who is able to relate in how many ways the vanity of affections disturbs peace of mind? Therefore there is need of constant vigilance over the passions; and as the father of a family examines his house, and every door and window and corner, to be on his guard against robbers or fire, or dishonest and unlawful things, so a just man, sedulous explorer of his conscience, examines all the ways and turns of his heart, and subjects them to the rule of reason, and finds peace."* Of this state we find mention even in old historical monuments, as that which contains the words of the rector and university of Vienna to Duke Albert VI. of Austria in the year 1462, when complaining of the wounds of the country. "By the disobedience of our first parents," said they, citing St. Augustin's words in his xivth and xvith books on Genesis, "the whole human race has been involved in a triple war—that of sensuality against reason, of reason against the will, and of both against the observance of the divine precepts."† "As the knights of Charlemagne," says the chronicle of St. Denis, "employed their arms against the enemy, so must we use our arms, which are virtues against vices, faith against heresy, charity against envy, liberality against avarice, humility against pride, chastity against luxury, poverty against the influence of prosperity, silence against talkativeness, obedience against carnal courage. No one will be crowned unless he fights loyally against these sins, and thus as the knights died in battle, so should we die to vices."‡ The calm which succeeds by grace is what St. Anselm terms "the peace between flesh and spirit, or between our corruptible nature, and that which is incorruptible;"§ the grounds of which St. Bonaventura exposes, saying, "quis restitit ei et pacem habuit?"‖ and St. Bernard saying, "it is impossible that any thing should be contrary, to God, and coherent in itself; but whatever is opposed by God is opposed by itself."¶ "By the just judgment of God," says Peter of Blois, "he who has not peace with Christ, cannot have peace with himself."** "Look on your mind," says the school, "it is the book of fate, ah! it is dark with many a blazoned name of misery." Vincent of Beauvais thus speaks of it.††

* Purg. xxiv. † Dialoghi overo della Pace.
‡ Bostius de Viris illust. S. Cartus. Ord.
§ Tusc. iv. 84. ‖ Spec. Historiale, i. 10.

* Tusc. Spec. Mor. l. p. iv.
† Evendorff Haselbach. Chronic. Austriacum ap. Pez Script. Iter. Aust. tom. ii.
‡ Les Grande Chron. Lib. iv, 3.
§ De Similitud. ‖ Dietæ Salut.
¶ De Consideratione, v. 12.
** Epist. cii. †† Spec. Mor. i. iv. 22.

ce of heart must be preserved in purity
science, in fervour of love, in bright-
of wisdom, in sweetness of devotion.
and sanctity are joined together.
n sequimini et sanctimoniam. Love
es peace—'Pax multa diligentibus
tuam;' and wisdom gives peace, for
which is from above is pacific, and we
'corona sapientiæ timor Domini, re-
pacem et salutis fructum;' and that
ion gives peace is also evident, 'creavi
um labiorum pacem.' The fruit of the
s confession of sin, instruction of our
bour, exhortation of virtue, abjuration
, frequent and fervent prayer, thanks-
g, and the voice of praise. Than this
nothing is more useful, nothing more
nothing more secure. Useful because
is is acquired riches of merits, as when
is peace in any land, men trade, and
ate the ground, and gather their fruits.
pax, in virtute tua et abundantia in
bus tuis.' Nothing sweeter for the
lom of God, is peace and joy in the
Ghost, and nothing more secure as
Jesus stood in the midst, and after
g, 'pax vobis,' added, 'ego sum, nolite
e.' Have peace, and the God of peace
f love will be with you."* Let us hear
Picus of Mirandula, speaking of being
ed with theologic felicity by Him who
s peace in the highest. "A multi-
is discord, a grievous intestine and
than civil war we have to wage within
hich philosophy can appease and set
st; first, moral, by repressing the
ce of brutal passions which seek like
to slay and devour us; secondly,
tic, by assuaging the contending hosts
son, anxiously warring with syllogism
treachery; thirdly, natural, by ap-
ng the disputes and dissensions of
on, which distract, wound, and lacerate
nquiet mind; but in so appeasing us,
sophy will remind us that nature, ac-
ng to Heraclitus, is born of war, and on
ccount by Homer called contention;
fore, it can never place us in that true,
and solid peace which can be im-
d only by its queen; that is, only the
nd privilege of most holy theology.
r, therefore, it will point the way and
r guide, hastening our steps when we
espy her from afar. 'Come to me,'
ill cry, 'all ye who labour, come to me,
I will refresh you: I will give you
. that peace which the world and
e cannot give.' So gently called, so
benignantly invited, with winged feet, as if terrestrial Mercuries flying to the embraces of our most blessed mother, we shall enjoy the long desired peace—that most holy peace, that individual conjunction, unanimous friendship, in which all minds do not in one mind, which is above all minds, concord, but in an ineffable manner evanesce and pass, into one. This is that friendship which the Pythagorean said was the end of all philosophy: this is that peace which God made on high, which the angels descending upon earth, announced to men of good-will, that by which men themselves ascending to Heaven might become angels. Let us wish this peace to our friends, to the age in which we live; let us wish it to every house that we enter; let us wish it to our own soul, that by that it may become the house of God,—that after by morals and dialectics, it shall have cast off its defilements, it may adorn itself with a multiplex philosophy as if with a courtly apparel; may crown the summits of its gates with theology; so that when the King of Glory shall descend, coming with the Father, he may take up his abode with her."*

"This perfect peace," says a writer in 1144, whose judgment is that of the middle ages, "is the same thing as the spirit of wisdom."† "To peace," says Vincent of Beauvais, "answers the gift of wisdom; for unless man be wholly at peace in himself and with his neighbour, he cannot contemplate celestial things; but when there is peace between the mind and the flesh, then the spirit of wisdom elevates the mind to contemplation, and subjects the flesh to the spirit; for, as Gregory says, 'Gustato spiritu, desipit omnis caro.'"‡ "Without peace of mind," says St. Bonaventura, "no one comes to the view of contemplation." The Church in her office during the octave of All Saints, cites St. Augustin, who says, "The seventh beatitude is wisdom, or the contemplation of truth, pacifying the whole man, and assimilating him to God: and the angel of the school shows also that the gift of wisdom belongs to the pacific, in whom is no rebellious movement against reason."

Truth hath a quiet breast, which even heathens knew, who tried to make men believe that always in the mind of the philosopher there was placid peace.§ "Let

* Spec. Mor. i. iv. 22.

* De Hominum Dignitate.

† Serm. Hieronymi Episc. Aretini, ap. Baluze, Miscel. append.

‡ Vicent Bel Spec. Hist. Lib. vii. c. 14.

§ Cicero, Tuscul. v.

him that would live well attain to truth," says Plato, "and then, and not before, he will cease from sorrow."* And poets, too, proclaimed it, like him of later days who says, "At first my peace was marred by this strange stir; now I am calm as truth, its chosen minister." This the holy martyr, St. Thomas of Canterbury, felt when he began his letter, in 1165, to the King of England, with these solemn words, "Loqui de Deo valde quietæ et liberæ mentis est. Inde est quod loquar ad Dominum meum, et utinam ad omnes, pacificum."† This is expressly ascribed to another noble prelate, of whom we read: "This, above all, was remarkable in Wazo, bishop of Liege, that in every business, whatever was the controversy, he always took care to be fortified with inexpugnable reason; and this he did, because circumspect the animal of God before and behind directed his eyes with a good intention, and so fixed them with truth that neither by hate nor favour could he ever be moved."‡ Of St. Hugo, bishop of Lincoln, similarly we read that, "No tumult, no importunity, no accumulation of business, no sudden and unforeseen event could prevent him from having a heart at peace and prepared."§ "Non dabit in æternam fluctuationem justos," said the Prophet, and the promise was verified in all living members of the Catholic Church, of whom St. Bernard says, "We, because we are of the church, shall not fear, while the earth is troubled, and the mountains moved into the depths of the sea."‖ This is that calm consciousness of possessing truth which forms the Catholic mind, and which, though unknown, was yet longed for at moments by all who were separated from her, who cried with the unhappy poet of our times,

"——————— Sacred peace!
Oh visit me but once, and, pitying, shed
One drop of balm upon my wither'd soul."

And yet he too could say, "There is one road to peace, and that is truth, which follow ye." Ah, if he had obeyed his own counsel, how joyfully would the Catholic Church have received back such a son, and how would he have been comforted in Jerusalem, which is the vision of peace, into which city of God, as St. Augustin says, all who have and love peace enter! "Qui habitant in Hierusalem non movebantur in æternum." Therefore, they who behold the vision of peace are immoveable for ever. Peace is upon Israel.

To men, who are separated from this city of peace, and who, perhaps, like the unhappy Jews, are forbidden so much as to look towards it from afar, these truths appear incredible. Having gone down from Jerusalem, like him mentioned in the gospel, and, consequently, subjected themselves, as St. Odo of Cluny remarks, to be stript of their intellectual goods,* they can, in fact, have no faith but that which is at the mercy of men; and, accordingly, we perceive that they are ever thinking of some one individual or other, of extraordinary talents or information, who will be best able to defend them, and whose assistance they invoke with cries. But to use the words of one of their own poets, and ascribe them to a convertite, amongst their number, "In towers and huts are many like to me, who, had they seen the forms of that celestial city, or heard such lore as I have learnt from her, like me would fear no more." Such the peace that dwells from forth the fountain of all truth, and such the rest that to my wandering thoughts I found.

Here we must remark, how, while the temporal and spiritual powers exercised their just authority for the public good, the minds of private men were enabled to remain at peace with the adversaries of truth. Modern writers, who come forward as historians, calumniating Catholics and the Church seem to suppose each moment that they have dealt the death-blow to their faith; but the Catholic, whom they accuse, is stronger than they imagine. He may address them in the words of Orestes to the Furies, who are triumphing over his admission and say,

Οὐ κειμένῳ πω τόνδε κομπάζεις λόγον.†

Not to one already prostrated do you boast this; in fact, against her in whom he believes, nought avails their utmost wisdom. She, with foresight, plans, judges, and carries on her reign. Armed by her Catholics in the middle ages, as at present, could meet unmoved the polished and high-finished foe to truth; and all their confusion was to see such delusive hopes invite despair; such mockery, such deception.

* De Repub. vi. † Epist. xlv.
‡ Gesta Episc. Leod. ap. Martene, Vet. Script. Collect. iv. 885.
§ Dorlandi Chronic. Cartus. iii. 2.
‖ Epist. cxlii.

* Bibliothec. Clun. Coll. i. † Eumen. 590.

An old French writer complains of miserable productions being hatched over night, and sent to fly abroad, and be presented to heretics and Machiavelian politicians, who make great account of them; and while reading them make signs with their heads and arms, like the Muderis of Constantinople, when they read the Coran of Mahomet.* Such boasters are, indeed, more numerous at present; but I do not think there walks on earth, this day, Catholic so remorseless as not to yearn with pity at the sight. "As heresies that men do leave are hated most of those they did deceive," our convertites at first may wonder, and complain, and think it right to raise their voice at every instant against those who rage against the house of peace; but this pugnacity does not last. "Amaze," says Dante, "is not long the inmate of a noble heart;" and soon they learn to feel how alien from the spirit of that house had been these first impressions. They may still give a look in passing at the wretchedness of those who are left without, but they no longer feel amaze, or seek to answer words of passion and of vanity. The psalmist's rule is found the best: "Nec memor ero nominum eorum per labia mea." One avoids mention of them, not through the motive of Metellus Numidicus, who says, "there are men unworthy even of reproach;"† nor with any view to the utility to be drawn from one's enemies, according to the Chæronean sage, whose treatise, under that title, indicates, after all, only a selfish morality; nor, again, from following the advice of Marsilius Ficinus, "in Letheum fluvium demergere, vilia ut preciosa retineas," but rather through fear of citing, as adversaries, those who may shortly become friends; for, as St. Augustin says, "the city of God is to be defended against many enemies; of whom many, the error of their impiety being corrected, become citizens in it, sufficiently worthy."‡ Their style is no longer laboured and impassioned; the soul, in possession of truth, dictates language careless and secure.—

"Fix'd in the rolling flood of endless years
The pillar of the eternal plan appears;
The raving storm and dashing wave defies,
Built by that Architect who built the skies."

Where there is little of true zeal to promote the Church's sway we find that men are ever apt to rail and cavil at her adversaries. Such ignoble thoughts are far removed from those who pass with the world for exaggerators of her claims; for they are full of love and indulgence for all whom heresy deceives.

Writers of the middle ages remark that in the gospels there is no invective against Judas, or Pilate, or the crucifiers of Christ. During the early times of persecution we find, from examining the catacombs, that Christians, instead of giving vent to anger, by leaving memorials of their suffering, chose only to represent flowers, garlands, crowns, symbols of peace, or Christ performing works of mercy, or pastoral scenes, the vineyard and the groves of palm.* They were at peace with those who styled truth, "an execrable superstition." And what folly not to be at peace with them, since whatever they do must turn to the good of the church? The impiety of Justinian, in laying his hand to the censor, ordering the clergy not to observe the rubric which enjoins at mass the secret prayers, furnishes now a useful proof of the antiquity of the observance, which he vainly wished to abolish.† Besides, there can be nothing novel to excite amaze. The opinions of Calvin and Luther had been judged and condemned ages before either of those unhappy men existed. Men, who reject the authority of the church, are but as flies on the ocean to those who view them from her eminence. Lower, perchance, with various motion, changes the soil; but the rock on which she stands yet never trembled. When the formidable emperor Frederic Barbarossa and his son, Frederic II., rose against her, she uttered no cry of alarm: she knew that she had right on her side. The times may be threatening—the nations may imagine vain things: she loses not her peace: she waits. Patient because eternal. This is she,

"So execrated, e'en by those whose debt
To her is ever praise; they wrongfully
With blame requite her: and with evil words,
But she is blessed, and for that recks not;
Amidst all primal works of the creation glad,
Rolls on her sphere, and in her bliss exults."‡

The spirit of forbearance, and of pity for unavailing foes, and of true magnanimous liberality, descended thus to all her well-instructed children. Mark the spirit of

* Advertisements des Cath. Angl. aux François.
† Aul. Gel. vi. 11. ‡ De Civ. Dei, i. 1.

* Raoul. Rochette, Tableau des Catacombes.
† Bened. xiv. de Sacrif. Missæ, i. 381.
‡ Dante, i. 7.

the following passages from works of the middle ages. Amorricus de Creo, seneschal of Anjou, who was honourably buried in the abbey of Rota, in Angers, is thus commemorated by one of the men, whose order he had oppressed: "An admirable knight, who if he had not been seneschal, which office led him to oppress the churches, would have surpassed all men of his time in chivalry."*

"If I cannot avoid the accusations of severe men," says the chronicler of the Carthusians, "I care not, provided they permit me to speak to myself and to mine. Love conducted me to this work. I say love, which ought not to be accused by any good man. If then to man I should seem through the love of love, to have incurred fault, I trust that from God, the remunerator of love, I may deserve to obtain glory."† These pacific friends of truth do not even wish to assume a legitimate authority in imparting it. William of Trahinac, prior of Grandmont, writing to King Henry II., uses these words: "Nullum jus, sed nec imperium teneo in voluntatem tuam; et licet haberem nullo modo cogerem te. Ingenuus est enim hominis animus; mavult duci quam trahi."‡

There is still another reflection suggested here; for, from these observations, we can understand the comparative absence of insanity in ages of faith. The passions, in their first degree of intensity, having been thus regulated, madness, which is nothing else but the same passions in their second degree, as physicians of our time have shown, was warded off.§ Van Helmont remarks, that presumption is the most ordinary form of insanity. "In almost all cases," says Alibert, "pride is the predominant symptom." It was not wonderful, therefore, that the hospitals of the sixteenth century should have been filled with men, who had lost their wits through enthusiasm for the new opinions. As a consequence of those opinions, self-conceit, egotism, restless ambition, avarice, and envy, were then let loose upon the intellectual world, and we reap now the fruits. The passions, uncontrolled, are true mental maladies. La Bruyère describes madness in its first, Esquirol in its more advanced stages. Physic orders and obliterations of intell augment as peace diminishes in the The predominant causes of mental tion were removed by the Catholic re while its manners were the best p tives; for no one becomes insane th temperance, disinterestedness, filial r charity, the sense of duty, humilit trust in God; so that a return to C manners would infallibly preserve from the terrible spectacle to whic now every day more and more expos

The pacific, who are thus at peac God and with their own hearts, were t be at peace externally with men, "w as St. Jerome remarks, "they could have appeased if there had continu war of vices within their own mi "They were then," as Peter of Bl serves, "prepared for following peac all men,"† not boasting in the cry th prevails of peace by resistance, but i of the gospel, peace by concessic forbearance, forgiveness, charity. celestial city," says St. Augustin, "w sojourns on earth, calls to itself ci from all nations, and collects a f society in all languages; not cari whatever is different in manners, law institutions, by which earthly peac be either acquired or held; cutti nothing from them, destroying nc but preserving and following wh though different in different natio yet intended to one and the same earthly peace, provided it does not l religion. The celestial city uses this in its peregrinations, and it guarc seeks the things pertaining to the nature of man, which are not incon with piety; and this earthly peace it to celestial, which is the true peace."‡ was the admirable spirit by whi Catholics were to be animated. The to be pacific, not alone with the a and the kind, but with the frowar with those who hated peace. This us, therefore, to the third source of recognised in ages of faith; name St. Bonaventura says, "humility t men."§

Who is angry? "He who thinks h wise," replied Cardan. "Humility, fore, makes us pacific towards our bour, and by this peace," says St. Bo

* Chronic. Turonense, ad an. 1222. ap. Martene, Vet. Script. v.

† Petri Dorlandi Diestensis Chronic. Cartusiense Epist.

‡ Ap. Martene, Thes. Anecdot. i. 561.

§ Esquirol des Maladies Mentales. D'Alibert, Physiologie des Passions.

* Comment. in Matt. v.

† Epist. xlviii. ‡ De Civ. Dei, xi

§ Dietæ Salut. vii. 6.

"we shall be the sons of God. Great is the goodness, ineffable the clemency of God," adds this holy martyr, "that we, who are not worthy to be the servants, should be called the sons of God."* St. Augustin even says, that "the pacific resemble God, as being perfectly wise, and formed in his image by the regeneration of the renewed man."†

Without charity there is no peace; but in a former book we saw what charity reigned in ages of faith. The rule of assemblies was then conformable to the admonition of the church at the washing of the feet on Maunday Thursday. "Where there is charity, God is there; and, consequently, peace. The love of Christ hath collected us into one. Let us rejoice, and be glad in Him. Let us fear, and love the God man. And from our hearts let us love one another sincerely. Therefore, when we meet together, let us beware of being divided in mind; let malignant quarrels cease, let contentions cease, and let Christ God be in the midst of us."

Hugo of St. Victor, after repeating the Divine announcement of the happiness of the pacific, exclaims, "O, how few are there who attend to these words with the eyes of their mind, and, according to their admonition, seek beatitude! How many are there who, for a trifling injury by words, would render stripes if they were able; or, in defect of strength, threaten greater things."‡ Nevertheless, the dream of the ancient poet was realized by Catholic instructors in ages of faith. There was no one so ferocious that he could not be tamed, and rendered meek:§ and certainly the pacific training, the practical results which prevailed in those ages, form an astonishing fact of history. Innumerable are the affecting examples related by historians to show how the precept, "to live at peace, if possible, with all men," was actually reduced to practice.‖ We meet with similar, even in fables, which, often unintentionally, represent Catholic manners. Thus, in the tales of Cervantes, the young and noble Spanish gentlemen evince a most delicate conscience in regard to offences against peace. The thought of having inflicted an injury, even in their moments of triumph, leads to great contrition, and to solemn vows of pilgrimage and atonement.

As Venerable Bede says in the office of All Saints, "In the celestial hosts peace had its flowers, with which the soldiers of Christ were crowned." Many beautiful sentences of holy men in the cloisters of peace passed into the world as maxims for the general direction of manners. Such were those of St. Columban:—

"Non tu, quæso, jocis lædas, nec carmine quenquam."

And again,

"Sint tibi pacifici magna dulcedine mores.
Ne tua pœniteat, caveas, victoria temet.
Justitiæ et pacis placeant tibi verba loquendo,
Pax precor alma tuo placeat tibi semper in ore."*

Pope Innocent III. writes to the archbishop of Rheims and his suffragans, complaining that the French are frequently excited to anger, and sometimes, merely through levity, to use profane and horrible oaths; not fearing to utter what we should tremble to write. He sends, therefore, to charge the bishops to use diligence in correcting this evil.†

It is curious to remark how the ancient guides, in stating the degrees of this virtue, adopted an order, the very inverse of what would now be proposed. They began where we finish, and they finished where we begin. Hear St. Bonaventura: "It is a high degree of peace to spare inferiors if they are in fault: it is a still higher to converse benignly with equals: it is the highest of all to conform one's will, in all things, to that of superiors. Again, it is a high degree of peace to trouble no one by actions: it is a higher still to trouble no one by words, either to his face or behind his back: it is the highest of all to give no just occasion of offence to any one by signs or nods. In all these degrees was Christ, according to His words, 'Non veni facere voluntatem meam.' Again, he is in a high degree of peace who does not publish the evil of his neighbour: he is in a still higher who does not depreciate the good of his neighbour; neither blackening nor inverting it, but extolling it: he is in the highest who compassionates him in his defects, and rejoices with him in his heart at his advancement."‡ We see,

* Serm. iv. de Octo Beat.
† Hom. de Serm. Dom. i. 4.
‡ Hugo St. Vict. in Matt. ii. c. 1.
§ Hor Ep. i.
‖ See Wal. Strabo, de Vit. St. Othmari Abb. c. 5. ap. Goldast. Alemannic, Rer. Script. i. p. 11.

* S. Columb. Carmen Monostichon, ap. Canis. Lect. Antiq. i.
† Inn. Epist. Lib. xvi. 3.
‡ De Gradibus Virtutum, xiii.

then, how profoundly laid were the foundations of social peace by the schoolmen.

As the remainder of this book will be occupied with the historic view of this external peace, here break we off, and proceed to general reflections, respecting that interior peace, which was its source. How much of this was granted we have seen; but still we must remember that the attainment of the true and perfect peace, even in the interior world of the soul, during the present life, was known to be impossible, as all moralists of the middle ages showed.

The mistake of the philosophers was their supposing that the wise man could enjoy perfect peace in this life. But the Athenian policy, which Pericles praises, cannot be transferred to spiritual things, so as to be sure of conquering without the habit of struggles and endurance.*

On the text, "God placed before the paradise of pleasure cherubim, with a flaming sword, to guard the way of the tree of life," an ancient writer says, "By the flaming sword, which is temporal tribulation, and by cherubim, which is plenitude of science, which is charity, we come to the tree of life, which is Christ, and live for ever: for no one can come to the tree of life unless by these two things; that is to say, the endurance of miseries, and plenitude of science, that is, of love."† "According, indeed, as grace is increased, the seeds of sin," says Duns Scotus, "have less power to disturb our peace; as when a pebble is tied to the wings of an eagle, if the moving power of the eagle increase, though the gravity of the pebble will not be diminished, yet its gravity, as to effect, will decrease; for, in proportion as the power is greater, the stone will be a less impediment to the flight upwards."‡ "But never to feel any disturbance, or to suffer any sorrow of heart or body, is not the state of the present life," says the author of the Imitation, "but only that of the eternal rest."§

You pretend to possess unalterable tranquillity. You are surprised at hearing "Bella premunt hostilia," when we invoke peace! Then return to the Porch, and leave the school of the middle ages, which can only thus far promise: "Estote fortes in bello, et pugnate cum antiquo serpente, et accipieris regnum æternum." "Our Saviour," says Cæsar of Heisterbach, "after, and not before his baptism suffered himself to be tempted, and the apostles suffered trials after the descent of the Holy Spirit. It is the religious only who are tempted; and others are, improperly, said to be tempted, for they resist not, but yield."* The religious find from experience as a poet says, "that their thoughts struggle to take wildest flight, even at the moment when they should array themselves in pensive order." Here, therefore, we must attend to the distinctions, so often insisted upon by the guides of ages of faith, respecting peace in general, and the duties of those who love the true peace.

"All men love peace," says St. Bernard; "few deserve it."† "As there is no one," says Augustin, "who is unwilling to rejoice, so there is no one who is unwilling to have peace; for when men wish for war, they only wish to conquer; that is, to have peace: so that it is for the sake of peace wars are carried on. Robbers even wish to have peace with each other, at least, at home, with their families. And if we conceive one of those fabulous monsters in his cave, as described by poets, we shall find that he wishes to be at peace with himself; for which end he slays, ravages, and devours; and, although cruel and ferocious, still it is for the peace of his own life that he cruelly and ferociously provides. Pride perversely imitates God. It hates equality with allies under Him. It hates, therefore, the just peace of God, and it loves its unjust peace; but not to love peace of some kind or other is impossible to it; for no vice is so contrary to nature as entirely to destroy the last vestiges of nature. The wicked, therefore, desire peace; but in comparison with that of the just, theirs does not deserve to be called peace."‡ Tacitus says that "Tiberius was most of all anxious to prevent things at peace from being disturbed."§ Alexander, too, said that the object of his wars was to secure an universal peace; and the last tyrant who imitated him, amidst all his conquests was directed, we are now told, by a pacific idea. The gentile authors recognised the love of peace as belonging to all men. Hesiod says that "No mortal loves war, but by necessity men endure that heavy contention."‖ Cæsar himself, according

* Thucyd. ii. 39.
† Wieboldi Quæstiones in Octateuch. ap. Martene, Vet. Script. Collect. tom. ix.
‡ Duns Scoti Lib. iv. Sent. Lib. iv. 9. 7.
§ iii. 25.

* Illust. Mirac. et Hist. Mem. iv. 1.
† Epist. ccclviii.
‡ De Civ. Dei, xix. 12.
§ An. ii. 65. ‖ Op. et Dies, 5.

to one of the poets, proposes battle as the means of peace, saying, "This victory will establish peace for us. The whole world will be disarmed after this contest."* It is to express abhorrence that the Jupiter of Homer exclaims,

Ἀλλὰ γάρ τοι ἔρις τε φίλη, πόλεμοί τε, μάχαι τε.

"Even in gladiators," says Cicero, "we often see a certain image of peace. They confer together; they seem rather pacific than angry. We see Ajax and Hector, in Homer, speaking to each other before the fight gently and quietly."† Of peace, he says elsewhere, that the name itself is sweet.‡ And every one knows the lines of the Roman poet, which ascribe to soldiers, and to all engaged in arduous labours, the desire of ultimate tranquillity.§ Finally, no temple in Rome, in the days of her false and lying gods, was more sumptuous or beautiful than that of Peace. "But," say the philosophers of the ages of faith, "all peace is not the peace of the Lord."‖ "There is a three-fold evil peace," says St. Bonaventura, "a wicked, a pretended, and an inordinate peace. The first had Pilot with Herod, who was made his friend, in the death of Christ. Of this we read, 'Zelavi super iniquos pacem peccatorum videns.' The second is that of Judas, who betrayed Christ with a kiss. The third is when a greater obeys a less, a prelate an inferior, or reason sensuality. Such peace is worse than war; such peace Adam had with Eve; for he was unwilling to trouble her delights. Of such peace the Saviour says, 'Non veni pacem mittere in terram, sed gladium.'"¶ St. Anselm only says, in general "there is a carnal peace when infidels, or false Christians, agree to sin, and thence obtain the same peace."** "Not all peace, therefore, makes man blessed," says a bishop of the twelfth century; but only that which Christ bequeathed to His disciples."†† Of other kinds the world, indeed, hears frequent mention. With the ancient poet, Pothinus speaks of desiring peace and perpetual quiet, and of removing the crime of wars, and all the while is proposing to assassinate Pompey.‡‡ But "if you do not love justice," says St. Augustin, "you will not have peace; for they love each other. They are two friends. Perhaps you wish for one of them, but not the other. There is no one who does not wish for peace; but not all practise justice. Ask all men, even the wicked, Do you wish for peace? With one mouth the whole human race will answer, I wish it, I love it. Then love justice, for they kiss each other; and if you do not love her friend, peace will not love you, nor come to you. If you are her friend's enemy, she will say to you, Why do you seek me? Therefore, if you wish for peace, be just."* The church, in her evening prayer for peace, each day indicates that it can only be vouchsafed in conjunction with right counsels and just works.

Some desire peace through avarice, as in the comedy of Aristophanes, when the scythe-maker exults in the profit which peace has brought him.† Others desire it through sheer luxury. "Perhaps your feet are not swift to shed blood," says Peter of Blois, "but your affections run to acquiesce in flesh and blood, which shall never possess the kingdom of God."‡ The arms of temporal warfare may grow rusty through an evil peace, as when those of Ulysses during the luxurious repose of the suitors lay in a corner of his lofty chamber defiled with smoke, no longer like those he left behind him when he went to Troy. Such peace is in the tyrant's palace, where the crowd waste the triumphal hours in festival and song; though "what does he not endure from lusts and self-reproaching conscience, ere he can obtain the comfortless repose he seeks?" "Then," says Peter of Blois, "a man's enemies are those of his household, of whom Jeremiah speaks, saying, 'seduxerunt te viri pacifici: molliti sunt sermones ejus super oleum, et ipsi sunt jacula.'"§ Then they say like the king Hezechiah, when Isaiah the prophet warned him of the desolation coming upon Babylon, "Sit tantum pax et veritas in diebus meis!" "Only may there be peace in my days!"

"This is a peace," says Peter of Blois, "which has neither merit nor reward, a peace which God hates, the peace of earthly pleasures which our Lord came to destroy."‖ Of this St. Augustin says, speaking to men who ascribed the horrors attending the fall of the Roman empire to the Christian religion, "querant tempora

* Lucan. vi.
† Tuscul. iv.
‡ Phil. 13.
§ Sat. i.
‖ Hugo de St. Vict. Eruditiones Theol. Lib. iii.
¶ Dictæ Salut. tit. vii. 6.
** De Similitud. c. 123.
†† Hieronimi Aretini Serm.
‡‡ Lucan. viii.

* In Ps. lxxxiv. En.
† Pax, 1198.
‡ Petr. Bles. de Confessione.
§ Epist. iii.
‖ Serm. xlix.

quibus non sit quieta vita, sed potius secura nequitia."* "For why," he says, "afflicted with adversity, do you complain of Christian times, unless because you wish to have your luxury secure, that it may flow on in the midst of depraved manners removed from all asperity of disquietude." "For you do not desire peace and all abundance, in order that you may use them honestly, modestly, soberly, temperately, piously, but that an infinite variety of pleasures may be derived from insane effusions."† Such peace was so far from being considered as the criterion of spiritual advance, that it is even denounced by guides of the middle ages as the presage of desolation. "The sixth sign of the coming of Antichrist, and of the end of the world," says one of them, "will be peace. In those days men will be eating and drinking in security, without affection and without mercy. The seventh sign is not only security, but the preaching of security. They will say, Peace and security." So writes in the reign of King Charles the Fifth, Nicolas Oremius, bishop of Lisieux, whose curious work on Antichrist found in the abbey of St. Victor, can never suggest the idea that it was a picture of the manners of his own times.‡

Again we find denounced as most evil, that internal tranquillity which is based on indifference to truth. One of the rules given to Charlemagne by Alcuin is directed against this; for he says, "the preaching of peace is so to be exercised, that under the name of piety, there may be no assertion of falsehood. For as it is most detestable to break peace, so is it blasphemy to deny truth. There is a great agreement, moreover, between true unity and pacific truth."§ Here we must admire the provisions which existed in the middle ages, to guard the faithful from contracting a peace of this description. There were comparatively but few then, of whom it might be said, "commixti sunt inter gentes, et didicerunt opera illorum."‖ No where then would have been allowed to pass the maxim of Epictetus, which advises every man to make his sacrifices according to the custom of the country in which he lives. It was heresy which brought back this kind of peace. Arius assured Constantine that he was a Catholic; the Calvinist Count Palatine said at the diet of Augsburg, "that he was not opposed to the confession of Augsburg;" Beze, at the colloquy of Poissy, declared himself in accordance with the Lutherans; and the Vaudois, who were Pelagians, professing a narrow rationalism, in one day united with the Calvinists, who held a doctrine exactly opposite, sacrificing their creed for the sake of a political analogy. Such peace was inadmissible by Catholics, whose pretended intolerance consisted in a resolution not to unite with error. They acted as if guided by that oracular answer of Æschylus, "nourish not a lion's whelp in the city; but if you will nourish it, be ready to conform to its manners."* They saw nothing in those who professed to establish a purer creed, to justify a wish that posterity should conform to their manners; and they very wisely, therefore, barred all gates against the progeny of their brains. To follow foolish precedents, and wink with both their eyes, is found by the descendants of men who first received error into their city easier than to think. The peace they resolve on maintaining is with the prejudices arising from their birth and education, to renounce which, they would deem shameful, heedless of what St. Augustin tells them.† Hence, very often follows, a peace with all deadly, all forbidden things: hence follow "reasonings made to compose a spirit well inclined to live on terms of amity with vice and sin without disturbance." "This itself is a grievous sin, and the sign of an obstinate mind," says Peter of Blois, "that you feel yourself oppressed by no sin, as a limb that has lost all feeling is far from soundness."‡ "Do you think," he asks another, "that in peace and quiet of body there is peace of mind? You will, perhaps, have peace, but it will be most bitter."§ "Pastoral images and still retreats, umbrageous and solitary seats, sweet birds in concert with harmonious strains, are then all enchantments which conspire against thy peace, soothing thee to make thee but a surer prey. Indifference with respect to religious truth, to which such peace leads, ascends at length to men in highest office, and the result is that which took place at Geneva, in 1536, when the council abandoned the reins of authority, imagining, as De Haller says, like modern politicians, that there could be no repose until the disturbers of peace were the masters, and that profanations would

* De Civ. Dei, ii. 29.
† Id. i. 30.
‡ Lib. de Antich. ap. Martene, Vet. Script. tom. ix.
§ Alcuini Capit. Admonitiones ad Car. XI. ap. Baluze, Miscellan. tom. i.
‖ P. 105.

* Aristoph. Ranæ, 1431.
† Epist. 67.
‡ Epist. cxviii.
§ Epist. ix.

cease when there was nothing more left
›fane."*
ch peace was denounced, in ages of
as belonging to men loving but them-
s, and who have no charity: "for
h in charity alone is peace," as Peter
ois says, who adds that "the battles of
tation cease, when the heart begins to
ise it,"† yet this pacific quiet, this de-
is sabbath, this sweetness of charity,
alone gives rest to the soul of man,
never suffer a surrender of vital in-
s; it requires courage and heroic re-
ice; love is fire. "I have come to
fire on the earth," says our Lord.
e always feeds upon external objects,
by kindling them, increases within."‡
f, bishop of Lisieux, says accordingly
Thomas of Canterbury, "If you pre-
man to divine favour, and consent to
s of profane novelty, you cannot only
rith the utmost tranquillity, but you
ren more than before reign with the
§ It is no great discovery, therefore,
a modern author tells us, that the
shop by reasoning in a different man-
ight have enjoyed the king's friend-
True, if like many of his contempo-
relates, who have yet descendants, he
e fear yielding had abjured his high
; but that man lived not for himself
he was kindled with the fire which
t came to send amongst us, and con-
ntly the result, instead of being what
deem wisdom, the friendship of kings
he repose of the rich and a blind life
ly passing, was the usual lot of heroic
, succeeded, indeed, in his case, by
artyr's crown glorious throughout the
rsal world.
ere we pass beyond our present limits.
ving then for the last book all further
vations on such peace, let us hear in
usion, what Vincent of Beauvais says
il peace in general. "There is a mul-
evil peace, for there is a fantastic, a
istic, and a diabolic peace. A fantastic
ben worldly men say that they are rich,
are at ease and prosperous; for there is
ue peace in such things, as the Lord
, 'in mundo pressuram habebitis; in
ıtem pacem.' Sooth it was a fantastic
e which the city of Jerusalem enjoyed
a he wept over it, saying 'quia si cogno-
s et tu,' and that there is no earthly
e in earthly riches is evident, for that

Hist. de la Réforme en Suisse, 186.
De Amicitia Christ. 1.
De Charitate Dei et prox. 32.
Epist. S. Thom. xxi.

peace derived from them, always contends with the conscience and harasses the interior, and if it hath not an exterior enemy, it makes one within for itself. Neither is there true solid peace in pleasures, for when the men who follow them say peace and security, suddenly ruin cometh on them. Solomon had abundance of delights, and he had peace on all sides, but the Lord raised against him his servant. A voluptuous life induces sorrow and labour, shame and death. Nor is there true peace in honours, for ambition ever creeps like a cancer, and the farther it leads man in honours, the greater distance is he removed from peace. The way of peace such men know not, when the fear of God is not before their eyes, and all such persons have but a fantastic peace. There is also a sophistic peace, as in vulgar and worldly friendships, since amongst them we daily see enmities arise which cause inexpressible bitterness. 'Homo pacis meæ in quo sperabam, magnificabit super me supplantationem;' and often with such men it is, 'in ore suo pacem cum amico suo loquitur, et occulte ponit ei insidias. Loquuntur pacem cum proximo suo, mala autem in cordibus eorum.' In these, therefore, there is not true peace, but fear and the suspicion of deception and fraud. There is, in fine, a diabolic peace which sinners have, 'qui lætantur cum malefecerint et exultant in rebus pessimis: sed non est pax impiis, dicit Dominus.' For a mind corrupt suffers many and horrible pains. How can he have peace who bears a sword in his heart, who lies on thorns, whose bed is full of venomous serpents, who dwells amidst lions and dragons, who has robbers in his house, who perceives his cruel enemies raging against him, and plotting to devour him every hour, and sees the sword of vengeance vibrating over him, and the horrible abyss of fire and sulphur yawning beneath ready to swallow him up? How should he have peace, who resists the Author of peace? Truly there is also a diabolic peace, when sinners who dissent from each other, agree together in the oppression of the poor, or in attacking the church of God."*

To this peace the Count de Maistre alludes in a passage of fearful eloquence, where he says, "Never have I read the anti-religious works of Hume, without a kind of terror. It has always seemed to me that the hardened character of Hume, and his insolent calm, must have been the last penalty for that certain revolt of the intelligence which ex-

* Vincent. Bellov. Speculum. Mor. Lib. 1. par. iv. 22.

cludes mercy, and which God chastises no more except by retiring." From observations such as these, St. Theresa on one occasion exclaims, "May God deliver us from the many different kinds of peace which people of the world enjoy, and which cause them to live tranquilly amidst the most grievous sins, for these do not deserve the name of peace, but are real wars." We have already seen enough to awaken a suspicion in the most ignorant, that much real peace was internally enjoyed amidst all the external wars and disorders of the middle ages; and that, on the contrary, cruel internal wars and horrors sufficiently manifested indeed around us by the breath of heart-sick groans "rage amidst the external calm of modern society."

In truth, the portraits of the middle age and those of a later epoch, indicate the difference. Let us pause a moment to examine this proposition. We have before remarked how versed in physiognomy were men in ancient times: St. Bonaventura, in three chapters of his compendium, gives all the elements of a physiognomical and craniological system, "but the doctrine of mortification," as Ozanam remarks, "enabled them to escape from fatality in such discussions." "This very year," says Cæsar of Heisterbach, "when our abbot was going to the general chapter at Vitriacum, he and the Abbot of Stymena were charitably received by a certain hostel-keeper who served the poor. Henry our cellarian sat by his side, who after supper said to the abbot, 'is that man known to you?' who replied, 'that he was, and that he was a good man.' 'Trust me,' answered Henry, 'he is in a bad state, for as he sits now at table, there is something infernal in his countenance.' Early next morning, while Henry said mass, the abbot, as he told me, felt a certain strange influence, which left him power to pray only thus, 'Domine, da mihi bonum finem.' The same night this hostel-keeper went to the river side alone, took off his clothes, and threw himself in; but as he could not sink, he came out, and went higher up, looking for a deeper place: the watchmen from the castle saw him, and cried out, 'good man, this is no season for bathing,' for it was Christmas night; but the miserable wretch plunged in and perished."* If we call to our aid this science in studying portraits, not shrinking from such a task through fear of the conclusions to which it may lead, and after all, as Cervantes makes some one reply to an insidious question, what should we have been doing in the world so long, if we had not some little knowledge of the lines which nature has engraved on the face of all men, in order to reveal their disposition?* if I say we study these portraits of ages of faith, we shall be convinced that the men who resembled them, enjoyed this threefold peace of which we have spoken. That serene and beneficent expression of countenance ascribed to the young Duke Louis, the husband of St. Elizabeth, that sweet placid look, indicative, as Lavater observes, of genius, which Buffon defines as only a greater aptitude for patience, is characteristic of them all. "Ecce homo sine querela," as the church sings to commemorate her confessors, is your involuntary exclamation on seeing them, without waiting to hear if they speak in that mild plain voice, grateful to the ear, which, according to Michael Scot, indicates a pacific heart.†

"Look at the effigy of patience," says Tertullian, "that tranquil, placid countenance, that pure front contracted with no signs of grief or anger. This is the true Christian patience, not that false patience of the Gentiles, patient of rivals, impatient only of God. But this shows what we love —the patience of God, the patience of Christ, patience of the spirit, patience of the flesh as becomes those who believe in the resurrection of flesh and spirit."‡ "Truly," says Peter of Blois, "I do not believe that it displeases God, when any one pleases men by the grace of meekness or the intuition of sanctity; for He himself who is the Maker and Redeemer of men, gives such serenity and sweetness of peaceful joy to the countenances of some, imparts such a celestial grace to all their words and deeds, that they conciliate the hearts of men to themselves at the first sight, so that they are revered by them as if they were angels."§ Where will you find these looks among portraits of men that represent the spirit of any sinister epoch? Truly, if Shakspeare had in his mind these latter, whose smiles are only sneers, along with a bitter splenetic misanthropy, he would never have put such an exclamation in Miranda's mouth when she first sees the shipwrecked party,

"O wonder! How beauteous mankind is!"

Ah. no! without the love of peace, men resemble not the sons of God, but him who hears these words from an angel,

* *Illust. Mirac. et Hist. Mem.* xi. 61.

* The Egyptians.

† Lib. Physion. Magist. Michael Scot, p. 11. & 68. ‡ De Patientia. § Serm. I.

"Think not, revolted spirit, thy shape the same,
Or undiminish'd brightness to be known,
As when thou stoodst in Heaven upright and pure;
That glory then, when thou no more wast good,
Departed from thee; and thou resemblest now
Thy sin and place of doom obscure and foul."

The martial look of the middle ages did not require that round face which painters shun as full of vulgarity, but which the influence of Mars was thought to form.* On the contrary, it indicated that even temper, that calm internal peace which is the sublimest expression of force. The type may be witnessed in the pacific countenance of St. James trampling upon the Moors in battle, in the picture by Don Juan Carreno de Miranda. Modern painters who have studied countenances among those whom the French extol as the heroes of July, of whom Tacitus would say, that, like the Catti, "ne in pace quidem vultu mitiore mansuescunt," are incapable of representing it. There was a mystic air of sweet sadness in the warlike figure which denoted men at peace with their own conscience, and in charity, performing a stern but necessary task. Mark in a curious chapel in the ancient cathedral of St. Omer, those four awful figures of knights on horseback, armed cap-à-pie, with lances in their hands: their countenance bespeaks serenity: they are doing their duty with purity of intention: all that St. Thomas and Denis the Carthusian wrote to soldiers is embodied here.

In the middle ages, the ideal of manly worth was not that of a wild and angry animal, bespeaking fierce cruelty in look, like that represented for the model of soldiers in countries where martial glory holds the first place. Open the chronicles and the chivalrous romances, and you find the hero rather like what our gentle poet terms some Lord lack-beard, some tender juvenal. Curious as the fact may seem, the church deprecated the formidable mustachoes and long beards of the Longobards, and desired their tonsure. In a most ancient ritual in the monastery of the Minerva at Rome, there is the formula of benediction on cutting off the hair, "ad capillos tondendos." The prayer was as follows:

"O Christ, Almighty Saviour, innocent and lover of innocence; humble and possessor of humility; meek and pattern of meekness, who laying thy hands of benediction upon the little children coming to thee, didst say, 'that of such is the kingdom of heaven,' bless this thy servant whose superfluous hair we cut off in thy name: 'grant him understanding with the increase of age, that he may fear thee, know thee, and keep thy commandments, and that by thy assistance he may attain with the utmost soundness, to the years of old age, through thee, Saviour of the world."*

At Ravenna, before the door of the church of St. Vitalis, was the sepulchral stone of the Longobard Droctulfus, who was a great warrior, and owing to his long beard, formidable in aspect; but the epitaph shows that the custom of his nation must not lead to a misconception of his character, for the words are

"Terribilis visu facies, sed corda benigna."†

Reader, hast thou marked in journeying through impious lands, how even peasants and the people generally do gnarl upon thee, with a scowl that threatens torture, if their spite had power? In ages of faith such were not the faces of the simpler sort: for Michael Angelo says, "the countenances of the rustic people show what passes in their souls. One sees there a peace which neither weariness nor hate can trouble." Indeed, the artists of the middle ages had a perfect consciousness of the pacific character which they were called upon to express. We find them stating that the countenances in a picture to represent an assembly of legislators or holy doctors, ought to express "an imperturbable calm, a religious sadness, tempered by the dignity of apostolic peace." How wonderfully do they combine in their paintings of the Saviour, tranquillity with pain, serenity with sorrow: and this was the mould for all. Those who walk beneath the vaulted aisles of Noyon, see at their feet in long succession, figures of the dead, whose countenances express such peace, that none can doubt whose sons they should be called. Some of them, indeed, are expressly commemorated in ancient characters as having been pacific. Thus of one we read, "Vasserius imprimis pacis amans." In a word, kneel before a painting of Corregio, gaze upon the smiling face of his St. Francis of Assisi, dying in an ecstasy, as if of beholding the supreme peace, while you hear sung the "Agnus Dei," by a religious choir, and you will understand what was the state of hearts and minds in ages of faith, without having examined other testimony.

* See Agrip. de Occult. Phil. ii. 52.

* Murat. Antiq. It. xxiii.
† Id. xxiii.

CHAPTER V.

"TRUTH having the government of the soul, I can never suppose," says Plato, "that the chorus of evils will follow it; but, on the contrary, that right manners and the chorus of the philosophic nature will be its train."* Peace, we may now say in like manner, being thus established in the hearts of men, one cannot believe that its action was unfelt in the family and in the state; that houses in the ages of faith witnessed that domestic confusion of which the wise Homer makes Telemachus say that it would be much better to die than to witness it;† and which made the poets call the winds brothers, as being always at strife with one another, and full of violence.‡ We have already more than once visited the interior of these houses, and we must now again return to view them hastily in reference to the beatitude of peace. The middle ages expressly distinguished, as may be seen in the address of the university of Vienna to Duke Albert VI., domestic harmony relative to the government of the family as one of the divisions of peace no less important than the political, which consisted in the mutual concord of the citizens.§ In the ninth part of his chronicle of Genoa James de Voragine treats on the peace of domestic life, and the happiness of families united in conjugal and filial love; also on the duty of gentleness towards servants; all which part Muratori unfortunately omits as being written in a rude style; observing also, that Genoa in his time has better masters for such lessons.‖ All guides of the middle ages lay great stress upon the maintenance of this peace, St. Thomas ascribing to it a certain beauty which causes spiritual joy and almost ecstasy in the beholder.¶ "Domestic discord is the greatest of all evils," says Cardan, in the very treatise in which he shows the utility that may be drawn from adversity.* The roots of such miseries were eradicated by the Catholic religion, which vivified and enforced all the provisions of nature; for humility had curbed ambition, and meekness the unruly tongue. We have before remarked what simple manners reigned. Our leaves must still resemble former. Life in the middle ages was not that ceaseless struggle for distinction which the Roman satirist describes, comparing it to the chariot-race, in which each one strives to get before the other: it was not so rare to find men contented with the present, and ready to say it is enough. Φιλοκτεανώτατε πάντων, the disdainful epithet applied to Agamemnon by Achilles, in his wrath, might have been used in the middle ages to express the same feeling. Therefore the poet represents a Jew boasting of his superiority in the art of making money. "They say we are a scattered nation. I cannot tell: but we have scrambled up more wealth by far than those that brag of faith."† The officers of Philippe-le-bel are reproached by an old historian for having such magnificent gold and silver plate; but these were in fact men like the Jew-banking nobles, who then, as now, were such enemies of the Church. The Catholic nobles, on the contrary, often imitated monastic simplicity. Humbert II., dauphin of Vienne, made rules for his table in 1336, which Le Grand-D'Aussy says would be fit for that of a convent of monks.‡ In castles, in palaces, in huts and shops, was found the life of those delivered from miserable ambition. With peace of heart men beheld, without courting, the proud thresholds of the powerful. Secret ambition did not disturb the peace of friendships which were chosen without regard to it. "In their friends," says Peter of Blois, "men seek peace of mind, not profit."§ The law of friendship requires that a friend must be received with so much the more reverence, as he is understood to be in a greater necessity."‖ "Desire not the

* De Repub. vi. † xx. 316.
‡ Cardan. de Consolat. ii.
§ Ap. Pez. Script. Rer. Aust. ii.
‖ Rer. It. Script. tom. ix.
¶ De Regim. Prin.

* Lib. iii. c. 2. † Marlowe.
† Hist. de la Vie Privée des Français, iii. 266.
§ De Amicitia Christiana, 15.
‖ Id. 19.

of a greater name, or a particular
tance with many, for these things
distractions and great obscurities in
t." Such was the advice of religion.
igly domestic retirement was a vir-
he middle ages. Bernardine Scar-
speaking of the illustrious women
a, accounts for his not enumerating
observing that they, being modest
uous, prefer remaining concealed
nown to being seen in public.*
the greatest genius, so far from
a contrary disposition, were ob-
ike Michael Angelo, to shun society,
ve retreat, if not solitude. "What
uce more to piety and justice, and
r life," says Cardan, "than to live
ouse hidden and removed from the
ene?"† Cardan remarks that all
s persons are afflicted with anger,
en or concealed; for many things,
must happen to make them angry,
y never think that they are treated
to their just claim:‡ and thus
irreconcileable enmities are those
e the least foundation. Such men,
e says, will hear nothing that can
that which offends them. They
the physician; they will be angry
friend. "They live all their life
s Plato says, "friends to no one,
s either tyrannizing over some one,
n a state of servile submission to
; but of peace and true friendship
r taste."§ From such misery men,
faith, were more free. Religion so
over natural impossibilities that
ons prone to anger knew that their
unjust. The peace of all relation-
, therefore, less disturbed. The
Charlemagne in this respect be-
the middle ages, for like him men
ntracted friendships and retained
nstantly, and worshipped them
Men were not obliged to arm
s with the same vanity as a defence
at of others. They were not angry
were more proud than themselves.
learned to estimate pride in them-
well as in others. Their prayer
f Fulbert of Chartres:

il à nobis elatio sistat ut omnis,
submissi placeamus pectore puro.
nocens stimulos, fac nos patientes."

isq. Petav. iii. 16.
itate ex advers. Lib. iii. cap. 4.
. iii. c. 11.
ub. iv.
pus de St. Denis.

In their hospitality they sought concord, not rivalry. Their dinner, like that of the ancient philosopher, might have convinced the guest that the desire of money did not disturb their peace.* Their paleness was not that of men who arise from the ambiguous supper.† "I delight in a simple table, and I hate a luxurious one, either at home or with others," says an ancient Italian writer.‡ In the fourteenth century the nobles of Pavia, when they invited friends, had a less sumptuous board than the tradespeople and artisans.§ Antiquity remarked that the poet Ennius, the friend of Scipio, lived so simply in his house on Mount Aventine, that he kept but one servant, and that a woman. The middle ages beheld the same absence of vanity and its train in families. Brunellesco lived with the first sculptor of his age, Donatello, as the workmen of our times hardly live.

"Let gay and toilsome greatness others please,
He loves of homely littleness the ease."

When a man had a house, and a wife in that house, and as Homer says, a boy such as every one would wish a son to be,

Καὶ παῖς οἷόν πού τις ἐέλδεται ἔμμεναι υἷα,

the order of the family was not so dependent upon servants. The prayer of St. Thomas Aquinas, "That he might with respect to the care of his own person be troublesome to no one," was a very general desire. Sons did not disdain to perform menial service; so that when Imogen puts on boy's clothes, she finds the life they indicate laborious; yet though tiresome, familiar acts were beautiful through love. In the charming picture of domestic peace given by an anonymous author of the fourteenth century, representing the manners of the Paduans, we find that youths of the noblest houses used to serve at table when their fathers entertained their friends.‖

To illustrate Cardan's remark that sweeter are all things which retain the appearance of their contraries, one might have noticed this frugality in the rich, and the coarse simple dress and menial duties of their sons. The heir of the family played the part of the most amiable of the Homeric gods; he was a sort of Mercury, a mere simple lad, heedless of the wet or dusty foot, to serve

* Tusc. v. † Hor. Sat. ii. 2.
‡ Ant. Galatei, Descript. Callipolis in Thesaur. Antiq. It. ix.
§ Anon. Ticinens. de laudibus Papiæ, 13.
‖ Mur. Antiq. It. diss. xxiii.

as a guide to strangers ἐπὶ τραφερήν τε καὶ ὑγρήν. When Pope Boniface VIII. granted the indulgence to all who visited Rome at the jubilee, which caused such immense multitudes of both sexes and of all ages to repair thither, we read that "many youths who had no horses or carriages carried their fathers and mothers on their shoulders and necks; and there was such peace and quiet through all Italy that every one went securely."* In Catholic countries the same spectacle may still be seen on occasion of any great pilgrimage. Peace was with servants in each family, as St. Augustin said. Cervantes represents a lover and his expected bride, accompanied with their fathers and mothers, and many relatives, and with all their domestics enjoying a party of pleasure in common in a delicious garden on the sea-shore. Great importance was attached to this loving intercourse between all members of a house. Cardan, praising the Venitian patricians, particularly notices their gracious and liberal manners towards their servants.† He recommends the utmost gentleness and benignity in regard to them; "for," says he, "in our times, on account of religion, since all men are men, domestics are used in place of servants."‡ Sidonius Apollinaris says of his contemporary, the noble warrior Vectius. In the interior of his house he never speaks in a tone of scolding, and never receives counsel with a disdainful air; and he is not severe to search out faults. He governs all who are subject to him less by authority than by reason. One would say he was rather the steward than the master of his house."§ Michael Angelo, when his servant Urbino was on his death-bed, watched day and night by his bed, notwithstanding his own infirmities. He writes of him as follows to Vasari: "My friend, I shall write ill, but I must reply to your letter. Urbino, you know, is dead. That has been both a favour to me from God and a subject of bitter grief—a favour because he who in his life took care of me, has taught me in dying, not alone to die without regret, but to desire death. He lived with me twenty-six years, always good, intelligent, and faithful. I had enriched him; and the moment when I thought to find in him a staff for my old age, he escapes, leaving me only the hope of seeing him again in heaven. I dare reckon on it." Then, in a letter to Cornelia, his widow, he promises to adopt their son, and love him with more affection than the children of his nephew. Marguerite of Louvain, the patron of servants, was a domestic in that city, whose attachment to her master and mistress was sufficiently attested by her resolution to embrace a religious life along with them. Let us hear Dionysius the Carthusian addressing married persons. "Act and speak to your servants as you would wish others to do to you if you were a servant," says Pope St. Gregory the Great. "The master and mistress should show themselves towards all their servants loving, patient, humble, and pacific, while at the same time, just: they should treat them like brothers and sisters, and co-heirs of a celestial kingdom. Never should they speak proudly or severely to them; but if any fault should be committed in the family, they ought piously and patiently to bear it, or with charity to correct it, remembering how many faults are committed by servants, and yet how God has mercy on them. Moreover, servants must not be fatigued with immoderate labour, and they must be promptly paid; and St. Augustin says that the master should discharge an episcopal office in his house by instruction and example."* These remarks applied also to the life of apprentices in the middle ages. Of the amiable relation in which they stood to their superiors, and of the graceful manners required from them, some idea may be formed from the rules which they were to observe in order to ingratiate themselves with old and young.†

The ancient philosophers recognised the importance of exercising a pacific temper in the management of the family. The Pythagorean discipline required mildness and placability; and it used to be said that no one ever saw a disciple angry, or beat a servant.‡ Nevertheless, there is little reason to suppose that any thing like the Christian peace, which reigned in houses during ages of faith, was ever obtained, before or since, where the same religion was not found.

"Patience," says Tertullian, "ornaments the woman, proves the man; it is lovely in a boy; it is praised in a youth; it is revered in an old man; in every age it is beautiful."§

Our artisans have effectually contrived to prevent in houses a noise which Homer

* Amal. Veteres Mutinensium ap. Mur. Rer. It. Script. tom. xi.
† De Util. ex. advers. iii. 2.
‡ Id. iv. 2. § Ap. Fauriel, i. 400.

* De Laud. Vita conjugatorum, a. 15.
† Michelet, Introd. à l'Hist. Univ.
‡ Jamblich. de Pyth. vita, c. 31.
§ De Patientia.

found inseparable from the opening of magnificent doors; the sound from the locks which he compares to the roaring of a bull.* It would be well if ours had arrived at less perfection, provided there was no other jarring sound more odious to the mind that loves tranquillity. But it is easier to regulate a piece of mechanism than the human heart; and so, while all is perfected in the material order beneath our roofs, the wrangling, and the contradiction, and the sharp retort, in which men are so valiant where angry conference is held, continue day by day. The Pythagorean precept, never to stir fire with a sword, is not a household maxim, where harsh words are deemed the best and only medicine for the passionate. In the middle ages, Catholics had their maxims not less quaint and expressive.

"It would be wise to forget much for quietness," says the Spanish proverb. "Lingua placabilis ligno vitæ est comparabilis," says another, in the collection of Wipo, addressed to Henry, son of the Emperor Conrad.† Don Antonio de Guevarra, instructing a gentleman of Valencia in the duties of a husband, tells him that if he wishes to reply to every word of an angry person, neither the strength of Samson nor the wisdom of Solomon would suffice to him.‡ The manners consequent on faith had preserved families from the war of those whom anger could soon vanquish. None under the true discipline were, "sad, in the sweet air made gladsome by the sun, carrying a foul and lazy mist within, pining in their fierce ire as if some great wrong they had sustained."§ Against what the ancient poet terms the loathsome disease of an unbridled tongue the Church had made express provision, so that in ages of faith the peace of domestic life was more secured. We have before seen what was the dignity which it imparted to servants. The simplicity of Catholic manners dispensed with services that are painful and humiliating; and when essential duties were neglected, the remedy was not of a kind to disturb peace.

Preaching before the emperor Charles V., Guevara, bishop of Mondonedo, demands, "May we be angry with servants when they do not perform what we command, and when they murmur? I answer, No. We should explain their fault to them, and if they do not correct themselves, dismiss them."‖ Passionate language was to be as alien from the family as from the school.

* Od. xxi. 49.
† Ap. Martene, Vet. Script. ix. ‡ Epist. 1.
§ Dante, i. 7. ‖ *Epist. Liv. II.*

We read in the statutes of a synod, in the year 1247, that inquiry was to be made, whether any one was addicted to anger, and if any such were found, he was to be advised to lay aside his rancour.* In the time of Charlemagne, a penance of three years was imposed on persons who cherished anger.† Against impatience in the conduct of a household many excellent books were provided.‡ No thunder of words was heard in religious families, in which it was a law to speak in a soft, gentle tone.§

"Lo, when on a journey," says St. Bonaventura, teaching the shame of anger, "the intemperance of the air sometimes afflicts us, and when we escape to shelter we are glad, and think of it no more. So should we forget the detractions and injuries of men."‖ Domestic life, it must be remembered, was then in harmony with the scholastic, from which, if it exists any where, a boy now returning to his parents' house will often have occasion to repeat the exclamation of the lad bred with Plato, who, when he came home, and heard his father vociferating, cried, "I never witnessed this while I was with Plato." John Francis says of his uncle, John Picus of Mirandula, "He was always placid and mild; nothing could disturb him, and no one ever saw him angry."¶ Such was the type of the head of the Catholic family in ages of faith, and, in one respect, that of the son might be seen in Hector, of whom Helen says, in her lamentations at his funeral, that during the twenty years of her residence in his father's house, she never received from him an insulting word; and that though others might revile her, he was always to her like a father, gentle and mild.** Nevertheless, what may seem incredible to many, the servant sometimes sought to have a froward master, and courted sufferings from his bad temper. When Bourdoise was a youth, he used to leave a master if he found him kind, in order to seek one stern and difficult, from whom he would be sure to meet with ill-treatment.†† Probably he had difficulty in finding such. Innumerable passages of ancient books enable us to perceive what were the delicious fruits of peace in the

* Statuta Eccles. Cenomanens. ap. Martene, Vet. Script. Collect. tom. vii.
† De Remed. Peccat. tom. vii.
‡ Drexelius, Gymnas. Patient. i. 6.
§ Drexelii de Univ. Vitiis Linguæ, c. 35.
‖ De Profectu Religios. Lib. i. 31.
¶ Vita ejus. ** xxiv.
†† *Vie de Bourdoise*, Liv. i. 14.

houses of Catholics in ages of faith. Virtue and knowledge, gentleness and love—all that could make this world a scene of delight—were all combined in them. Petrarch speaks of the sweet place where he had spent his days amidst his family. Such was the home to which the scholar sighed to return, and which the pilgrim loved to behold in passing; when, being called to tell his tale, like Ulysses, he used to come after sun-set to join in the conversation, sitting near the fire.* Such a home was the Castle of Capranica, among the mountains of Capræ, where Petrarch was received to hospitality, which presented such a picture of peace, and sweetness, and concord, with all the elegance of the muses, while wars and hatred desolated all the country around, that he compares it to roses and lilies amidst thorns.† "Who could believe," he says, "that Capranica was the residence of the mildest and most amiable of men? Orso, count of Anquillora, tranquil in the midst of this confusion, lives with his wife in the happiest union, gives the most obliging reception to his guests, governs his vassals with a strictness tempered with love, cultivates the muses, and seeks the society of men of learning. Agnes Colonna, his wife, is one of those women who can only be praised by a silent admiration, so much does she rise above all that can be said to her honour." For the pilgrim, it is true, there was a peaceful roof provided even in the common hostel, as old charters can attest; for in 1394, Aymon de Chissé, bishop of Grenoble, explained his motive for building in the street Chenoise a hospice to receive pilgrims and poor travellers who should pass that way, by saying, in the act of foundation, "that he wished the building might serve them for a port, in which, amidst the agitation of their bad fortune, they may taste calm, at least, for a few moments."‡ As we see in the tales of Cervantes, holy images and symbols of peace were round the hostel yard: the very inn was thus peaceful. But in the family which received the pilgrim in their villa or their castle hall he found the same repose for his heart: there he loved to sit, not to hear them tell of parentage and birth, and echo conversations dull and dry, or else "that common, false, cold, hollow talk which makes the heart deny the yes it breathes;" but, because sweet and simple, and yet subtle words, would cheer the winter's night, and make him love each member of that family; and the fire would flash upon his face till the day might dawn, and make him wonder at his stay; there no smooth good-breeding, supplemental grace, with lean performance, aped the work of love. There he found, not what the poet dreads—"a duel in the form of a debate, the clash of arguments and jar of words, worse than the mortal brunt of rival swords." In social intercourse, argumentation and vehemence were deprecated as subversive of tranquillity, and of the serene, affable tone which should distinguish it.* What he wished, was true. The books that had engaged their childhood pleased them at a riper age, the man approving what had charmed the boy, and, therefore, they lived in comfort, and delight, and peace. The idle persons condemned by the apostle, who went from house to house, talkative and indulging in that curiosity which the ancient poet says is always malevolent,† formed an infinitely small portion of society in the middle ages, when men regarded as deadly crimes detraction and the habit of looking into the vices of friends, with eagle eyes, which even the Gentiles branded.‡

"Be not inquisitive," said religion; "what is it to you whether such a person be this or that, whether he acts or says so? You will not have to answer for others. Commit all to God, who sees and knows all, and preserve yourself in peace, and send away the agitator to agitate as much as he wishes."

Great importance was attached to the cultivation of a simple, tranquil, and open manner; and this language, for manner is also a language, and the most persuasive of all, as a late diplomatist observed, was sure to preserve peace in families. The brightness of domestic joy was not overshadowed, therefore, by the presence of a gloomy mourner, talking of being vexed of late with passions of some difference, conceptions only proper to himself, which give some soil, perhaps, to his behaviour. The men of the ages of faith have not to tell us how they spun a shroud of talk to hide them from the sun of this familiar life, and that this seems to be but quaint mockery of all that they would believe. The sweet charms of domestic peace could rivet them to home; their hope, besides, was not built upon the false earth's inconstancy.

* Od. xvii. 570. † Epist. ii. 13.
‡ Notice Chron. sur les Evêques de Grenoble.

* Petrarch. Epist. ix. 10.
† Plautus, Stichus, i. 3. ‡ Hor. Sat. iii.

illiam Ventura, writing in 1310, in his
nicles of Asti, inserts his own testament,
the instructions he gave his sons, to
a he says, "If you should be troubled in
n or property, be patient towards all
and do not, on that account, cause sad-
to your families; for I was in many
les, and by patience the Lord delivered
and, remember, that by many tribula-
we must enter into the kingdom of
* The feeling ascribed to Philoctetes
phocles, which is so prevalent wherever
atholic religion does not exist in all
re, leaves but few traces in the litera-
f the ages of faith. From hours of
ig then men drew forgiveness, and
still greater abhorrence of reconci-
n. "Self-love," says one of these hum-
nides, "closes the eyes of the mind,
s the cause, and root, and nourish-
of all evils. O Lord Jesu Christ,
whence flow the rays of love, how in-
s he who loves only himself!"† Thus
was with the meek and lowly of

Differences of character and of
s, were, indeed, in each house; but,
ntemporary writers, "peace was with
ro lives; the discordant life was ab-
from that family, being neither with
ha nor with Mary, or, if it was there
a moment, on the Lord entering it
"In a house in which Christ is
ed," says Peter of Blois, "there ought
no murmurs of Martha complaining
ary; yet it is pious and pleasant that
ould be Martha who complains of
and not Mary of Martha."‡ "There
be differences," says St. Augustin,
n as between Barnabas and Paul,
n did not kill charity, or as when you
yourself sometimes without hating
elf."§ "Thus the apostles," says St.
ventura, "differed sometimes from
other, as did even the angels, as we
rk in the Book of Daniel."‖ But the
of the Catholic family was one of
rsal kindness. The epithet, my gentle
ny gentle mother, which men used
ery occasion, sheds a beautiful light
e character of the age. What domestic
ony breathes in the spiritual dialogue
an Gerson, addressed to his five sis-
n which he speaks with such affection
em, and of his two brothers, and of

hronic. Astense, 157. ap. Murat. Rer. It.
tom. xi.
diotæ Contemp. 31. ‡ Sermo xxxv.
n Ps. xxxiii Enar.
leterminationes Quæstionum circa Reg. S.
. 20.

their father and mother!* Never was natural affection so holy or more intense. "Our life is finished, our child is lost," is the exclamation of parents in one of our old books, arguing a more just affection than those cries of Priam, who, in grief for the death of Hector, inveighs against his other sons, calling them liars and evil children, and wishing that they had perished.† But religion soothed the gentle heart, and the gentleness of the dove was the type of all. Men were gentle in every thing, in disposition, manner, desires, constructions. That beauty of life, which Denys the Carthusian distinguishes in his Treatise on the Beauty of the World, was found in the Catholic family. Ambrose Leo says, that the people of Nola so love beauty and elegance in every thing, that even in choosing names for their sons and daughters they select such as are most beautiful.‡ Their hearts, in short, were the home of every amiable affection that makes peace. In their writings they wish to transmit the dear familiar name; in their paintings, as we may witness in the cloisters of Florence, they represent, for saints, their wives, and sons, and fathers; on their tombs they wish to perpetuate the memory of the peace that they enjoyed on earth. Thus, on that of Guido de Rochfort and his wife, the illustrious Lady Mary de Chambellan, in the abbey of Citeaux, it was said that she was a mirror of peace, and that the peace of that family was never troubled.

"Quoncques entre eulx ny eust nul desarroy
Noise, ou discorde, mais en paix, en joie
Et en amour, qui est de tout bien mon joye
Ils ont vescu ensemble tout leur temps."§

One can form an estimate of the tone of peace and innocence, which was deemed essential to domestic life in all its relations, from reading the beautiful admonitions of Ratherius of Verona, given to all members of a house, to married persons, to children, boys, youths, and old men:‖ and Dante, too, enables us to collect what was the interior of many families in his time, when saying that youth has for its portion obedience and gentleness, modesty and beauty; that its ornaments are tenderness, courtesy, loyalty, temperance, and strength; and that

* Gersonis Opera, tom. iii.
† Il xxiv. 253
‡ De Nola, Lib. iii. c. 6. ap. Græv. Thesaur. Ant. It tom ix.
§ Voyage de Deux Benedict. x 203.
‖ Ratherii Ver. Episcop. Præloquiorum, Lib. ii. ap. Martene, Vet. Script. Collect. tom. ix.

old age is the season for imparting what has been learned, that it is the hour when the rose opens and sheds its perfume; that its properties are prudence, justice, kindness, and affability.*

In ages of faith, as at present, in Catholic countries, we find families invested with an Homeric and patriarchal character, which argued the maintenance of peace. Under the paternal roof in the house of Priam the fifty sons dwelt with their wives, and the fifty daughters with their husbands.† Similarly, in the castles of the middle ages, as in France at present, the married children remained with their parents.

"I only ask one thing," said a young French bridegroom to an Italian girl who was to be his wife, and my revered friend Father de Geramb heard the words, "it is that you respect my father and mother, as I respect them, and then I shall endeavour every day of my life, to render you happy."‡ What may seem strange to some, discord was not among even the servants of different masters, as in the house of Lear's daughter. Daughters were then bred in blessed Mary's school, of whom the church says, "When did she ever by her countenance offend her parents? When did she dissent from her relatives? When did she disdain the humble? Nothing stern in her eyes, nothing harsh in her words, nothing petulant in her tone." Filial obedience, I must repeat it, was deemed a subject of historical importance. The chronicles of St. Denis praise Louis le gros, "because he never in all his life caused the least trouble to his father."§ Beautiful is the exhortation of Wipo to the Emperor Henry III. to induce him to be ever grateful to his pious mother, who had taken such care to have him well instructed. He says to him,

"Cum valeas alios acquirere semper amicos
Mater in hac vita non plus tibi venerit ulla."‖

The respect due to the elder members of each family was maintained by the positive authority of religion, rather than by any general reasoning like that of Pythagoras.¶ Legislators even in a paternal way enforced it. The ancient law of Berne provided that the grandmother should have the best at the fire-side and that if a married continued to reside with his mother should always resign to her the best every where.* This respect was after death.

On All Souls' eve it was the custom to chairs round the fire, and to leave vacant for those who used to occupy t I have found in ancient noble F families the memory still fresh, of sor daughters who when themselves aged, always remain standing, till their fi and mothers were seated. "He who w to lead a tranquil life," says Cardan, " above all things have a well-const house."† Religion secured this for n

I would rather not be an emperor a humble son, than an emperor and und son. Such were the words of an emp son; and Richard, archbishop of C bury, after citing them to Henry, son of Henry II., adds, "I wish you how sweet, how delightful a thing it have, and having, to venerate parents. most sweet delight is often not appre until parents are lost."§ Richard I this on his death-bed when he ordere his body should be buried in the abl Fonteverau at the feet of his father, a implore his forgiveness. Great adv ment did not interrupt the sweet cha of familiar life; mark an instance:—M Peter de Vineis to his most pious m her most devout son wisheth the cons of the subjection of her children. turning to conscience, I recognise tha for my merits hath the divine clem exalted poor me, and of soft clay fo me, when it granted me a fit place in imperial court, and favour in the ey the prince; for God had respect t humility of my mother, his hand-ma and of my poor little sister, leading hit a sorrowful life: because he wished b his servant to dispel their poverty. brious admonitions are kindled, ther dear mother, before the eyes of my n and thus I will conduct myself humb long as I live, that in all good works I please God and all good men.‖

Filial love followed men to the cloi Hermannis Contractus, the monk of R naw, though his chronicle is but a

* Ozanam, Essai sur la Phil. de Dante, 161.
† Il. vi. ‡ Pélerinage, &c. ii. 209.
§ Ad an. 1108.
‖ Wiponis Pang. ap. Canisii Lectiones Antiq. tom. iii.
¶ [illegible]h. vita, 8.

* Michelet, Origines du Droit, 414.
† Monteil. Hist. des Français, tom viii. 3
‡ De Util. ex. advers. Lib. i. cap. 2.
§ Petr. Bles. Epist. xlvii.
‖ Ap. Martene, Vet. Script. Collect. tom. 1160.

chronological view of the most remarkable events from Adam to his own time, inserts at great length an account of his own mother's death. "This year," saith he, "1052, my mother Hiltrud, wife of Count Wolfrad, a pious, mild, liberal, and religious woman, made her devout and happy transit from this miserable life, in her sixty-first year. She was buried at Aleshausen, under the chapel of St. Udalric, and I placed these lines upon her tomb.

'Mater egenorum, spes auxiliumque suorum:
Religione pios præ cunctis fovit amicos:
Cunctis morigeram se dedit et placidam,
Atque manens mitis, patiens, ac nescia litis
Complacuit mundo, O utinamque Deo,
Crede panegyricis non hæc me fingere vanis,
Nec matrem verbis tollere falsidicis:
Consule rumorem quaquaversum popularem,
Dictaque de veris paucula, certus eris.'"*

The monk of the middle ages can give but one line to relate the fall of empires; he devotes a page to commemorate his mother. Fraternal love has left many traces. Thus in the cathedral of Laon, on the tomb of Reinold and Hildegard his sister, were these verses:

"In vita cari, post mortem hic quoque juncti;
Hos nec mors dirimit, quos humus una tegit.
Hi duo diversas tenuerunt ordine vitas,
Vir speculativam, femina pragmaticam.
Hos igitur tibimet pariter conjungere cœlo
Non dedigneris, Christe redemptor. Amen."†

We have before seen what a part obedience from a sense of duty played in Catholic society. Belial, the Demon's name, was known to signify without a yoke, or without a master, because "as far as he can," says St. Bonaventura, "he resists Him to whom he ought to be subject."‡ One chapter of St. Bonaventura's tract on the six wings of the seraphim, is entitled, "qui sunt qui magistro non indigent. Since it is rare," he concludes, "to find such, there are but few who should live without the yoke of obedience. Therefore, they who preside over others, ought to have others over them, whom they may obey, up to the chief pontiff himself, who is the Vicar of Christ." Here then evidently was great provision for peace in the family, and in the state. Moreover, the practices of religion secured the tranquillity of the house. To represent the occupations of life at the present day, where the manners of faith have perished, the shield of Achilles would be quite sufficient. War, ambuscades, marriages, feasts, lawsuits, plunder, agriculture, the harvest and vintage, song and dancing, fill up completely the circle. In ages of faith we must recollect men had other exercises, more redolent of tranquillity. We have before remarked that the very construction of houses indicated thoughtful, and we may here add, peaceful habits. Sometimes an inscription expressly proclaimed that the family was in a deep religious sense at peace. Thus over the door of a house in the eighth century, there were these beautiful lines:

"Qui Ægyptios agni dudum de sanguine postes
Signavit, nostros signat et ipse Deus."*

In the description of the hotel of St. Paul, at Paris, in the time of King Charles V. we read of "the great chamber of retreat," and also of "the chamber of study." In the apartment of the duke of Orleans, there was a cabinet, which was called "the retreat where Monsieur Louis de France says his Hours."† That interior life indicated by the mere plan and form of these ancient houses, whether isolated in the country or in cities, bespeaks the calm which is so remarkable in ancient writings. In those long galleries, those vaulted chambers, those turrets, those solemn chapels, those obscure passages leading to some secret room, where the winds seemed to bear sweet music when they breathed through the dim lattice, men of former times found a peace which the world without could seldom give. Here was facility for recollection, gravity, and silence. On the window of a house as old as the time of Charlemagne, were these verses inscribed:

"Ne David grabatum tentator callidus intret
Signetur Domini ista fenestra manu.
Quadrus evangelii defendat numerus omne
Corpus et interius cunctipotens animam."‡

Where the chapel was not part of the edifice, access to the sanctuary was always near. From the old palace of the counts of Flanders at Bruges, those princes could pass through upper halls under the same roof to the church of St. Donat, in which Charles the Good was murdered, at one side, and to the chapel of the holy blood

* Herm. Cont. Chronic. ap. Canisii Lect. Antiq. tom. iii.
† Voyage de Deux Benedict. 46.
‡ Compend. Theol. Verit. Lib. ii. 26.

* Ap. Martene, Vet. Script. vi.
† Michelet, iii. 486.
‡ Ap. Martene, Vet. Script. vi.

at the other. In each house every night, God was implored to send his holy angels to dwell in it, and to keep its inhabitants in peace: and the angels being of the school of Him who loves peace, as Peter of Blois says, "being themselves heralds of peace, sons of peace, were known to require above all things peace and concord, so that St. Peter desiring the peace of the angelic society, said, 'above all things have mutual charity.'"* Of this domestic peace in ages of faith, the basis no doubt was the sanctity of marriage, on which we before dwelt, and the sacramental character with which the conjugal state was invested. The diploma granted by William, King of Sicily, to his wife Jane, daughter of Henry, King of England, begins with these words, "the conjugal bond is made venerable by the altitude of the sacrament, that it may bind more strongly among other goods of peace, the concord of human things."† As the church says in an ancient formula, "society was constituted by that nuptial benediction which alone has not been rescinded either by the penalty of original sin or by the sentence of the deluge."‡ In these ages of retiring virtue, marriage was a yoke of love, as the church wished it to be, and as our Shakspeare says,

"A pattern of celestial peace."

The type of wedlock then was witnessed in Duke Louis of Thuringia and St. Elizabeth, to whom Montalembert compares the picture which Dante gives of a celestial marriage, saying, "their concord and glad looks, wonder and love, and sweet regard, gave birth to holy thoughts."§ On thrones men beheld the loving unions of St. Louis and his Marguerite, of Edward I. and his Eleonora. "They who are married," says Denis the Carthusian, "should entertain for each other a fourfold love: spiritual, from a consideration of the sacramental bond; natural, from the similarity of nature, or from regard to their personal qualities, or natural gifts; social, in consideration of the pleasure of their mutual conversation; and even common or ordinary, according to the sentence of St. Thomas who says, 'that it may be lawful within the limits prescribed by God.'" The church could reckon so securely upon these fruits, that we find it was a constant practice in the middle ages, to terminate discords by a marriage. "One of the benefits resulting from marriage," says Denis the Carthusian, "is, that it often extinguishes enmities between kings and princes, and others, appeasing troubles, and thus saving whole provinces."‖

Shakspeare's friar knew this well, and, therefore, when he first hears of Romeo's love for Juliet, he anticipates a peace between their rival houses:

"Come, young waverer, come go with me,
In one respect I'll thy assistant be;
For this alliance may so happy prove,
To turn your household's rancour to pure love."

Thus Friar John, of Vicenza, ordained, for the sake of peace, a marriage between the Lady Adelaide, daughter of Lord Alberic, of Romana, and Rainald, son of the marquis of Este, which measure was received with joy and praise by the crowd, who were present when he proposed it.† A bloody feud having divided the house of the counts of Landsberg, Pope Innocent III. prepared to terminate it by a marriage.‡ The letter of the college of cardinals to the princes of Italy, desiring them to receive with honour the Princess Clementia, the betrothed of Charles of Salerno, on her passage, begins thus: "The Apostolic See revolving thoughts of peace, and preparing quiet as far as it can for the Christian people, that they may dwell in secure tabernacles, and may rest in opulent repose, hath advisedly provided for a union by the bond of affinity between the two illustrious sons of the Church, Rodulph and Charles, Kings of the Romans and of Sicily, to the tranquillity and peace of Christianity, and the exaltation of the Catholic faith, which will be promoted by their concord and unanimity."§ In 1312 it was decreed by the council of the citizens of Brescia, that to preserve peace between the noble families that had been so long at variance under the banners of Guelph and Gibelline, the daughters of the former should be married to the sons of the latter, and the sons of the latter to the daughters of the former. Then the son of Bertolus de Madiis was married to the daughter of Federico de Griffis, and the daughter of the same Bertolus to Gerard de Bruxati, whose son was given to the daughter of

* Pet. Blo. Sermo xxxix.
† Martene, Vet. Script. Collect. i. 902.
‡ Id. xi. § Par. xi.
‖ De Laud. Vitæ Coniugatorum, a. x.

* De Laud. Vitæ Conjugatorum, a. x.
† Gerardi Maurisii Hist. ap. Mur. Rer. It. Script viii.
‡ Hurter. ii. 739.
§ Martene, Vet. Script. Coll. ii. p. 1278.

e Yseo. Many other marriages were lebrated for the same object.* Again , in consequence of a discord which between the marquises of Boscho e Malaspinas, the Lady Agnes, er of Lord William de Boscho, was a marriage to Lord Frederic Malas-

In the year 1244, the government gna, we read, made peace between f the citizens, as between the Dal- id the Malatachos, the Torellis and dalos, the Griffonis and the same s, and many others, for which pur- iany marriages were made.‡ In ord Albert of Dalfino was married daughter of Ecceline de Torelli, a this occasion," adds the historian, to last from being enemies were riends." Similarly in 1260, many marriages were made between rival stile houses, in order to promote

Another writer, in 1330, says, he inhabitants of Pavia, who, ig- as well as noble, have all their r family emblems, never contract ges between persons of the same ut that it is their custom always ry into strange families, whether al or unequal rank, and to con- uch alliance with persons of rival tile houses, in order to possess erve peace."§ "In the time of the or Conrad II. William Marchesella, family of the Adelards, was chief of the parties in Ferrara, Taurellus lerra being head of the adverse. After urn from the holy land, William no offspring, adopted as his heiress, esalla, the infant daughter of his Adelard. Then wishing to pro- vingly for the safety and peace of ublic of Ferrara, lest it should be discords and wars, he, by his testa- which I have seen, and which is ted in my hands," says the historian, red his adopted heiress, not yet seven ld, to the guardianship of Taurello, ef of the adverse party, as the future of his son."¶ Petrus Cellensis as follows to a cardinal: "All things e done in the church of God, are to be adapted to the great rule left by Christ for all Catholic fathers, which declares that all the law and the prophets are included in the love of God and our neighbour; therefore, venerable father, dispensations are not unworthily granted for a greater and better recompence. We wish you to know what evils and what slaughter of men have afflicted our lands in consequence of the wars of certain noble men, Count Vischard de Ruzeius and the Count Recensis and Hugo de Petripont. Innumerable men have been slain or taken captive. Religious houses have been plundered, and other evils caused. At length, by the intervention of good, and wise, and religious men, they are disposed to contract marriages amongst themselves, that, at least by those ties, they may be induced to keep peace. Therefore, let your discretion judge whether the obstacles on account of consanguinity ought not to be removed by the dispensation of the pope, for the sake of peace and putting an end to so many evils."* Thus it seems never to have entered into the imagination of men in ages of faith, that marriage could be any thing but a source and bond of amity and peace; in fact, the influence was not confined to the immediate family. "One of the benefits of marriage," says Denis the Carthusian, "is that it extends and secures friendship between many persons, since all the relations of the young man and woman are thus brought to love one another as connections."† So in an ancient formula the church says in blessing the bride, "Floreatis rerum præsentium copiis, fructificetis decenter in filiis, gaudeatis perenniter cum amicis."‡ Don Antonio de Guevara speaks of his resolution not to repeat his visits to a house where he was received with such maigre looks, that he left it quite confused, repeating the words, "quia faciem frigoris ejus quis sustinebit?" Such were not domestic manners in his time: the Catholic wife of the ages of faith was not like the spectral lady of Aprigny, who presents to every one a frozen hand; wherever she appeared, there were the sweet fruits of peace. "It is natural," says an ancient German law, "that woman should protect whatever is pursued. A wolf even who should seek refuge near a woman, ought to be suffered to live for her love."§ Perhaps it was from this sentiment that by ancient

ob. Malvecii Chronic. Brixianum, ix. 26.
. Rer. It. Script. tom. xiv.
onic. Placentinum ap. id. tom. xvi.
t. de Griffonibus Memoriale Historic. Rer. ap. id. tom. xviii.

m. Ticinens. de Laudibus Papiæ, ap. id. m. xi.
ronica Parva Ferrariensis, ap. Murat. Rer. pt. viii.

* Pet. Cellens. Epist. Lib. vi. 3.
† De Laud. Vitæ Conjug. 2.
‡ Ap. Martene, tom. ii.
§ Michelet, Origines du Droit, 328.

laws the house was an asylum, sacred as a church. "If a man be pursued by an armed man to the house of another," says the law of Augsbourg, "or even to the stable, the armed man will have outraged the master of that house; and if he enter, the outrage will be more serious still." "To enable her husband to live pacifically and with delectation," says Denis the Carthusian, "is the office of a good wife; and it is a great happiness for her when she has a pacific husband: so before contracting marriage, there should be an inquiry into the disposition of both parties relative to their love of peace."* This harmony of families can be collected even from the old charters of foundations, which so often specify, that they are granted at the desire, or even by the order of mothers or wives. Thus at the end of a donation to the Carthusians of Chalais, we read, "the seal of Count Guigo d'Albon, who made this donation; the seal of Matilda, who ordered this donation to be made." It was this Princess Matilda who persuaded her husband, the same Count Guigo d'Albon to make peace with St. Hugues, bishop of Grenoble. Thus again in the letters of foundation of the Grand Chartreuse, we read, "I Humbert de Miribel, together with Odo and others who have jurisdiction here:" and these are Pontius and Boso, at the prayers and intervention of their mother.

Pictures of the domestic peace resulting from love in marriage, abound in our ancient books and monuments. Witness these ancient crosses and priories, erected to mark the spot where the bodies of deceased husbands and wives rested for a moment on their way to the grave. The priory of the holy cross between the castles of Eu and Tréport, was founded by Robert, count of Eu, in memory of the body of Beatrix, his wife, having been laid down there while the bearers rested. The chronicles of St. Denis abound with examples which occur incidentally, and the simplicity with which they describe the grief of the survivor is often affecting. "Elle ne vesqui que un pou de temps, ne n'ot oncques puis joie en son cuer."† Such is the style of these passages, of which we saw instances in a former book. We observed also before, that love was proclaimed in affectionate terms upon tombs. What testimonies to conjugal affection do we find on sepulchres in the beautiful regions of Italy, which are so many proofs of the domestic peace that had reigned in these delicious villas! On one at Sorentum, John Orificius thus speaks:

"Heu mihi quas lacrimas conjux gemitusque dolenti
Linquis! quos reliquos ad mea damna dies?
At tantum lacrimæ tristes gemitusque valebunt
Dum felix tecum condar in hoc tumulo."*

Charles Schott styles the tomb of his wife in the church of St. Gudule, at Brussels, "a monument of love and sorrow." After stating her premature death, he adds: "Vel homo non sit, vel æternum doleret! Ego certe divulsam à me animam non prius lugere desinam, quam mihi cum ea perennare detur in cœlis cum qua ne annare quidem datum in terris." On the tomb of the very illustrious princess Lady Mary of Burgundy, wife of Maximilian, afterwards king of the Romans, we read, "Four years and nine months did she live with her husband graciously and in great love." In the convent of the Franciscans was the tomb of Catherine Nogaret de la Valette, on which was an affecting epitaph, stating that her husband, Henry, Duc de Joyeuse, through grief at the loss of such a sweet and holy wife, renounced the world and devoted himself to God in the order of Capuchins, in which he died, as frère Ange, in 1608, in his forty-first year. Collections of letters bear the same testimony. Truly affecting is that of Einhard, to Lupus, abbot of Ferrers, relating the death of his wife;† and that of Don Antonio Guevara, bishop of Mondonedo, in the time of Charles V., to console the commander Angulo on the death of his wife Aldonca, whom he advises to go to communion, to visit hospitals, moderate his expressions of grief, and set more value on being a true Catholic than a disconsolate widower. What affection was evinced by Henrietta de Savoy, when the idea of losing her husband, the duke of Mayenne, caused her a sickness which terminated in death before his obsequies were celebrated, so that they were both carried together to the same vault in the cathedral of Soissons. Vittoria Colonna, daughter of Fabricio, on the death of her husband Ferdinand d'Avalos, marquis of Pescaro, renounced the world in the full lustre of her beauty, and consecrated her talents to celebrate his

* De Vit. Conjug. 14.
† Antiq. et Hist. Campaniæ, ap. Græv. It. Ant. It. ix.

* Ad. an 1270. † Lupi Epist. iii.

. The chivalrous romances, as of real manners, might supply it testimony. What conjugal love of Gilion de Trasignyes, where the er is afraid to announce abruptly wife the return of her husband holy land, "lest she should die joy as others have died."

l not be wandering from our path ect a narrative from an ancient hat may show in what manner rriages, which were so productive of s peace, were originally contrived. then, hear a chronicle relative to [., king of Germany. The duke liberating with his wife, the venera- on Hathawic, respecting the choice for their youngest son Henry, who ved by every one for his virtues, eported to them that in the con- Herivord there was a maiden by [atilda, noble, virtuous, and fair. descended from Witikind, and her were Count Thietric and Reinbilda.

This count's mother being the f Herivord, had received the girl ducated in sacred readings and work. Duke Otho, therefore, hav- d of her merit, sent his son Henry nvent, along with Count Thietmar er, in order that he should judge self. So he chose a number of e youths to accompany his son, in at he might proceed more boldly. oaching the convent they pitched a field, while a few of them, as if ake of prayer, entered the church. ey saw the maiden, sitting within, a psalter in her hand, most de- and reverentially clad. Henry, noved at the sight of so beautiful , forbad his companions to mention t purpose they had come. Then g to the tents where the other ere waiting for them, Henry put rincely attire, and so came back to ch with all his train. On asking on to speak with the abbess, she th and received them all graciously. e first salutations she led young nd the count into her chamber, re conversed with them. The king courage, began to inquire g the maiden's age, and lastly l leave to see her; who, being the abbess, appeared before them her chaste virginal modesty, and lovely countenance, in which were aid the colours of the lily and the ithout further delay the object of the visit was then declared; whereupon the abbess cast down her eyes and remained silent for a long time, as if in doubt. But when the youth persevered more and more in his petition, that venerable lady said, "It is not in our power to give her to any one without the counsel and permission of her parents, of whose intentions we are ignorant. This only we can say, that from our part, by the will of God, there shall be no obstacle to your nuptials; for we have long heard of the excellence of your house, and this visit confirms what we have heard." The consent was soon obtained, and Henry led her into Saxony to Walohusen, where the marriage was solemnized with great joy. Who can describe the peace, the purity, and the Christian graces of this happy house. The history which records its virtue was written, by desire of the emperor St. Henry. "O blessed pair," exclaims the author, "who were united not alone in flesh, but in one mind and one spirit, prompt to every good work. The one love of Christ was in them the same love for their neighbour—the same compassion for their subjects. Persisting thus in great prosperity and peace, they desired by the inspiration of God Almighty to construct monasteries, thus diffusing peace around them. If she heard that any one was oppressed or imprisoned for crime, or by popular trial condemned to death, she had no cheerfulness until she had appeased the king's anger; and if she ever was dismissed unheard, the king on retiring would tremble at the words, 'With what judgment you judge, you shall be judged.' When on his death-bed at Memleben, he said to her, 'O faithful and beloved one, we thank Christ that you survive us. How often have you mitigated our anger, recalled us from iniquity to justice, and admonished us to show compassion on the oppressed!' When she saw that he was dead, she prostrated herself in prayer, and then rising up, asked if any one were still fasting who could say mass for the soul of her Lord. Adeldac, a priest, answered, 'Lady, we have not yet tasted any thing.' The venerable queen then took off two bracelets, which in general could never be removed without the aid of a smith; but on this occasion they seemed to yield to a touch; and giving them to him, she said, 'Take this gold and say mass of the dead.' As long as she lived afterwards she used to show great favour to this priest, never losing the remembrance that it was he

who first sung mass for the soul of King Henry; and for the same reason she finally prevailed on her son, the Emperor Otho I., to make him a bishop. In presence of the dead body she then exhorted her two sons, Otho and Henry, to union and peace, reminding them of what is said in the gospel respecting the exaltation of the humble and the humiliation of the proud. As a widow she was a model of all sanctity. At night, when all were asleep, she used to rise and enter the church; and before the cock crew she used to finish the whole psalter, if the nights were not short. No one ever saw her idle from good works. She was mild and pacific, quick to compassion, judging no one, condemning no one, rendering to no one evil for evil, but enduring all things with untroubled love. She used to minister to the cock who announced day, to call up the faithful to serve Christ; nor did she forget the singing birds, for whom she used to scatter crumbs under the trees in the name of their Creator. She used to take always candles and food in her chariot, to distribute to oratories and to the poor; and in winter great fires used to be lighted and kept up all the night, both in houses and in the open air, that every wanderer might have warmth at need, and a light to direct his steps."*

Such details are seldom given by modern historians of the middle ages. A few satirical verses of licentious troubadours must set at rest, according to their report, the question respecting the peace of domestic life. Their pages are to record, not these sweet and lovely scenes within the paternal dwelling, but, as Homer says, "slaughter and blood, and the groans of men." Yet when such was the pacific order within innumerable families we should be justified already in concluding that in those days flourished justice and abundance of peace. In fact, the Church, in her office of the dead, seems to look back at this tranquillity of domestic life, as if dying men might grieve to leave it "non aspiciam hominem ultra, et habitatorem quietis."

CHAPTER VI.

BUT not within the family alone was peace in these ages found. The whole community, more or less, felt the influence; for wherever the Catholic Church has children, there must be peace, since love is the spirit which distinguishes them: and, therefore, St. Thomas says, that the mere view of the order of Christian states causes harmony and sweetness of mind.* "All who are made new in Christ," says St. Augustin, "sing what the psalmist terms a new song; and this is the song of peace, this is the song of charity. No one who separates himself from the alliance of the saints sings this new song: for he follows the old animosity, not the new charity, which is peace, the spiritual bond, the edifice of living stones. He bears the thorns of dissension, not the fruits of love: therefore, his song is old: he has grown old amongst his enemies: he has not been renewed by grace."† The virtues which are exclusively found in the garden of the Church, or which only as forced exotics can be seen elsewhere, are all the delicious graces which St. Paul terms the fruits of the Spirit, charity, joy, peace, patience, benignity, goodness, longanimity, meekness, faith, modesty; opposed to enmities and contentions, emulations, angers, quarrels, dissentious sects, envyings, homicides; and if any one should think that this contradicts what we before advanced respecting the noble and magnanimous character of Catholic morality, let him be told that, according to the judgment of the middle ages, "the desire of human glory," to use

* De Reg. Princ. iv. 3.

* Vita Mathildis Reginæ, ap. Leibnitz Script. Brunsvic. Illust. tom. i.

† In Ps. cxlix. En.

the words of St. Thomas, "takes away greatness of mind;"* that "meekness belongs to heroic virtue;"† and peace to youth, because the Catholic religion in some degree leads to a restoration of the state of innocence; and, therefore, the chronicles of St. Denis, alluding to St. Louis, say, "The king, because he was young and gentle, granted them peace and love."‡

Bede, when summing up the praises of St. Aidan, places in the van "studium pacis." This pacific character is eminently remarkable in the care evinced by men in ages of faith to avoid litigation, to shun disputes of every kind, and to repress ambitious desires; and hence a peaceful tone pervaded Catholic society, which denoted the multitude of the sons of God on earth. Muratori remarks, that the occasions for litigation in the middle ages were much fewer than in subsequent times. The poverty of those ages in respect to laws had, at least, this advantage, that disputes were settled in much shorter time, and with less difficulty. Then were there men instructed and skilled to decide between justice and injustice, though they wanted the multiplex legal science of modern times.§ Ambrosius Antpertus, the master and archchancellor, as some say, of Charlemagne, shows the injustice of having doubtful intricate laws, by which the poor may be at the mercy of those who administer law. The evils which he exposes explain the ancient rituals, in which we find "Missa contra judices male agentes," ¶ and the law which required that a priest should stand on the judge's right hand during the trial.** The chronicles of St. Denis, relating the death of Maurilien, bishop of Cahors, in 580, say that he passed to the joys of paradise; for, besides giving immense alms, he used to sustain and defend the poor of his church, and of his diocese, against the false judgments of felon judges.†† "In 802, the pious and merciful Emperor Charles," says an ancient writer, "remembering the poor who were in his empire, and who could not have justice, was unwilling to send his vassals of the palace to administer it to the poor for gifts; but he chose archbishops and bishops, and abbots, with dukes and counts, who had no need to receive gifts from the innocent: and he sent them to administer justice to the Church, and to widows and orphans, and to the poor and to all the people."* "Let the count of the palace know," says the capitulary, "that he is appointed to administer justice to the poor and to the less powerful." So ill seconded was he by his dukes, counts, and viscounts, that he was obliged to choose for his imperial commissioners almost exclusively bishops and abbots. He had so little confidence in laical magistrates, that he authorised in all cases an appeal from their tribunal to that of the bishop. Under Louis, his son, it was decreed, that in the malls and placits, first of all widows, orphans, and the poor should be heard; and if they should be unable to conduct their causes, that patrons should be given to assist them. The ancient parliaments were judicial; and a modern author, speaking of our own, says that nothing but a complete examination of the petitions presented to the king in parliament can convey any idea of the facility with which the humblest suitor obtained, at least, a hearing, or the promise of a remedy. "These legislators," he adds, "knew that the speedy redress of minor complaints was the great secret by which the tranquillity of the commonwealth is sustained."† Wise and careful provisions were made that judges and lawyers should be men fearing God, and that if any base persons should be detected in such offices they might be expelled from them.‡ "The profession of an advocate," says St. Thomas of Canterbury, "ought to be venerable and glorious. What he has received gratis he should impart gratis; advocating the cause of orphans and widows for the utility of the republic, and for the liberty of the Church, requiring nothing, receiving what is voluntarily offered, delivering the weak from the hand of the strong, and the poor man from those that would devour him. A moderate salary would profit him more than to receive the treasures of avarice; for a little is better to a just man than the wealth of sinners. If he expended freely and without remuneration the talent of science committed to him by God, the hand of the Lord is not shortened, that He cannot reward him according to or

* De Regim. Princip. l. 7.
† Cardan de Utilitate ex advers. cap. ii. c. 14.
‡ Ad. an. 1227. § Antiq. It. xxxi.
¡ L.b. de Cupiditate, ap. Martene, Vet. Script. tom. ix. ¶ Mur. Antiq. It. Liv.
** Michelet, Origines du Droit.
†† Liv. iii. c. 12.

* Annales veteres Francorum, ap. Martene, Vet. Script. v. † Palgrave.
‡ Murat. Antiq. It. x.

beyond his merits."* "Are you a lawyer," asks Ratherius of Verona, "and do you wish to be a Christian? Remember that your name is advocate, and be a faithful minister of so good a thing: for of our Lord it is said, that we have an advocate with the Father. Dissemble, therefore, that other name which denotes your relation to causes, for the sake of preserving love."† That these views of the profession were often realised is attested even by tombs, as by that of Guillaume de Charnac, in the convent of St. Victor at Paris, who died in 1348, and on which was read: "O quam sollicite quam sancte, quamque perite jus studuit!" At Rome there was an institution for the purpose of legally defending the rights of the poor. The pious Giron, who spent his life in defending the poor, may be considered its founder. Rome then beheld a society of men of the first talent, ready at a moment to succour the indigent, and to plead their cause without remuneration. Nevertheless, to litigation under these most favourable auspices the ancient Catholic society evinced a repugnance that at the present day seems hardly credible. The Church had a horror of prosecutions. Hence the canon of the synod of Eliberina says, "If any of the faithful should become an informer, and by his information any one should be proscribed or slain, be it decreed that he receive not the communion at his death." This was in consequence, no doubt, of a peculiar position: but still the pacific shrunk from such acts. They agreed ill with the love of their hearts. The fathers of the council of Mayence under Raban Maur decreed that all clerks and monks were to refrain from engaging in any litigation or dispute in secular courts, excepting in defence of orphans or widows;‡ and in the pastoral instructions of a bishop before the year 500, we read this sentence, "Let no one amongst you be litigious."§ The general chapter of Citeaux, in 1188, prohibited the decretals of Gratian from being exposed in the common library, because it might be an occasion of fall to indiscreet spirits: and at the end of the next century Cardinal le Moine forbad the students of his college at Paris to frequent the schools of decretals. "What is this I pray?" asks St. Bernard. "From morning till evening to litigate or hear litigations? Day after day uttereth strifes; night after night indicates malice. It is of a stupid heart not to feel its own continual vexation. 'Vexatio dat intellectum auditui," says some one. It is true."* Peter of Blois writes to a clerk of the king of England, and thus dissuades him from studying law: "The wisdom from above we know is pacific. It asks the things which are of peace, and with those who hate peace teaches us to be pacific. But the science of the law is hardly ever pacific; because it is always litigating concerning contracts, or injuries, or causes, or actions, or obligations, judgments, sentences, or appeals, or other things which fan the ashes of litigation when they would otherwise have been extinguished. The science and eloquence of lawyers are all exercised on sins, and filled with quarrels. What spirit, I pray you, now dominates in the profession of law? The spirit of elation, of cupidity, of boasting, of error and giddiness, and of a pride languishing over questions and battles of words, leading men into the guilt of those who are double-tongued, seeking filthy lucre."† "A certain lawyer," says Cæsar of Heisterbach, "lately died in Saxony, and after death they could find no tongue in his mouth. Deservedly he lost it dying who had so often sold it while alive. When master Henry and Falco of Treves died, many noblemen of the country died about the same time; and I remember a certain canon saying, 'these nobles did well to take their lawyers with them; for they will stand in great need of them.'"‡ This only expressed facetiously an opinion which is gravely announced in our time by a shrewd observer, who says that lawyers "are warm in tongue and cold in heart; headstrong, punctilious, stringers of words together for ever, and enemies of logic, for logic goes straight to its end, and their business is not to arrive at it soon." Now no disposition could be more foreign from the Catholic character than this; so that where it was found, historians speak of it as a singularity. Thus Petrus Cyrnæus remarks, that the Corsicans are so skilled in pleading, that when a cause of litigation comes on you would say they were all good lawyers: though he observes elsewhere, that when a controversy arises, even in time of war, they choose any good man for arbiter, and obey his sentence no less than

* S. Thom. Epist. xxvi.
† Præloquiorum ap. Martene, Vet. Script.
‡ Heumann de Re Diplom. ii. 340.
§ Commonit. cujusque Episc. ap. Martene, Vet. Script. vii.

* De Consideratione, Lib. i. 3.
† Epist. cxl.
‡ Illust. Mirac. et Hist. Mem. Lib. xi. c. 46.

if it were the verdict of a legal magistrate.* The danger of being involved in litigation is adduced by St. Nilus as a reason for renouncing the world and flying to the desert. "One man," he says, "removes the boundary of your vineyard to enlarge his own; another sends his flock upon your lands; another turns aside the water from your garden. He who resists such things must be constantly in the forum, and exchange the contemplation of eternal things for the cunning watchfulness of a negociator."† Gerbert, afterwards Pope Sylvester, prefers even war to legal proceedings; for, writing to the abbot and brethren of Aurillac, respecting his flight from Rheims, where his election to that see had excited enemies against him, he says, "being unable to take revenge by force, they seek to do so by law, and the strife of arms is more tolerable than the discussion of laws. 'Estque tolerabilior armorum colluctatio quam legum disceptatio.'"‡ In fact, the very suspension of law proceedings on all days consecrated by religion showed an analogy with the truce of God. "It is to be announced to the minister of the republic," says a capitulary, "that from the fourth feria before the beginning of Lent, till after the octave of Easter, and from the fourth feria before our Lord's nativity till after the consecrated days, and similarly on all other days of fasting, no one must presume to hold any mall or public placit, unless it be 'De concordia et pacificatione discordantium.' There must be no litigations or contentions, lest we should incur the censure of the Lord, 'Ecce ad lites et contentiones jejunatis.'"§ One of the charges adduced against Louis-le-Débonnaire, to warrant his deposition, was that he had held a general placit in holy week, when the paschal sacraments are celebrated by all Christians; in consequence of which, he prevented the priests of the Lord from fulfilling their offices, and grievously oppressed the poor.‖

"Let no priest ever excite any litigation against his neighbour," says a capitulary of Charlemagne, which was a lesson to all the pacific.¶ "Let no one," says a decree of the synod of Worms, in 1700, "receive without deep examination the accusation in evidence of a man who frequently litigates, and who is quick to accuse."* The Proverbs of Wipo, addressed to Henry, son of the emperor Conrad, are full of denunciations against law-suits. "Viri mites renuunt lites;" and again, "It is better to hear the poor than the sound of litigation."† At Nismes, on the tomb of Bernard de Trilia, the thirteenth provincial prior of the Dominicans, it was commemorated that he had never had a contention with any one:

"Constans ac humilis, cum nemine nulla sibi lis."‡

The avoidance of lawsuits was the motive assigned by Gregory X., writing to the king of Sicily, for studying law. "That knowledge," he says, "is given in order that litigious strife may be removed, and justice secured." From the same motive testaments were to be cautiously made. Ives de Nesle, count of Soissons, preparing to join the crusade, wrote his will, which began thus: "It is a laudable foresight in a man to establish by testament what he wishes to bequeath to each, in order that after his death peace may be preserved between relatives."§ Among the rules for the third order of St. Francis, which embraced so many persons living in the world, we read that they are to use every effort to avoid lawsuits, and that if prosecuted by others, they are to endeavour to terminate the strife by a compromise.‖ In short, not alone those who were in philosophy, as in Plato's time, but multitudes of the faithful engaged in the various active pursuits of the world, were so averse to such proceedings that, as he says, they did not even know the way either to the place of popular assembly or to the courts of law, or to any other common hall, and they neither saw nor heard any laws or written decrees.¶ What is even more surprising, some cities, like Genoa, for many ages had no hall for the administration of law.** Of the resolution, prevalent in ages of faith, to suffer loss rather than institute legal proceedings, we had occasion to speak on a former occasion, citing the example of

* De Rebus Corsicis, ap. Murat. Rer. It. Script. tom. xxiv.
† S. Nili Monach. De Philosophia Christiana, ap. Martene, Vet. Script. ix.
‡ Epist. 35.
§ Capitula Rodulfi, c. 31. ap. Baluze, Miscel. ii.
‖ Ap. Duchesne, ann. Franc. ii. 331.
¶ Ap. Martene, Vet. Script. vii.

* Ap. Martene, Vet. Script. vii.
† Ap. id. tom. ix.
‡ Bern. Guidonis libell. de magist. ord. Prædic. ap. id. vi.
§ Hist. de Soissons, ii. 14.
‖ La Règle du Tiers Ord.
¶ Theatætus.
** Stellæ Annales Genuenses, ap. Mur. Rer. It. Script. xvii.

king Robert, that pattern of meekness, in which the peace of God seemed visible. In the castle of Estampes, one of the many poor whom he fed at his table, while lying at his feet, cut from his knee a gold ornament and fled. The queen, on rising from table, broke forth into bitter complaints. "Who has dishonoured you?" "No one," replied the king; "doubtless this gold being more necessary to whoever took it than to me, by God's help will profit him." Another robber cutting off the fringe of his mantle, Robert said, "Go, content with what you have taken; some one else will want the rest." Peter the Venerable, writing to Odo, abbot of the greater monastery of Tours, expressed the general conviction: "This I say, that it is safer for every Christian, and especially for a monk, to possess somewhat less in peace than somewhat more with contention." In the next book we shall see how the monks acted in this respect: here we can only observe how this advice was followed by persons in the world. The letters of Philip, count, and of Matilda, countess of Boulogne, in 1228, are to this effect: "Whereas the bishop of Meaux says that he has a right to be received into our castle of St. Martin whenever any contention arises between him and the count of Champagne; and whereas we are ignorant of that right: nevertheless, having held a council of good men, we grant for the good of peace, that as often as any contentions shall arise between the said bishop and count, if the bishop should not dare to remain at Meaux, then whether we be in the kingdom of France or out of that kingdom, he may be received by us, or by whoever may be our heirs, into our fortress of St. Martin, and have twenty of his family, with their horses, in our town of St Martin."* Thus he in fact yielded his right for the sake of peace. Nerius Capponi, the Florentine, used to make peace between citizens who were at law, exhorting secretly each side not to proceed further through avarice.† Claude le Pelletier, comptroller general and minister of state, after quitting the court in 1697, retired to his magnificent castle of Villeneuve le Roy, where he maintained a discipline almost monastic. Here was a good library and a gallery of paintings, with inscriptions upon every part of the walls, and even upon the seats in the park. In order to maintain peace in the families of his people, he made a juris-consult come from Paris, wh to refrain them from going to law with other, and to bring to an end all differen The truth is, that from the manners o first Christians must be traced this r nance of the middle ages to law, and this feeling of its inutility; for even heathens had remarked that if the j were wise men, and the assembly h there would be but little scope for eloqu or need of that art in contending, consists in giving a contrary inflecti that which had been bent from the line.† St. Chrysostom had thus sp "It is best to prevent private litigatio benign compromise, that you may dir friend to that which litigation propos effect: but as for accusations before public judges, I do not say abandon for a compromise, but never begin t The clergy in their pastoral capacity vented much litigation. Thus Bourd described as reconciling enemies and minating lawsuits.‡ Among the in tions to visitors proposed by the coun Rheims in 1408, we read that on comi each parish, they are to inquire wh there are any mortal enmities between sons belonging to it, whether there ar lawsuits pending, and if so, whethe parties can summarily be brought to cord.§ Bishops generally were chos arbiters. Thus we read that St. Hu bishop of Grenoble, acting in that cap used to terminate quarrels and appeas mities by the charm of his evang language. The church, however, not co with individual exertions, had organiz most places, as in the archbishopric of an ecclesiastical office, or court of arb for the purpose of pacifying disputes preventing lawsuits;|| whose decisions rally began like that of Arnold, archb of Cologne, in 1140, "because it is w Beati pacifici."¶ Besides which there councils of Prud'hommes, who arbitrat innumerable cases, and arranged them a bly, to whom were given most wise an rules in the time of St. Louis. Th 1364, Louis de Châtillon regulated a difference with the abbey of St. Crép Soissons, respecting seigneurial rights; this he did amicably, instead of goin law, which would have caused, he said,

* Ap. Martene, Vet. Script i. p. 1224.
† Nerii Capp. Vita ap. Mur. Rer. It. Script. xx.

* Lebeuf, Hist. du Diocèse de Paris, xii
† Quinct. ii. 17.
‡ Vie de Bourd. Liv. ii. 159.
§ Ap. Martene, Vet. Script. vii.
|| Gilles du Port, Hist. de l'Eglise d'Arles
¶ Ap. Martene, Vet. Script. ii. 114.

o the monks.* In 1350, the chapter issons chose for arbiter of their differs, the Bishop William Bertrand, though s one of the interested parties in the . He then called before him twenty ns, and gave sentence according to testimony on oath."† Similarly, a named Notger, having a dispute rning a piece of ground with Grimald, of St. Gall, they arranged it amica- Their chart begins thus: "For the of Almighty God, it must be an ob- f great study to every one to provide nd consolidate every where peace and rd, that quarrels and discords may be ed and abolished." Innumerable other occur of the same kind, as may be ssed in the ancient formulas De Transibus et Pactionibus:"‡ and in the great tion by Martene, there are a multitude es of arbitration by the Prud'hommes e thirteenth century, as that between eigneur William de Calviniaco and the ers of château Rodulph, in 1229, and etween the King St. Louis, and those pelle in 1231.§ The terms of the ent attesting the pacification of dis- by the ecclesiastical mediation are kable. Thus we read, "I Henry, by ace of God, bishop of Liege, mindful, olicitous, of our Lord's example, who g into the world brought peace to of good will, and who departing from t peace to his disciples, make known present and future, how the contention minated between the church of St. at Liege, and the monastery of St. rt."‖ Again, in 1090, we read, "Be wn to all the faithful in Christ, how I, ann III., though a sinner, archbishop logne, desiring with desire, as far as is le to human fragility, to eradicate from hole extent of our see, the litigations troversies, have decreed to put an end e hateful discord which has so long nably existed between the canons of ary and the monks of Brunwylre."¶ , in 1100, "As the state of the whole is consolidated by the pacific bonds rity, and as the unity of holy society ipated by the pestiferous scandal of sions, whoever wishes to come to the of eternal peace, must of necessity with all diligence to keep peace, if le, with all men, and especially with en: therefore, we the canons of the

st. de Soissons, ii. 225. † Id.
. Goldast. Alemannicar. Antiquitatum, ii. § Vet. Script. i.
. Martene, Vet. Script. i. ¶ Id.

church of Mans, loving peace and concord, and desiring to take away from the midst of us the evil of discord, have put an end in this manner to the dispute which has existed between us and the monks of St. Vincent."* When a reconciliation was effected at Rome between Henry, archbishop elect of Treves, Theoderic, abbot of St. Matthew in that city, and Alexander, a monk of that monastery, the document which they signed attesting it, began thus, "The pacific hearts of those persons, enlightened by truth, and by the doctrine of Christ teaching peace to men, though sometimes liable to be torn by the enemy of the human race sowing the seeds of hatred, yet, in process of time, are sure to expel the darkness of that chief malignity, and to recover peace which puts an end to all strife." These men, on their return to Germany, were ever after much greater friends than they had been before enemies.†

No less remarkable are the bulls of popes confirming these decisions; that of Innocent IV., in 1245, confirming the arbitrement of a certain bishop, begins thus, "From a storm, the sailor endeavours to guide his ship into port as soon as possible, lest it should be left tempest-tost to the collision of the waves; so does a right judge endeavour to conduct a cause from the angry flood of litigation into the port of amicable adjustment, lest under the continual uproar of judicial proceedings by the confusion of trials, it should be inextricably involved; for it is an injury to men when any delay occurs in the decisions of controversies."‡ To the same effect writes Innocent III. "We have decreed, for the sake of peace, to put an end to this strife by composition, rather than decide it by a judicial sentence." Adrian IV. speaks thus to Henry, bishop of Beauvais, "a controversy having arisen between you and the religious brethren of St. Lucian, they have decreed rather to submit to your will than to dispute judicially with your nobility, hoping that this humility will be more useful than any litigious disputations; therefore, by apostolic letter we admonish your charity, and exhort you in the Lord, so to conduct yourself towards them in this affair of the tenths and fishing-rights, that you may seem to love and cherish the religious brethren for the love of Christ."§ Alexander III. writes to Henry, archbishop

* Ap. Martene, Vet. Script. i. 579.
† Gesta Trœverens. Arch. ap. Martene, Vet. Script. iv.
‡ Ap. id. i. p. 1183.
§ Ap. Martene, Vet. Script. ii. 651.

of Rheims, saying, "that he should restrain Guido, bishop of Chalons, from receiving a cause against a widow, which had been decided, thereby unjustly and against reason, fatiguing her by expensive litigation; you must, therefore, admonish and compel him to cease from molesting her."* The litigations of kings and great men were often not otherwise settled. Pope Eugene III. writes to Hugo, bishop of Auxerre, and to Bernard, abbot of Clairvaux, in these terms: "Hearing that some degree of rancour has arisen between Louis, king of the Francs, and Henry, bishop of Beauvais, we were filled with vehement grief. In order to eradicate from their hearts every root of bitterness, we wish, as we cannot attend to it ourselves, that your charity would undertake it. Therefore, we beseech you to repair to the king's presence, and having summoned to it our brother, the bishop, that you would examine the cause of complaint between them accurately—absque strepitu, and having removed all ground of offence, that you would reconcile them to each other in concord and fraternal charity, so that the royal dignity may be preserved in all its integrity, and the episcopal honour not injured, and that fraternal charity between them may be re-established with perpetual love."‡

In short, one has only to open the letters of any of the Roman pontiffs to different bishops, to see proof how well men in the middle ages attended to the counsel of St. Paul, to bring their difference before the saints. "The wisdom of the apostolic see," says Innocent VI., alluding to certain statutes of Benedict XII., "diligently providing for quiet and peace, willingly explains and elucidates whatever things may seem dubious, lest they should give rise to litigation and strife."‡ Innumerable cases of property and inheritance were thus submitted to Alexander III. to all of which he lent a patient ear; replying on some occasions, as he says himself, the more speedily on account of the poverty of the plaintiff.§ "It is our office," he says, "to make peace between the discordant, and to procure justice for every one."|| The desire of all parties which led to such arrangements, was eminently pacific. They deprecated the noise of legal discussion: so we read in the old chronicle of Parma, "those on both sides promised to satisfy each other, sine strepitu judicis."* On the termination of differences by what was termed "the judgments of God," Muratori treats at length.† The purgation by oath was always sanctioned and approved by the Church, as was also purgation by the Eucharist, of which so memorable an example was seen when Adrian II. received it, in 869, from King Lothaire and his nobles, who were so soon after struck, as it was believed, by divine vengeance. With respect to the other modes of discovering hidden truth that came under this class, pious but rash, the church did not invent them, and the Roman pontiffs always reprobated them. They were called vulgar because invented by the people. Such was the judgment of cold water, the rite of which is given in an antiphonarium of the year 1150, in the library of the chapter of Milan: in another, the names of Leo III., Charlemagne, and blessed Eugene, are erroneously proposed as an authority. It is an error, however, to suppose that death was to ensue to the party by this judgment. That of hot water required that the hand only should be immersed. The judgment of the cross was by the two parties standing before the altar with arms extended in form of a cross, while the passion was read from St. Matthew; and whoever held them longest without trembling was deemed innocent. A modern historian remarks the grandeur of the idea that the guilty man would be the first to tremble, and hence observes that these judgments are, after all, one of the glories of the middle ages. "They show," he adds, "what was deemed the force of conscience and of remorse, a power which it must be admitted can no longer be found." The fact too was, he believes, that subsequent examination generally proved the justice of the decision. No trace of the judgment of passing through fire is found in the west, before the year 1000; but in the east it had been used in the Arian controversy. At length, by the efforts of the Holy See, these judgments were wholly abolished. The judgment of the cross was the first to be suppressed, because the people were told by Louis-le-Débonnaire that it was irreverent to our Lord's passion: for he prohibited it, "ne Christi passio, quæ glorificata est, cujuslibet temeritate contemtui habeatur."‡ The judgment at open variance with peace by single combat, is traced from the pagans. Livy relates instances of its use in Spain, but the Longobards were the first to adopt it in

* Ap. Martene, Vet. Script. ii. 869.
† Ap. id. ii. 633.
‡ Ap. Baluze, Miscell. iv.
§ Ap. id. ii. 693. || Ap. id. ii. 699.

* Chronic. Parm. ap. Muratori Rer. It. Script. ix. † Dissert. xxxviii. ‡ Antiq. It. xxxviii.

Christendom; and Gundobadus, king of the Burgundians, an Arian heretic, was the first to make it legal, in which he was opposed by St. Avitus, who exclaimed against such a barbarous and impious custom. The Goths were averse to it, as were also for a long time the Visigoths in Spain. Luitprand, king of the Longobards, declared that he acted only through necessity when he permitted it. Being unable to extirpate the custom, Louis-le-Débonnaire on one occasion recorded, at first refused, but afterwards, through the same necessity, granted permission for a combat: but before the duel, he used all his efforts to reconcile the parties, and promised to pardon the guilty on his avowal. However, the cases were but very few in which the ancient laws permitted such combats to take place. Continually did holy men inveigh against the usage.* Agobard wrote to Louis-le-Débonnaire, to persuade him to abolish the Burgundian law. "How is this?" he says, "that the testimony of a Christian, of a dear brother in Christ, cannot be received in courts on account of the law of a certain Gundobad, who was an heretic and enemy of the Catholic faith? Hence, it happens, that not alone the strong, but even the weak and aged are challenged to combat, and that for the vilest things, whence follow execrable battles, unjust homicides, cruel and perverse judgments, not without loss of faith, hope, and piety, while they think God is present. This is a wicked error and a confused order, that for such perversities the Scriptures of truth should be despised, and Christian peace destroyed, and such an unworthy notion of the good God conceived, as if he could favour the rapacious and oppose the miserable. The doctrine of Christ is that we should give up our cloak and suffer fraud, rather than contend; but these men say, fight and you are sure of victory. Then the two parties go forth audaciously to fight for things which they ought to love much less than each other. When was the truth of religion determined by such combats! The truth was on the side of those who were slain. If in this life the innocent were always conquerors, Pharaoh would not have killed Josiah, but Josiah would have killed Pharaoh. Herod would not have killed John, but John would have killed Herod. Nor would that holy city Jerusalem, in times of grace, filled with innumerable multitudes of monks and clerks, and other faithful, have been subdued by the Sarassins. Nor would Rome have been conquered by Goths, pagans, and heretics. We do not say this as denying that the providence of God sometimes absolves the innocent and punishes the wicked, but as showing that God has no were ordained that this should be so, excepting in the last judgment, and, moreover, on the ground that such combats are contrary to Christian simplicity and piety, and to the evangelical doctrine, and that it should be far from a Christian mind to seek to escape the adversities of this world by conflicts, and to gain its joys by battles; since on the contrary, in the celebration of mass, we frequently beseech God to grant us for his love to despise the prosperous things of this world, and to fear not its adversities. The Christian mind must be fixed on future, not on present things, for events in the present life are subject to a hidden dispensation, as the Holy Scripture testifies: the faithful mind must not suppose that Almighty God wishes to reveal the secret things of men by hot water, or hot iron, much less by cruel battles: it is allowed, indeed, to judge between brethren that contentions may be appeased, but the utility of judges consists in the discussion of causes, and in the subtlety of investigations, as when Solomon decided between the two women; but when this law of the heretical Gundobad prevails, it is not allowed to finish causes by legal discussion, or the testimony of witnesses, but the judges must decide by battle, which no sacred authority, no reason sanctions."* Again, elsewhere, he says, "woe to Babylon, that great city, for the day and hour of its judgment cometh. But if the judgment of Babylon be thus a thing to come at some future day, why do its citizens suppose that God judges so frequently? This sentence proves that his judgments are hidden and impenetrable: therefore, we conclude, that it is a foolish and proud presumption to suppose that the divine judgments can be clearly manifested by battles."† Such were the pacific grounds on which the judicial combat continued to be condemned in all subsequent works, till its abolition, as may be seen in L'Arbre des Batailles and many others.

But it was not alone to litigation that the men of the middle ages were averse; to disputation in any form that was not the result of charity, they evinced an insurmountable repugnance; and this was another cause why society amidst all its disorders,

* Antiq. It. xxxix.

* Ad Ludovic. Imp. Epist. † Id. de Pace.

ever retained an eminently pacific tone. In the first place their religion forbade them to be disputable. "Noli contendere verbis," said the unerring text, adding "ad nihil enim utile est," which had been verified in all ages, as when the Bonzes of Japan approved, and the multitude seemed to decide in favour of the disputations in public of St. Francis Xavier, which, nevertheless, led to no conversions. Petrarch cites the saying of Varro, "nimium altercando veritas amittitur,"* which agreed well with the views of men whose lives were to show forth the rule "non in contentione et emulatione." "While there is battle in words," says St. Hilary, of Poitiers, "while there is question of novelties, while there is occasion from ambiguities, while there is quarrel concerning authors, while there is contest in studies, while there is difficulty in consent, while each one begins to be odious to the other, no one is near to Christ, for this is to wander before the uncertain winds of doctrines, to be filled with perturbations while we teach, or with errors while we are taught."† "I wonder," says St. Bernard, "how your religious ears can endure to hear these disputations and battles of words, which profit more to the subversion than to the discovery of truth."‡ But you shine in an argument: you cause truth to triumph? "It is better to burn than to shine," replies Peter of Blois, "Lucifer shone and fell; Seraphim burned and stood; because charity never faileth."§ Moreover, "I wish," he says, "that no man who has not an exercised understanding, would ever dispute with a heretic or a Jew. Justinian, the most Christian Emperor, decreed, by general sanction, that no man should dispute on the Trinity or the Catholic faith."‖ It is rash to speak on things ineffable, to think on things that surpass thought.¶ "On such matters," says Fulbert of Chartres, "I would rather be silent than define any thing unworthily by a rash disputation; for the heavenly attitude of the mystery cannot clearly be exposed by a corruptible tongue."** "Let all inquiry on such matters cease," says Peter of Blois; "close the well lest the ox or the ass should fall into it."†† Disputation was not needed by men whose minds were secure in the confidence of possessing truth, and who enjoyed that peace of intelligence to which the prophet a when saying, "sedebit populus me pulchritudine pacis, in tabernaculis fi in requie opulentiæ." In Greece, w told that philosophy would have never in such honour, if it had not flourish means of the contentions and dissensi learned men.* So it is according t Athanasius, with the wisdom of the he "who are," he says "lovers of eterna putations."† "Of each of whom," as C says of Epicurus, "it is characteristi he should audaciously defend his de as of so noble a lover of wisdom:"‡ t far were Catholics from cherishing this of spirit, that they believed it their hi privilege to be delivered from the stu tongues. "Amidst such contradictio philosophers," says Wibald, abbot of C "whom should we have followed, if H not come who saith 'Ego sum via, v et vita?' Now a rustic and illiterate can acutely discover and profoundly j and copiously develop truth. As for sophistical disputes, they should be l amuse those who argue thus. Mous syllable, but a syllable does not eat ch therefore, a mouse does not eat cheese us study rather what belongs to justic piety, to frugality and modesty, foll our great contemporary Bernard of C vaux, whose eloquent voice can a sleepers, or to say more truly, the de On all occasions they deprecate conte "Saving the Catholic faith," say Rat of Verona, in his book of instructions, office in general is to avoid the 'Malimus alienis sermonibus humilit dere quam pertinaciter contentionibus vire.'"‖ "I cut short this discourse," St. Bernard, "because a few words in are more useful than many with scand wish I may have written these few t without giving scandal."¶ Peter of thinks it would be better to keep with breast the little book on Christian fi ship which he has composed, and in to prevent the discussion of critics, to it, "secretum meum mihi, secretum mihi."** It was sufficient for Catho know with St. Augustin, that against no one sober, against the Scriptur Christian, and against the church n

* Epist. i. 6. † Lib. ii. ad Constantium, 5.
‡ De Consideratione, i. 10.
§ Serm. xxxix.
‖ Id. contra Perfidiam Judæor.
¶ Id. Sermo xxvi. ** Epist. i.
†† Epist. cxli.

* Cicero, Tuscul. ii. 2.
† Cont. Arian. ii. 7. ‡ De Finibus,
§ Ap. Martene, Vet. Script. ii.
‖ Præloquiorum Lib. iv. ap. Martene Script.
¶ Apolog. ad Guillel. 13.
** De Amicitia Christ. Prolog.

acific, ever holds an opinion. "It ss," says Peter of Blois, "to pro- ussion. You have Moses and the ; you have doctors and pastors the ministry of the faith. Who ese, hears Christ. You have an ed word, if gracious brevity delight e charity, and do what you will."* ne says, "for understanding with cording to the word of God, not r short of, or contrary, but accord- which alone brings peace." Pray good Spirit may sound within your hout sound, and without the noise , that it may speak all truth. By these precepts men were soon led ith St. Bernard, that it was "the ind of victory to yield to the Divine and that not to resist the autho- e Church was the highest honour ."†

acific tone of the scholastic debates k the attention of some modern Grotius praises the modesty of olmen in contending with reasons, with reproaches and the disgusting of an impotent mind, according to om of his own age.‡ In fact, nknown to the ages of faith, were ary quarrels which disgraced the century, when Filelfo, Niccoli, Guarino, and Valla displayed their erudition in furious and ignoble ns. No less foreign to them were polemics which heresy has brought ie. St. Thomas of Aquin, in his ons, always proposed his opinion kness and sweetness, with an un- moderation, without any show of ion, and without the least offence ie; but carried himself as a man rded, not gaining the victory, but ndeavoured to make known the n what a spirit of peace did the ssembly of the clergy of France, endeavour to recal the Protestant !§ The voice of the Holy See s rather that of entreaty and ad- than of command. It is curious the connection between this style Catholicity of mind which makes ble men who speak victories, for o showed a disputation to cavil at me authority have in all ages been le for the violence of their tone. for instance, is severe and harsh in his criticism, and deprived of all patience on account of some most innocent lines in the Antiphonarium of Lyons:* and, clearly, the violence of the illustrious men, Gerson and Paschal, was not unconnected with their frequent cavils at the Holy See. Men who do not go the whole way, unreservedly, with truth find themselves on a declivity; and to the point where they stop they feel obliged to cling with nails and feet, and to push with vehemence against all who would make them descend still lower. We hear of the disputes of the schoolmen; and it is true they disputed, for, as St. Augustin says, "there are points on which the learned and the best defenders of Catholic rule may differ from each other without compromise of faith."† "As sons of peace, they could by no reason be induced to desert unity; but that would not have been sufficient," as St. Bernard says, "unless they had defended it with all their strength."‡ As Dionysius the Carthusian says, "nothing is so necessary to the servants of God as to love and keep the peace of the Church, and to endeavour to recal to its unity all who dissent from it."§ But their disputations were holy, and pacific, and calm as the eternal reason. The school was not that stormy scene of discord and trouble described by Plato, where, as he says, many wings of souls are broken, Πολλαὶ δὲ πολλὰ πτερὰ θραύονται.‖ The maxim there followed was that of St. Augustin and St. Thomas, "Diligite homines, interficite errores." It was proved possible there to know something without noisy altercations. Not clamour, but meditation, made its disciples learned; and truth, in silence, had charms enough for them. A certain Christian dignity reigned there. There were no disputes with these strange logicians, who lay down a principle and shrink from its consequences; light minds, which fly after an image, and which turn round themselves like the leaf at the mercy of every wind. Trusting in God, men understood truth, and, being faithful, they acquiesced in his love. And after all, what were their disputes? John Picus of Mirandula says, that there are many places in which the Scotists and Thomists are thought to differ from each other, where, on the contrary, he maintains that they are agreed.¶ The fact is, that the agreements of the holy fathers and the schoolmen, through the long series of Christian ages,

lxv. † St. Bernard, Epist. clxxxv.
are Belli, &c. Prolegom.
s Verbal. Monteil. Hist. des Français,

* Opera, 391. † Lib. i. c. 2. cont. Julian.
‡ St. Bern. Epist. cxxv. § De Pace interna.
‖ Phædrus. ¶ Joan. Pic. Mir. Apolog.

constitutes one of the most striking miraculous proofs of the divinity of our religion. What an astonishing conformity exists between them all! Open the works of St. Augustin and of St. Thomas. What do you find in the one which is not in the other? The same truths, the same proofs, same objections, same answers, same consequences, drawn from the same principles; equally zealous for the glory of God, and for the sacred deposit of sound doctrine, they always appear animated by the same spirit, enlightened and sustained by the same grace.* Nor was it alone from the school that the contentious spirit was banished. In social intercourse it was, comparatively with earlier and later times, unknown. We read, indeed, of a young physician of Cyprus being very familiar with Charles V. of France, because he could speak good Latin, and was very argumentative; but the latter qualification was certainly not much in request. The pertness of an Anaxagoras, who said that snow is black, and the mania for argumentation, which impelled the ancient critics to dispute about the quantity of a letter in the word quiesco,† indicated a temper very different from that of the lovers of peace, as we find it expressed in the monuments of the middle ages. Manners, as we before remarked, were then characterized by that sweet gaity and serenity which the least warmth of discussion would wound. According to what is related of the Abbé Barthélemy, men had even the air of reminding others of that which they taught them, instead of resembling those who ask questions, as if for the pleasure of contradicting those who answer them.

Innumerable persons in the world, from being associated in the third order of St. Francis, were guided in conversation by the rule of the Minors, "In via sive in domibus non litigent neque contendant verbis, seu alio quovis modo." The great and learned Jannotius Manetti of Florence, who used to begin every day before light by hearing mass in the Church of the Holy Spirit, when a young man used frequently to dispute among the learned who frequented the booksellers' stalls, or in the public square of Florence. He spoke Latin as if it were his mother-tongue. One day he had a long and sharp discussion on philosophy with Leonardus Aretinus, secretary of the Florentine people, in which he spoke with such force and applause that Leonardus felt wounded, and proceeded to use lang towards him of great severity, but Jann replied so benignly that the other be ashamed of his own rudeness. After discussion, when the crowd had dispe Leonardus continued to reflect on wh had said to Jannotius. On the next mor laying aside respect for his own dignit went to visit him. When Jannotius him coming to his house he was aston that a man of such authority and fame sl visit him so much his junior, who ough the contrary, to repair to his house: but nardus, without replying, desired tha would walk aside with him, as he wish speak with him in private. So they w together to the banks of the Arno, and Leonardus, stopping, and turning to said, "Yesterday evening I spoke to with violence and disdain; but I have punished for it, having passed the n night without sleep in consequence, could not rest till I besought you to fo me." Jannotius then declared that was no cause. "I received your words said, "without being disturbed, as co from one whom I loved and venerated. concern I feel is on seeing you forget dignity to come to the house of a pr man, which, before this day, you have been seen to do."*

In general the men of the middle were not afflicted with what the an termed the disease of speaking; which dered persons not, indeed, eloquent, b Epicharmes said, incapable of silence. themius deemed it useful to write a entitled, γλωττευφορίαν, that is, tea fertility of tongue;† a trouble which, had written in our times, he might spared himself. "The noisiest stream the shallowest," says Hare, alludin intelligences. Abstinence from wor well as from flesh was even recomme by the Church during her penitential sons, as in the matin-hymn for the Sunday of Lent:

"Utamur ego parcius
Verbis, cibis, et potibus."

And generally, with men of the ancien cipline, the tone of conversation woul enough to make the moderns suppose the hour was always day's decline; travellers remark that about sunset tall

* Touron Vie de St. Thom. 405.
† Aul. Gel. vi. 15.

* Naldo Naldi vit. Jannotii Manetti, ap. Rer. It. Script. tom. xx.
† Trithemii Nepiachus ap. Eccardii C Hist. Medii Ævi, tom. ii.

men the most fond of disputation, become no longer offensive, and even almost lapse into silence. Of a truth the pacific faithful seem like weary men when confronted with the eternal revivers of often-refuted errors; and hence, perhaps, the remark of a learned Frenchman, that the Catholics had a good cause and defended it ill, whereas the heretics had a bad cause and defended it well. The former knew the inutility of such means of defending truth, and the certain injury which would result from them to peace.

The repression of ambitious desires has been presented so frequently in the course of this history, that we cannot be expected to cite further evidence on that head, though it is essential to bear in mind the consequences which must have resulted from it to society, whenever we meditate on the peace which reigned in ages of faith. Here the moderns themselves raise their hands in admiration of the spirit of Catholic times. "We merit pity at the present day," says one of them. "The human condition, it is true, was never more equal, but the desires of man have advanced far beyond his progress. Never was ambition more impatient and more prevalent. Never were so many hearts a prey to such a thirst for all good and all pleasures; proud pleasures and gross pleasures; thirst of material prosperity, and of intellectual variety; every thing appears possible, and enviable, and attainable, to all. The world has never seen such a conflict of phantasies, of pretensions, of exigencies; has never heard such a sound of voices rising together to claim as their right what they desire; and it is not towards God that these voices rise. Ambition is, at the same time, extended and lowered. The popular instructors of our age are not the religious preceptors that formerly taught the people. And can we wonder at the deep agitation and at the immense disgust which disturb nations and individuals, states and souls? As for me, I wonder that the disgust is not greater, the agitation more violent, the explosion more sudden."* Thoughtful men may well be struck at the contrast presented by the society around them to that of all European states in ages of faith. Thanks to the holy offices of the Church, by constant assistance at her sacred mysteries, men had then generally received, according to her prayers, that ineffable gift by means of which, mitigating earthly desires they learned to love celestial things.† They had remarked with St. Chrysostom, that the importance attached by our Lord to humility and to baptism was the same; and that he expressed it by the same words. With hearts inclined to the divine testimonies, and not to avarice, one main root of dissension was cut off. Men acted from the conviction of what Alcuin quaintly expressed in writing to the monks of St. Vedas: that it was better to have God in their hearts than money in their purses.* What the ancient philosopher vainly sought for was then realized. "Invenitur quid sit quod natura spectet extremum in bonis, quod in malis ultimum; quo referenda sint officia, quæ degendæ ætatis ratio deligenda."† Hence, that scientific appreciation of the folly of ambition and of the glory which men can bestow. "Sufficiebat mihi paupertas mea," says Peter of Blois; "sufficiebat mihi præesse tantum corpori meo, ut non regnaret in me peccatum."‡ Ambition, that mother of hypocrisy, which plays such an immense part later, was unmasked. Not for an instant could it impose on the penetrating mind of the humble sons of peace, who with a glance detected its stupidity. "So unless you be a legate, Rome cannot have a pope!" was all the reply that Gerard of Angouleme could draw from St. Bernard.§ "If a bishop should say, 'I do not wish to be under an archbishop,' or an abbot, 'I do not wish to obey a bishop:' this," said he, "is not from heaven, unless you should have heard an angel saying, 'I do not wish to be under archangels.'"‖ How impressive were the contrary examples which abound in old history! In 1151, on the death of the Abbot Meinher, of Monte Sereno, Arnold was elected to succeed him, a man every way fit, and who gave great hopes of future utility; but the Marquis Conrad, the great benefactor of that house, wished the election to fall on Eckehard, who was also a man of laudable fame; for with ardour desiring the spiritual welfare of Monte Sereno, he thought it most important to choose a man from the church of Hall, where holy discipline flourished. Arnold learning his intentions, and considering that more injury would accrue to the monastery from offending the marquis than utility from himself, though exhorted by the brethren who had chosen him to persevere, after some deliberation, presenting himself as abbot elect before the arch-

* Guizot.
† Secret for third Sunday after Easter.

* Alcuini Op. i. 49.
† Tuscul. v.
‡ Epist. cii.
§ S. Bern. Epist. cxxvi.
‖ De Considerat. iii. 4.

bishop of Magdeburg according to custom, he declared, in presence of the marquis, who was at his side, that he felt himself incompetent, and that, therefore, he relinquished the appointment. Thus Eckehard was elected and confirmed; but the said Arnold afterwards presiding over Luppoldisberge, governed that house strenuously, and to the great increase of religion.* Charlemagne, moved by the piety of fallen majesty in Desiderius, entered his prison, fell at his feet, begging forgiveness, and even asked him to take part in the administration; but that king replied, "Was it, then, without the nod of Almighty God, who transfers and changes empires, that our kingdom was transferred to you? Rule the empire committed to you, then, prudently: govern the people in peace; and for me it is sufficient to serve henceforth the Supernal King."† How admirable, again, was the scene at Mayence on the election of Lothaire, duke of Saxony, to the imperial crown, when, what the old writers term, "the holy humility of illiterate laics gave so fine a lesson to ecclesiastics to desire not the honours of this world!"‡ The same spirit descended through all ranks, so that at Modena, in 1307, after electing several men to the supreme authority under the title of captain, every one declined it, in consequence of which Modena remained that year without any chief to preside.§ Ambitious joys found hearts too much otherwise occupied to admit them; for the desire of St. Columban was often realized. His advice was this:

"Sint tibi divitiæ divinæ dogmata legis
Omnia quæ dociles scripserunt ante magistri,
Vel quæ doctiloqui cecinerunt carmina vates;
Has cape divitias: semper contemne caducas."‖

It was in these ages, we must remember, that such multitudes were devoted to the innocent and holy occupations of the peaceful muse; τῆς ἀπολέμου Μούσης, as Plato terms it, honouring God and the friends of God with choral songs. It was then that thrice each day every tongue repeated an angel's words; it was then that every one, from the rustic to the king, and conjured to imitate the go rate the evil, and to love all.* children of the Church flourish the peaceful lily before God; a was any interruption to their tr it only arose from the fact, th not found faithful. For, as Theo after hearing Socrates discours on the true life of happy men, c the Church could persuade all m she said, as she convinced her ples, there would be more peace evils among men than at pres have before seen what a new cha cities and the scenes of rural lif in ages of faith. The angel of shows that a wise government to favour the inordinate growth because, he says, a state is more which the people are less congreg walls, as the close assemblage tudes gives occasion to strife an and, therefore, there should b the commercial spirit.‡ The C ligion, however, as we have seen lific in the foundation of cities; we have here to remark is the p racter which belonged to them. S desires that the tranquillity ar the aspect of the country shou excluded from them. Therefo choice of a site, he says, that b delectation must be consulted. ought to be," he says, "if possil and streams, and a near view of to refresh the sight."§ In a fo we remarked, on visiting a city o dle ages, how peaceful were th sions. Perhaps I was then deeme yet hear how those observations firmed by the testimony of a traveller, who thus describes a in Antwerp: "Not a sound dist meditations. Now and then, in or two women in long cloaks o glided by at a distance; but t was so shroud-like, and their pearance so ghastly, that I sh been afraid to accost them. N amongst the Alps, or hermit Mount Lebanon, is less disturb may pass your days in this great out being the least conscious o thousand inhabitants, unless yo churches. There, indeed, are t devout whispers; and sometim

* Chronic. Montis Sereni, ap. Menckenii Script. Rer. Germ. ii.
† Jacob. Malvecii Chronic. Brixianum, iv. 95, ap. Mur. Rer. It. Script. xiv.
‡ Narrat. de Electione Loth. ap. Pez. Script. Rer. Aust. i.
§ Annal. Veteres Mutinensium, ap. Mur. Rer. It. Script. xi.
‖ S. Columb. Epist. in qua detestatur avaritiam, *ap. Canis. Lect.* Ant. i.

* S. August. de Catechis. rudibus.
† Theætetus.
‡ De Regim. Princip. ii. 3.

sure, the ponderous bells strike, and such a peal of chimes succeed as shake the whole edifice: but walk about, as I do, in the twilights of summer, and be assured your ears will be free from all molestation. You can have no idea how delighted I was with this contrast to the tumult and uproar of London." Another describes the peaceful silence of Bruges, and of his having only heard in the streets a harp from a high casement accompanying a voice of thrilling power—a measure fitting sooth for some gay throng, though it fell from a grim turret. The author of the rhythmic description of Verona, written in the eighth century, after giving a view of its former state, its forum, and its citadel, adds: "Behold the city of evil men, who knew not the law of God; but when Christ had come and suffered, and the Gentiles hastened to believe, then happy Verona was protected by most holy guardians, who defended it from the worst enemy; and then followed in long order those pontiffs, martyrs, and confessors, with whose holy bodies it is so gloriously enriched."* Michael Savonarola, describing Padua in 1440, says that by the visible things which it contains the mind may be inflamed to a love of things invisible. Of the churches he speaks, first to show that eternal are to be preferred to temporal things; and he observes that the numerous porticoes in the city dispose minds for peaceful contemplation and the study of wisdom. This city, he adds, possesses objects which delight the sight, and which conduce to promote the Christian religion; and then he speaks of its monasteries, far removed from all noise and interruption, where religious men devote themselves, in the sweetness of profound tranquillity, to divine contemplation.† Angels of peace were painted over the gates of cities, as at Soissons.‡ as if to proclaim that they were places of refuge for unhappy men; and, in fact, after Toulouse had declared that she would defend all who fled to her, cities became asylums for serfs who sought protection. The feudal tyrants, enemies of peace, whom we shall presently speak of, seldom turned their reins to enter these narrow streets, between these solid habitations, from which men whom they had plundered or oppressed might look down upon them. Of the peaceful solemnities which took place within their walls we cannot omit mention; for assuredly they contributed to impart to them this pacific character. Such were those religious cavalcades, as at Malines, of angels and saints representing the litany of the blessed Virgin, and proclaiming by inscriptions that peace should flourish in their days; such those processions of the pardons of St. Medard at Soissons, in which used to walk as many as three hundred pilgrims of St. James, and the Sire de Salency, as descendant from St. Medard;* and such, too, those at Marseilles, which still can be remembered by the aged, when enemies followed by their friends, used to visit their enemies, and embrace them; and then return to receive in their houses these same enemies, in order to confirm their peace in the name of heaven.† Notwithstanding all that feudal tyrants inflicted on the innocent, there can be no doubt but that the country, too, more or less participated in the pacific influence. To one who travels on foot, there is a great difference between coming every six miles to a cross by the way side, as in Catholic lands, and finding the stocks, as in England, which stand at the entrance of every village. In the middle ages no one ever passed a cross without uncovering and kneeling, as Van Dyck is said to have always done; and such moments could not have been wholly without effect upon the tempests of the heart. St. Bonaventura says, it is the cross which causes peace within it.

> "Cor in cruce, crux in corde,
> Absque sorde sit cum corde,
> Quæ tranquillum faciat."

It was something to see attested every where that He who wore the platted thorns with bleeding brow rules universal nature; when it was so well known, that whatever proud towers might be near, happy was he who walked with him—who saw his image in the fairest scenes, and felt that by his presence they were fairer still. In another respect, also, the highways in the middle ages were associated with an object of supreme peace. St. Thomas, in his treatise on the duties of government, showing the importance of establishing roads, assigns for reason, that there may be less difficulty in visiting churches, and in obtaining by indulgence peace with heaven.‡ The dusty-footed had no longer to fear as disdainful

* Ap. Martene, Vet. Script. coll. tom. ii. p. 10.
* Comment. Savonarolæ de laudibus Patavii, Lib. i. ap. Muratori, Rer. It. Script. tom. xxiv.
‡ Hist. de Soissons, ii.

* Hist. de Soissons, ii. 370.
† Monteil, Hist. des Français, viii. 355.
‡ Lib. ii. 12.

the epithet conipodes, used once to express contempt; for beautiful were the feet that trod the paths of peace. And in Catholic countries still, when you sit beside a public way thick-strewn with summer dust, and see a great stream of people hurrying on, you may feel almost assured that it is some friend of God who draws them to gain indulgence where his relics lie.

In the middle ages religion endeavoured to extend to the most uncultivated minds the peace which flows from the observation of nature and the labours of a country life. A little book was composed in 1379, by order of King Charles V. of France, for the use of rustics, entitled, The True Government of Shepherds, of which, the object is, to raise the rural life, to give the peasant an interest in it, and to console him after the calamities of war.

"Evidently," says a French historian, "it is the king himself who has turned shepherd, and who, under this habit, comes to assist the people, discoursing sweetly to them, encouraging and instructing them. When the lambs are shorn, he says, the shepherd ought to be without sin, and he should have been to confession first. They ought to be treated lovingly: the profession is very honourable and of great authority; Abel having bean the first shepherd, and the patriarchs and kings of old having tended their flocks in person. The matter of the book belongs to philosophy. It treats on the philosophy of shepherds."*

In general, the obstacles to tranquillity being removed, a habit of calm and deep observation was fostered in the country. If you will hear the men of the middle ages sweetly talk of the natural world around them, you will be told that the good of peace is visibly written, as if by the finger of God, in all creatures. Dionysius the Carthusian, following Augustin, remarks that God has not left the entrails of the smallest and meanest animal, not the wing of a bird, or the blossom of an herb, or the leaf of a tree, without its propriety of parts, or without, as it were, a certain peace.† The universe breathes peace.

" ——— How quiet is the night!
The trees are motionless; the cloudless blue
Sleeps in the firmament; the thoughtful moon,
With her attendant train of circling stars,

* Le Vray Régime et Gouvernement des Bergers. et Bergères. Composé par le Rustique, Jehan de Brie, c. 3, 4, 8.

† *Dionys.* Cart. de Venustate Mundi.

Seems to forget her journey through th
To gaze upon the beauties of the sce

Between the visible frame of th
the human soul possessing the
faith, there was a mysterious bon
ineffable interchange of sympathie
mysteries of intelligence were no
explored in the middle ages; b
all, their effects were profound
rienced. Hence, an entire world
was at the disposal of men, ho
other regards, wretched.

O God, Creator of heaven an
was their exclamation often; wh
in all thy works where sin cann
what peace in the vast sea spre
calm majesty; what peace in t
aspect of the meadows and th
surrounded by the blue mountai
peace in the holy silence of th
and in the banks of the clear
streamlet! Only in the huma
where passions reign, is there
fusion. But experience proved
mere aspect of this loveliness co
like music, both those passions
tempest of disordered thoughts.
had not loved peace, it is true
eloquence of natural objects wo
been powerless, or rather, it w
only enhanced the trouble of
diseased. But there never wa
when such multitudes, embracir
intellectual greatness and of migh
loved and yearned for peace: n
there, consequently, so many tru
nature, whose life, exempt fro
haunt, found tongues in trees,
the running brooks, sermons i
and good in every thing. Suc
phers, for religion made them trul
wisdom, lived in the manner tha
describes, speaking of his own
on the Sorgia, "tranquil and at
tent with little, wanting nothing,
nothing, counting it sufficient
to wander on the mountains, o
fountains, or in the woods, or in
loving the sequestered spots, re
the dewy caves, or the rocks li
moss, or the flowery meadows,
night consorting with the muse
many books, with only rustic furn
most frugal fare, being, as it wer
with the intelligences of the gre
and endeavouring all the while
apostle, to forget the past, and
forward to the things which are
regard to imperfections, indeed,

in peace of mind, as they sometimes unconsciously avow, almost angels."* Their ears could catch amidst the country echoings sweet, to murmur through the heaven-breathing groves, and melodise with man's blest nature there. What peace did St. Elizabeth imbibe from the country when she used to pray and meditate in the fields near Marbourg, or near the fountain in the grove at the foot of the mountain near the village of Schroeck, during a walk of two leagues occupied in contemplation!†

An old Spanish writer says that men pass whole nights keeping vigils and going about the streets of Cordova, in order to enjoy the sweet odours from the fragrant groves surrounding the city, with which the whole air is perfumed.‡ Only war, that channels fields and bruises flowerets with the armed hoofs of hostile paces, could interrupt the free wild walks of those to whom each rock or grove was an attraction. In peace every delightful spot was accessible to all; there were no horrible threatenings placarded upon trees to awe the wanderer in quest of peace: tyrants, who placed round their dwellings contrivances of destruction, were, on that account alone, deemed infamous. The true pacific would never declare war upon the stranger or the poor for visiting, uninvited, their retreats; so that in Catholic lands the lovely scenes of nature are enjoyed by every one in common: and this I found "in realms where the air we breathe is love, which on the winds or on the waves doth move, harmonizing this earth with what we feel above."

At the beautiful villa of Nazareth, in the land of Pausalippo, was this inscription.

"Nazareos quicunque Lares et amœna virecta,
Frondosumque jugum, cultaque rura vides,
Sis felix; vanosque animo secludo pavores;
Non Deus hic curva falce timendus adest,
Non custos rigidus, non durus vinitor ullus;
Non latrat ad querulas ore lycisca fores;
Sat largus dominus, sat illi dextra benigna,
Hujus herum quivis se putet esse loci."§

In those happy regions I saw verified what poets fancifully sing of transformation. Thou knowest, reader, if thou be one of us, that in lands where error is wide spread, hard-featured men, with proud, angry looks, or cold, staid gait, or false and hollow smiles, or the dull sneer of self-loved ignorance, or such other foul masks with which ill thoughts hide that fair being who was new-born to a blessed childhood, make us sick at heart to pass them. Well, it is true, they have infected rich men nearly all the world over with their malady, but still where the Holy Church commands the people the number of their imitators is small. A few of these ugly human shapes and visages pass here and there isolated and harmless, but those, amongst whom they pass, seem mild and lovely forms, breathing love and peace. All things seemed to have put their evil nature off; peace makes a new earth, and, as Florus says, the heavens themselves seem more than usually serene and mild; for when I looked, behold men walked one with the other, even as spirits do; none fawned, none trampled; hate, disdain, or fear, self-love or self-contempt on human brows were seen no more inscribed. None frowned, none trembled, none with eager fear gazed on another's eye of cold command; none wrought his lips in truth-entangling lines, which smiled the lie his tongue disdained to speak; none, with firm sneer, trod out in his own heart the sparks of love and hope till there remained those bitter ashes, a soul self-consumed, and the wretch crept a vampire among men, infesting all with his own hideous ill. The loathsome mask had fallen—the man remained, new-created, equal, just, gentle, innocent, and wise. The old historians of Italy delight to dwell upon the sweet pacific character of different states, and the harmony which reigned in them between rich and poor. Thus, of the citizens of Bergamo in 707, we read, "The people have seldom any contests with each other; for golden peace binds them in a stable manner. The poor man and the rich have peace:

'Pace manet pauper, pacis quoque fœdere dives.'"*

"Deservedly," says another writer in 1330, "is there a double P in the name of this city, Papia, in which the lips are joined together on account of justice and peace, which met and kissed each other here when the Longobards made those most just laws which it has preserved in peace to this day. It is Papia, as if parens pietatis, amica Pacis—peaceful city, in

* Petrarch. Epist. vii. 4. xi. 14.
† Montalembert, Hist. de St. Eliz. 259.
‡ Ambros. Moral. de Corduba.
§ Antiq. et Hist. Campaniæ, c. 5. ap. Grævium Thes. Antiq. Ital. ix.

* Magistri Moysis Carmen de Laudibus Bergomi, ap. Muratori Rer. Ital. Script. v.

which from the time of blessed Syrus, its apostle, no prophet, excepting Boëthius, who died here an exile for justice and truth, has ever suffered martyrdom for the name of Christ."* "The inhabitants of Nola," says Ambrose Leo, "have never nourished seditions or civil feuds. In our time such madness is unknown them."† To that love of beauty and elegance in every thing which made the people of that state exclude all deformity from their city, and allow of no trades but such as are wholesome and necessary to innocent life, this writer ascribes, not only the extraordinary number of handsome persons found amongst them, but also their placid, amiable, and benevolent manners; all, he says, mutually love one another. There are no factions, no homicides, no treasons, no robberies.‡ Without doubt, the immense development and influence of the fine arts, inspired as they were by the exquisite sentiment of truth and beauty, tended to calm the angry passions of men, and to promote the delicious enjoyment of social peace.

The gentleness and meekness which Ughelli ascribes to the whole people of Amalphi justify, as he says, the remark of Leander Albertus, that the whole country of that people is a paradise. When hearts were in charity, and minds enabled to discern the source from which all loveliness proceeds, each generation could in peace enjoy all that was intrinsically good and beautiful, without cutting off any part or excluding any class from partaking of the Divine bounty. There was much more to unite than to separate high and low, and in affection, and a common fund of sympathies to equalize all conditions; for what all prized most was the Creator's workmanship, and not the tinsel with which riches that belong, but to a few could overlay it. "Even independent of spiritual considerations," says Dionysius, the Carthusian, "no one should be proud of his nobility; for it often happens that the child of a rustic is handsomer, and more ingenious, and more noble in mind than the son of a king."* And as these were the goods most coveted where Catholic manners reigned, it was easier to satisfy the desires of men without disturbing the order and the calm of life. But all this tranquillity could be traced to that possession of truth within the city of God, where angels and ministers of grace were commissioned to dispense peace. Yes! that annual benediction of the Common Father from the Portal of St. Peter, urbi et orbi, descended on the city and on the world. Those who received it in person returned consoled and strengthened; but all men were blessed. "Urbi et orbi." When those paternal arms were raised to God, the spirit of peace was sent to all the nations, and to all the races of the earth. So life glided smoothly, more golden than that feebled age renowned in ancient song: not vexed with care or stained with guilt, beneficent, approved of God and man, and peaceful in its end.

* Anon. Ticinens. de Laudibus Papiæ, ap. id. Rer. Ital. Script. xi.

† De Nola, Lib. i. c. 15. ap. Græv. Thesaur. Antiq. Ital. ix.

‡ Id. iii. c. 6.

* Direct. Vitæ Nobilium, 6.

CHAPTER VII.

E have seen the influence of pacific hearts upon the family, and upon social intercourse in general: let us now consider it in reference to the state and to the political order; for purpose, as we proceeded with re- e to the meek, we must examine were the general views and princi- regard to peace, on which all govern- rested in ages of faith, and then l to the fruits which resulted, not- anding the disorders of which we already traced the sad existence. is the origin of rule? The answer ages of faith may be collected from words of King Manfred to the count e Pisans.—"Freedom of will and having been granted to our human e, and the disobedience of our first its having entailed a proneness to gress on all their posterity, the Creator, mercy, ordained princes and ministers stice upon earth, in order that we d secure to all our subjects peace and e, and that all may live under our nion in pacific tranquillity."*

f truth were to possess the minds of men," says Agobard, "the things of world would remain in peace even out rulers and princes; but now, be- he who did not stand in truth never s to act against truth, and while men to sow the weeds of scandals, finding is sufficiently apt, which receive and ish his seeds, the evil of commotion nds, which disturbs the quiet of peace unity: therefore, there is need of soli- and watchful men, to act against the pters of truth and peace."† Such the doctrine of the schools. "As ind in material things," says Denis Carthusian, "that nature gives to that by which it may attain to its ction, so the people are committed chief, by means of whose labours and solicitude they may arrive at their perfection and intended end; namely, felicity and peace."* "The good of the multitude," says St. Thomas, "seems to be order and peace, which is tranquillity of order; so that the end of the government of the world is pacific order."† Now mark how well it was understood, as men reminded Duke Albert of Austria, that "the first duty and the real glory of a ruler is to secure peace to the people committed to him."‡ Ansegisus bears witness that Charlemagne, in making his laws, declares his great object to be peace. "Before all things he sought the defence, and exaltation, and honour of holy mother Church, and that the people should have peace and justice." "The royal elevation attains to its greatest height when it puts an end by just sentence to the quarrels of all men." Such is the exordium of one of his diplomas.§ It was his great care, says Heumann, that all men should live quietly and orderly, that they should avoid strifes, or that their causes should be justly decided.‖ The office of temporal governments, as realized in Charlemagne, was to protect religion, to put an end to all discords, and to maintain order and peace in the Catholic society.¶ This is expressed in the lugubrious rhythm on the death of Charlemagne, composed in St. Columban's abbey of Bobbio, and thence disseminated over Italy.

"Pater communis orfanorum omnium, peregrinorum, viduarum, virginum: heu mihi misero! Christe, cœlorum qui gubernas agmina, tuo in regno da requiem Carolo: heu mihi misero!"**

In accordance with this principle the act of accusation brought against Louis-le-Débonnaire rested on his not having pro-

Ap. Martene, Vet. Script. Collect. ii. 1221. De Comparatione utriusque Regim.

* De Vita et Regim. Princip. Lib. iii. c. 4.
† Q. ciii. art. 2.
‡ Thom. Ebendorff Haselbach. Chron. Austriac. ap. Pez. tom. ii.
§ Ap. Heumann, de Re Diplom. i. 32.
‖ Id. i. 91.
¶ Moëller, Man. d'Hist. du Moyen Age, i. 9.
** Ap. Mur. Rer. It. Script. tom. ii. p. 11

vided sufficiently for the public peace: though pacific in heart, he was to be deposed because of the diverse expeditions which he made in the kingdom committed to him, not alone uselessly but injuriously, in which innumerable crimes were perpetrated; homicide, perjury, sacrilege, adultery, rapine, burning, and oppression of the poor.* Similarly, in later times, Wenceslaus, king of the Romans, was deposed by the electors "because he did not labour to prevent the holy Church, the sacred empire, and all christianity, from being disturbed, as he was bound to have done by his office."† "It is the office of the royal majesty to provide with pious solicitude for the quiet of the churches," say the ordinances of Louis VI. and Louis VII., kings of France.‡ The Emperor Charles IV., writing to Henry, abbot of Fulda, observes that it is the office of the imperial majesty so to provide for the churches, that their ministers, enjoying the sweet delights of peace, may so much the more freely be devoted to the divine service, as they enjoy security under the rule of a gracious prince.§ So also Lewis, the brother of Charles the Bald, is reminded by the bishops that the office of a Christian king is to defend the Church, and to provide for the tranquillity and peace of Christendom.‖

Let us hear the letter of Pope Adrian, in 869, to all the glorious dukes, counts, and other primates in the kingdom of Charles: "All virtues, indeed, are to be cultivated by the disciples of Christ, but none are more useful than the maintenance of peace in mutual love with all men, and, especially, among the more sublime personages whose example so much the more moves others. Therefore, in these presents, in season and out of season, I admonish, entreat, and exhort you, to endeavour to cause and maintain the good of peace in all men, and, especially, among the princes of the world. You are not ignorant how the pious Emperor Lewis spares not himself, but endures all things, and declines no suffering in order that he may promote the quiet and peace of the faithful."¶ So Lupus, abbot of Ferrers, in 850, instructing the Emperor Charles the Bald, begins by taking this duty for granted, saying, "Ut pacifice, feliciterque regnetis." "In order that you may reign pacifically and happily, you must always return thanks, and pray with daily supplications to God, your Creator and future judge."* Godfried of Viterbo says to Henry VI., who was then a youth of great promise, showing him how he should rule the empire,

"Prospice, quicquid agis, te tibi nosce magis,
Lautius est tibi te solam constringere legem.
Quam varios populos, aut magnos vincere reges,
Pace frui, punire malos, Henrice, labora.
Si scelus exploras, pax erit absque mora.†"

So, again, the Empress Richenza says, "Constituted by divine Providence over kingdoms, that we may root up what is noxious, and plant with the Prophet what is salubrious, we wish to extend our care to all our provinces, that we may allay the disturbance of troubles, and cause all to preserve mutual charity towards each other, being governed in the bonds of true peace."‡ "Quia scriptum est, beati pacifici," was so strictly a diplomatic phrase, as appears from the ancient monuments, that even the Emperor Frederic II., writing to make peace between two Norwegian princes, is obliged to use the same language: "The royal unction and chief dignity," he says, "are constituted in the world by the celestial dispensation to procure peace and justice for the people and nations I subject."§ The letters of King Charles VI. of France, in 1401, contain this passage: "The sovereign Lord and Creator of all things, our Saviour Jesus Christ, when He deigned to humble Himself to take human form to visit and redeem His creatures that are made in His own image, taught his disciples above all things to have and retain peace amongst themselves, thus instructing all that would follow him to seek peace, which is the sovereign good in this mortal habitation. Therefore, we, who by divine grace and ordination, are established in royal dignity, wish and desire with all our strength, following the instructions of our said sovereign Lord, to guard and govern all our subjects in peace and tranquillity, and take from them all matter of divisions and discord.'"‖ Canute, king of Denmark, writing to the Emperor Conrad, in 1151, says, "The King of kings for this end hath

* Ap. Duchesne, An. Franc. ii.
† Ap Martene, Vet. Script. iv. 31.
‡ Id. vii. 70.
§ Ap Heumann, de Re Diplom. iii. 338.
‖ *Ap. Baronius, ad an. 858.* ¶ Id. ad an. 869.

* Epist. lxiii.
† Pantheon, ap. Muratori. Rer. Ital. Script. vii.
‡ Ap. Heumann, de Re Diplom, iii, 25.
§ Ap. Martene, Vet. Script. et Mon. Collect. ii. 1187.
‖ Ap. Martene, Vet. Script. &c. tom. i. p. 1559.

constituted and chosen you, that you may be the father of justice, and a son of peace."* This principle is announced in proclaiming a new emperor. The prince electors having made their choice, published it to the people in these terms: "We have chosen the Lord Rupert count palatine of the Rhine, trusting that he will procure, with the greatest diligence, peace both in the holy Church and in the sacred empire."† "The prince," we read, in the Speculum Morale of Vincent, "ought above all things to study clemency and peace;" after the example of King Assuerus, who says, "when I ruled over many nations, I was unwilling to abuse my power; but I sought with clemency to govern my subjects, that passing their life in silence without any terror, they might enjoy that peace which is desired by all mortals." In short, the avowed object of all government in ages of faith was to secure glory to God, and peace on earth to men of good-will. The Catholic religion admitted of no other.

In conformity with these views, the holy Church, in the benediction of the Paschal candle, prays for the king, that God, knowing the vows of his desire, by the gift of ineffable piety, and mercy, may grant him a tranquil time of perpetual peace, and a celestial victory with all his people. In the ceremony of coronation the pacific character of government is beautifully expressed. In the Roman ordo for the crowning of the emperor, the Church prays that God may deign to visit him as Samuel in the temple, and inundate him with the dew of that wisdom which blessed David received in the composition of the Psalms: that he may have confidence in danger and patience in prosperity; that his nobles may keep peace with him, love charity; and that the people may flourish in peace, with the benediction of eternity. At the coronation the pope asks the emperor if he wishes to have peace with the Church, and he answering thrice, "I wish it," the pope adds, "and I give you peace as the Lord gave to his disciples;" at the same time kissing his forehead and his chin, both his knees, and lastly his mouth. Then the pope, citing the apostolic admonition. "Manum cito nemini imposueris," addresses him in these words: "Do you wish, as far as possible, to labour in the divine service? Do you wish, by the divine assistance, to guard your manners from all evil? Do you wish to observe sobriety with the divine assistance? Do you wish to abstain from all shameful gain? Do you wish to cultivate in yourself humility and patience, and incline others to the same? Do you wish to be affable and merciful to the poor and to strangers, and to all the indigent?" To each interrogation he answers, "In quantum possum volo." Then the pope places the crown on his head, with these words: "Receive the sign of glory in the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost; that, despising the ancient enemy, and despising the contagion of vices, you may so love judgment and justice, and so live mercifully, that from our Lord Jesus Christ Himself you may receive the crown of an eternal kingdom in the fellowship of the saints." After the mass and the litanies of the saints, the archdeacon, with the other deacons of the palace and others standing between the cross and the altar, sing aloud, "Our hope, our salvation, our victory, our honour, our glory, our impregnable wall, our praise, our triumph;" and between each exclamation the choir responds, "Christus vincit," adding after the last, "To him be praise, honour, and empire, world without end."* In the order for the coronation of Lewis III., in 877, at the anointing there was a prayer, that "Almighty God who enriched Solomon with the ineffable gift of wisdom and peace, would deign to decorate this His servant with the same grace, and to anoint him with the oil of grace with which He anointed priests, kings, prophets, and martyrs, who by faith conquered kingdoms, worked justice, and obtained the promises; that He would turn His countenance to him, and grant him peace; that He would convert his enemies to the benignity of peace and charity, so that under his rule all the clergy and people might enjoy tranquillity and peace."†

The archbishop of Cologne, in crowning Otho, in 936, when giving him the sword, said, "Take this sword with which you may expel all adversaries of Christ, barbarians, and evil Christians, and sustain the most firm peace of all Christians;" and when investing him with the robes which descended to the ground, he said it was to admonish him to persist in maintaining peace unto the end.‡ At the coronation, in

* Ap. Martene, Vet. Script. &c. tom. ii. p. 496.
† Ap. id. iv. 22.

* Murat. Antiq. Ital. dissert. iii.
† Ap. Duchesne, tom. ii.
‡ Annalista Saxo, ap. Eccardii Corp. Hist. Med. Ævi, i.

1252, at Aix-la-Chapelle, the marquis of Brandeburg said, "Take the sceptre of the kingdom, that you may govern all men of good-will in tranquil peace."* When the counts of Flanders took possession of their states, the ceremony was performed by the abbots of St. Peter, at Ghent, who said to them, in giving the sword, "Gird thy sword upon thy thigh, and mark that the saints, not by the sword, but by faith, conquered kingdoms. Be strong, and fight the battles of the Lord."† The very choice of titles to express the imperial and royal power, indicated the priority of a pacific character over every other qualification. Thus the Carlovingians were addressed as "the most serene and most tranquil emperors" In the old diplomas the epithets of honour are serenity, mildness, clemency. Hear how the people saluted Charlemagne when Pope Leo crowned him in the church of St. Peter on Christmas-day. They cried out, "August, crowned of God, peaceable emperor of the Romans."‡ In public acts he is styled the most serene Charles, great pacific emperor.§ Agobard's address to Louis-le-Débonnaire is, "to the most benign of the benign, to the most tranquil of the meek;" and his exhortation is, that he who illustrates faith may propagate also peace.‖ In another work he says to him, "I beseech your most tranquil longanimity;"¶ and elsewhere, "I beseech your imperturbable meekness and most tranquil prudence."** Admonitions, founded on these titles, were repeatedly addressed to rulers. "What shall I say of the affection which you have for the public peace of all," says Poggias to the king of Arragon, "seeing that you style yourself king of peace—magnificent title, surpassing that of all empires, exceeding all triumphs! This is great praise, and I know not whether it be obnoxious to a single stain. Certainly, among mortal men, nothing is more salutary, nothing more gracious, nothing more holy. By adopting such a name you show what is affirmed by the wise of old, that wars are only to be undertaken in order that we may live in peace; for they are never to be commenced with any other end or hope. Therefore, O most worthy king, if you persevere in this will, and realize it by deeds, you will surpass the glory of all the princes that ever were illustrious among men. Augustus is cited as amongst the best; but dark were the stains of his early and latter life; whereas, your deeds are exempt from all shade of cruelty or violence. You have shed no blood. In your actions one finds no proscriptions, no trace of slaughter. Victory herself, by nature so insolent and proud, you have conquered by humanity. The injuries of your adversaries have been only an occasion of practising clemency and forgiveness. Finally, you have procured for all leisure, repose, peace. Without the terror of an army, you have delivered the country from disturbers of order. There is the same security in country and town, so that under your government a golden age may be said to have returned."*

A French historian remarks that the ecclesiastical character of the kings of France presents a pacific image when contrasted with the martial ferocity of the English Plantagenets. The truth, however, is that the half-sacerdotal character attached to monarchy was not confined to that of any nation. It belonged to the type of the Catholic ruler, whose throne, deemed sacred, God and his angels were invoked to guard. "The Cæsar being elected, his office, to express it in a word," says an old writer, "is to be a rival of the pontiff. 'Æmulamini charismata meliora.' The one has the keys of the temple, the other of the kingdom. What is Cæsar's is given to Cæsar, what is God's to God, in the church the pontiff, in the tribunal the emperor, both for peace; the one for that of souls, the other for that of bodies. Such was the ancient concord between the priesthood and the empire."† This accounts for the priestly gravity which was required in kings. "The king," says a counsellor of Charles VI., "who does not perform his duty to God, his Creator, cannot discharge it to his people."‡ "The king ought to live in peace of conscience, and his thoughts, in time of prayer, ought to be free from all noise and secular care; and in order to pray God and consider well his affairs, he ought to be peaceable and free from all tribulation. But this is a very difficult thing for persons who desire the vain glory of this world,—as difficult as to be at sea

* Rer. Leod. sub Heinsbergis, ap. Martene, Vet. Script. &c. v.
† Martene, Voyage Lit. de Deux Bened. 193.
‡ Chroniques de St. Denis, ii. 1.
§ Germania Sacra, ii. 120.
‖ Advers. Dogm. Felicis.
¶ De Insolent. Judæor. 57.
** Epist. 103.

* Pog. Brac. Epist. Regi Ar. Mansi, Append. Baluzi Miscel. iii.
† Palatius, Aquila inter Lilia, Lib. i. c. 6.
‡ Le Livre de Pierre Salmon, 21.

without fearing the storm, or to hear thunder without dread. The king ought to be very high, despising earthly things, and coveting those that endure for ever."* In truth, all the ceremonial of courts was calculated to confirm these views. The progresses of the first Otho, on festivals from his palace to the church and back, presented an image of the best kind of conquerors and a glorification of sacerdotal peace; for on all festivals, we read, he used to proceed to vespers, and matins, and mass with venerable procession of bishops and clerks of other degree with crosses, and holy relics, and thuribles, conducted to the church, and then, with great fear of God, he used to stand and sit till all was finished, speaking nothing but what was divine; and thence to his chamber he returned with many lights and great company of priests, and dukes, and counts.† What pacific notions of kingly power do such scenes indicate; especially when we remember that the time had not then come to mock at form; and that grave magistrates and the whole people regarded them as the safeguards of the republic. Stephen Pasquier says that the holy relics, given by St. Louis, are the best jewels of the kings of France, which they should preserve with more care than their crowns.‡ So when the count of Flanders went into Italy against the Sarassins, on the pope abandoning to him all his treasures, he would take nothing at his departure but a particle of some holy relics.§ Their thrones, in fact, were established upon the peace for which the holy martyrs died; while many kings desired, like all other devout lay men, to cultivate a sacerdotal taste, and so far in all their actions to imitate the ministers of peace. The king of France sat as a simple canon among the canons of St. Quentin, Tours, and Ambrun. Their education was in the temples of peace.

Rigord begins his history of Philip Augustus by addressing his son Louis in these words: "Let our holy mother Church exult and rejoice in the Lord, for the Lord will visit his people, and will have compassion upon his servants. Truly, a voice of joy and exultation hath sounded in the tabernacles of the Francs when they see their king, educated from his cradle in the studies of wisdom, preparing his throne in justice and judgment, uniting wisdom and royal power, granting to the poor peace, and to the Church its ancient dignity, gloriously to govern the kingdom committed to him in the kiss of justice and of peace."* That was a curious contention, described in the chronicles of St. Denis, between the king of France and the bishop of Paris, when they strove to conquer each other in pity, and made battle for mercy, in order that the poor might be enriched by their treasures.† The symbols of majesty were all designed to indicate the pacific end of power. Those kings, who contrived in their blazon to turn spearheads and impure toads into lilies, emblematical of purity and peace, had in view, no doubt, the wands which angels bear in the oldest representations of members of the celestial hierarchy, which are all crowned with that flower. In heraldic painting the white, we read, was the most noble colour, after azure, as signifying purity, charity, and innocence.‡ The symbol of Ghent was a lion, crowned, sleeping on the knees of the Blessed Virgin. Kings often over their armour wore sacerdotal vestments, as may be witnessed in the old pictures of St. Ferdinand. The Emperor Otho II. had a vestment on which could be read all the Apocalypse.§ St. Louis had precious vestments of different colours, according to the solemnities of the day. In short, the whole state was founded on the pacific type of the best kingdom. The pacific character of royal majesty was a religious idea, emanating from what was believed of the celestial dominations and powers; for it was a devotional exercise in reparation of the sins of anger, passion, and revenge, to offer to God the peace, mildness, and tranquillity of the thrones. The Christian religion had put every thing in its place, so that the hierarchy of men was as complete as that of angels in the order shown by Dionysius. As in the latter, thrones are after Seraphim and Cherubim, so in the state, physical force was regarded after love and science. In the ancient Christian sculpture, dominations, which command angels, and principalities which rule over men, are represented with crowns and sceptres; but powers which command the Satanic race are shown with spears and shield, since the devil only

* Le Livre de Pierre Salmon, 28.
† Ann. Saxo ap. Eccard. Corp. Hist. Med. Æv. 1.
‡ Recherches de la France, iii. 22.
§ Le Livre de Baudoyn, 9.

* Rigordus de Gestis Phil. August. ap. Recueil des Hist. de Francs, tom. xvii.
† Liv. iii. c. 5.
‡ L'Arbre des Batailles.
§ Michelet, Orig. du Droit, 214.

yields to force. Therefore, the crown and sceptre were the symbols of royal power, and the maxim was, "'Tis more kingly to obtain peace than to enforce conditions by constraint." The spirits which formed the choir of thrones, so near to the glory of the majesty of God, were called angels of peace, for they participate in the divine peace, and are called to communicate it to men. It was through their intercession that the faithful hoped to obtain the peace of soul which is promised to the children of God. Hence they invoked the king in a temporal, as they did the thrones in a spiritual sense, to reconcile enemies, while they sought to imitate them in being angels of peace towards their fellow men, by an unalterable sweetness and a patience which nothing could overcome. "Whence is jurisdiction?" "I answer, from God," replies the author of the Tree of Battles. "Who was the first judge over men? God. Then by natural necessity and divine right rulers were made; and, certes, it was reasonable that men who were to live reasonably should be subject to a ruler." You perceive then, reader, how sublime was the type proposed—it was the good and clement king, to whom all good things are pleasing.* Accordingly, the pacific thought appears through all instructions administered to kings—the rule of all power being, in fact, that of the divine wisdom, invoked by the Church in the first of her anthems preparatory to Christmas, of which she says, "Fortiter suaviterque disponens omnia."

John of Salisbury says that a prince should imitate blessed Job. He does not propose Alexander or Cæsar, but the model which teaches men that "constant patience will give more pleasure than all the power of the world." "The life of Job," he says, "is a model for rule—free from all ambition or covetousness, or the desire to join field to field as far as the ends of space, as if one alone were to dwell on the face of the earth. If kings thus hear and observe the voice of God, they will fulfil their days in good and their years in glory."† "Patience," says Dionysius the Carthusian, "which opposes sadness, is most necessary to princes; for as it is their office to restrain the anger and impatience of their subjects, and to lead the discordant to peace, it is necessary that they, above all, should be patient."‡ "Blessed humility," he says again, "is more especially necessary to noble persons."§ "A king who is not humble," says Peter of Blois, "is a tyrant."‖

Gervase of Tillebury begins his book, entitled Otia Imperialia, addressed to the Emperor Otho IV., by wishing him peace, interior and exterior. He says that the king and the priest are both administrators of the divine law; and he tells him that it would be better his empire should be diminished in extent of territory than corrupted by iniquity through defect of justice.¶ Innumerable diplomas of the ancient emperors begin with this sentence: —"Having always before our eyes the divine examination of the last judgment."§ This was conformable to the advice of St. Adalbert to Otho III. when he saw him at Mayence, and exhorted him to remember death, to make himself a father to the poor, to fear the strict judgment of God, to love mercy, and to recollect ever how narrow is the way which leads to life, and how few enter by it.‖

"We exhort your noble prudence," says Pope Anaclet to the Empress Richenza, "that amidst royal cares, and the solicitude of secular affairs, and the glories of the world, you may have your heart always directed to the Lord, not affecting the praises of men by your pious works, lest you should within be displeasing to the eyes of God. Sedulously exhort your husband, our dearest son Lothaire, the most Christian king, so to preside with human power over an earthly kingdom as to please always Him who is above us, by whom kings reign, and princes exercise justice—who transfers kingdoms when He will, who makes kings inglorious and encompasseth their reins with a cord."¶ St. Peter Damian, describing the humble entry of the Empress Agnes into Rome, says, that it was so because all the glory of the king's daughter is within. "We sometimes fast from meat, but you," he says to her, "fast from purple: you fast from a crown and from all the magnificent pomps of imperial glory. To abstain from these on which the carnal mind feeds so delectably, may not undeservedly be styled a fast. O what a grave and laudable abstinence—after being Susannah with your husband, to have become an Anna when he is no more." Lupus,

* Hymn on Palm Sund.
† De Neg. Cur. v. 6.
‡ De Vita et Regim. Principum, Lib. ii. 23.

* Directorium Vitæ Nobilium, 5.
† Tract. Quales sunt, c. 17.
‡ Ib. 12
§ Vide Heumann de Re Diplomat. iii.
‖ Vita St. Adalb. ap. Canisii Lect. Antiq. iii.
¶ Ap. Heumann, de Re Diplomat. iii. 225.

abbot of Ferrers, concludes a letter to Charles the Bald thus, "you know how often I implore the clemency of God, that He may grant you a bloodless victory, perpetual peace, a hatred of vices, the possession of virtues, and so to reign on earth, that you may not lose a kingdom in heaven."* "The king should ever remember," says another counsellor near the throne, "how the glory of this world is very little and vain, and how power is frail, and passes soon."† "O kings and princes, hear," cries another. "Love the light of wisdom, all ye who preside over the people; for as it is your office to preserve them in a virtuous and pacific state, the study of wisdom is above all to you necessary. As every action of a Christian should spring originally from divine charity, kings and princes, in all their temporal and external actions, should keep in view a spiritual end; namely, the salvation of those committed to them, that they may have a pacific life on earth, and eternal glory in heaven: for the law and civil government are ordained to this end, that their subjects should lead a peaceful life in this world, which means a peaceful life according to the doctrines of the Gospel; that they should have peace, not only amongst each other, and with foreign nations, but also within their own minds with God, resting in charity and obedience as in the supreme good."‡ Lupus reminds the Emperor Charles the Bald, "that they who will not be pacific cannot be sons of God."§ Wipo impresses on Henry, son of the Emperor Conrad, the proverb which says "that wisdom is better than secular power."‖ The bishops of France addressed Lewis, brother of Charles the Bald, in these words: "he who says that he remains in Christ, ought to walk as He walked, who said, 'be ye perfect as your heavenly Father is perfect.' And if you ask how can I be perfect? this you will be, we answer, if the cupidity of glory doth not inflame you; if you desire not riches, nor power; and if you attend to your own conscience, and not to the flattering words of others—if you render to God what belongs to God, and as a just Cæsar, if you render to your subjects what belongs to your subjects, defending the church and Christendom, and all the people of Christ in equity and peace."* "Do you wish to be a Christian, and are you a King," asks Ratherius of Verona, who answers, "Beware then of the vices which are often disguised as virtues; beware of mistaking insane impatience for fortitude, of supposing that you serve justice when you are gratifying your anger. Beware of cruelty and impious ambition. Be brave, not proud, temperate, not remiss, just, not cruel. Remember the woe pronounced on those who love to join house to house, and field to field, and consider how grievous is the crime of cupidity, which can destroy both you and your people. Respect and defend the ministers of Christ. While you rejoice on hearing daily sung in the church 'Domine salvum fac Regem,' fear what follows, 'et exaudi nos in die qua invocaverimus te,' if you should forget or neglect to fulfil the office of a Christian king, for what should avail their prayer, if you should prevent them from leading a tranquil life? The apostle commanding us to pray for kings, dukes, and all in authority, adds, 'ut quietam et tranquillam vitam agamus:' beware, therefore, lest while this which gives you such pleasure is sung, God should be invoked against you, while we cry out for ourselves, and while those cry out who are unanimous with us in voice and charity. And think not to say that evil prayers would not be heard; for though we are bound to pray for those who persecute us, still remember that God has declared He will avenge, and that speedily, His elect who cry out to him day and night. Continue then, O good king, to preserve the citizens; accept if it be from strangers, but give to your own, and remember that you ought to bear, not to press the people. Be erect to the proud, but submissive to the humble, mild to all, affable to all, moderate; remembering that power is for utility; and he who has not patience, ought not to have power, 'non debet habere potestatem qui non habet patientiam.' Love the good, and pity the evil, for as the proverb saith, 'the best thing is to extirpate not criminals, but crimes.' 'Res enim optima est, non sceleratos extirpare, sed scelera;' and with respect to the peace of your kingdom, beware of those who disturb it, and you know it not. Whence that most holy king cried, 'Delicta quis intelligit? ab alienis parce servo tuo.' Think not that crimes can be cleansed by alms. What alone can

* Epist. xxxviii.
† Le Livre de Pierre Salmon, 24.
‡ Dionys. Carthus. de vita et regim. Princip. liv. i 5.
§ Epist. xcvi.
‖ Ap. Martene, Vet. Script. ix.

* Baronius ad an. 858.

take them away is to cease from committing them; but daily sins, such as giving a harsh word, &c., may be thus blotted out. Interrogate who of the ancient kings walked justly and wisely? Who sought most to do the will of God, who ruled the people with most justice? who sought most to do the will of God, who constructed churches, founded monasteries, ordained hospices? Embrace him, follow him, imitate him. Beware how you seize upon the property given for holy ends. If they by giving it gained eternal life, you by taking it will acquire hell, for the things of the church are fiery. Choose ministers who will reprove you in mercy, and not pour on your head the oil of poisonous and deadly adulation. Take heed lest while in edicts, letters, and decrees, you are styled pious, in deeds you appear impious. Place a bridle on anger, and limit to avarice. Compassionate your poor companions, I say not servants nor subjects, but companions, for in Christ we are all one."* Peace with the indigent and with the immense class of subjects that required relief and assistance, was to be secured by the alms and munificence of the state, "every ruler," as St. Thomas shows, "being bound to provide for them from the common treasury."† Unknown to the Catholic society of the middle ages, were those ancient horrors of the Roman tax-gatherers in Gall, so minutely described by Lactantius, who compares the desolation to that of cities taken by storm, and to the exactions of a conqueror at the head of his army.‡ When Hugues de Bourgogne passed a decree to levy an impost on the people of Grenoble, the bishop, John de Sassenage, cited the canon of the last council of Lateran, by which rulers were forbidden, on pain of anathema, to oppress their subjects by such levies. Hugues was obliged to yield, and swear that he would desist in future from such attempts, and preserve faithfully all liberties and good customs. It is curious to remark that the first rulers who departed from the pacific ideal of government in this respect, were those who sought to emancipate themselves from the authority of the Holy See. With respect to the details of administration, we should observe how the most minute directions for rule were dictated with a view to peace. Thus Dionysius the Carthusian says, "that kings and princes should be affable and familiar towards their nobles, and should induce their wives to be affable to the wives and daughters of the nobles, lest if the latter should perceive themselves slighted, they might excite their husbands to cause seditions and troubles in the state."* Thus the Templars explained the friendship which existed between their grand master and the Sultan, by saying, that "the former showed him that affection and honour, in order to preserve the lands of the Christians in peace, and prevent the incursions of the Sarassins."† If you ask the chief advantage from the institution of coin, St. Thomas replies, "that it is the prevention of strife in commerce:"‡ or from that of weights and measures, and he gives the same answer;§ or from the division of property, and it is still the same.‖ Or if you ask why no one can assume the coat-arms of another, the author of the Tree of Battles replies, that princes being bound to maintain their subjects in peace, so that soberly and pacifically they may live under them without wronging each other, and as the assuming of another man's coat-arms would be a cause of quarrel, therefore, the sovereign is bound to prevent it. As in the lessons themselves, so in the choice of the men who are to give them to kings, the desire of peace is discernible. In France, during five centuries, from Suger to Fleury, the priest reigns alternately with the legist. Similarly in Germany, it is the pacific Bruno, archbishop of Cologne, who administers the kingdom in the absence of the emperor; and what a labourer for peace was he!¶ Peace must have been the object of government, when such men as St. Bernard, Suger, and Matthew, abbots of St. Denis, Wibald, abbot of Corby, Peter of Blois, and others like them, were chosen, whose pacific manners, as in the instance of Cotton in the time of Henry IV., used to make them be styled the good angels of the court. "One cannot but remark," says Michelet, "the singular talent of ecclesiastics for political government. This must arise from the wisdom resulting to them from the confessional. There they learn to read the hearts of men, and there they find what is elsewhere never found, never written." Richard, archbishop of Canterbury, in his letter to Pope Alexander III. excuses the English

* Ratherii Ver. Epist Præloquiorum, Lib. iii. & iv. ap. Martene, Vet. Script. tom. ix.
† De Regim Prin. ii. 15.
‡ Lactantii Lib. de Mortibus Persecutorum, 23.

* De Regim. Princ. iii. 5.
† Chroniques de St. Denis, ad an. 1248.
‡ De Regim. Princ. ii. 13.
§ Id ii. 14 ‖ Id. iv. 4.
¶ Chronica regia S. Pantaleonis ap. Eccardii Corp. Hist. Med. Ævi, I.

›s for attending in the royal councils, ; "that it is for the interest of the : they should attend there." "They," ys, "ought to assist the king in his ils, who know how, and wish, and have ›wer to compassionate the unhappy, to le for the peace of the land, and the of the people, to instruct kings to e, and subjects to virtue. By the ›pal mediation, the rigour of justice ened, the cry of the poor is heard, the y of the church maintained, the want e indigent supplied. There ensues m for the clergy, peace for the people, r the monasteries, justice for all. If ohibit bishops from associating with ing, we shall take away rest from the steries, consolation from the oppressed, iberty from the church."* Peter of , describing the council of state in nd, says, "that the most intricate ons respecting the kingdom are pro- there, and that each member delivers inion without contention or obstinacy, elsewhere, grammarians are disputing syllables, with tumult and vocifera- † "We will so provide for your r and welfare," he writes to the eldest Henry II., "that you shall obtain by peace, than you could extort by nd sword."‡ Goldast says to John ard, archbishop of Mayence, "what by force of arms could never do, you ffected; for you have caused all sub- to live in safe and tranquil peace, g yourself truly a worthy archchan- to a pacific, and glorious emperor."§ e bishop of Mondonedo, preacher of mperor Charles V. says, "it is much for a republic to endure some wrong ajustice, than to have recourse to war, t is certain that our Lord will hear the hearts of those who pray for peace, the trumpets which are to proclaim | What rest for the people when such were in the royal councils! John of ury says, "that the interests of the people should be the objects of para- solicitude with a king;¶ and that ublic welfare consists in nothing else the security of individuals."** "The ice," as Niebuhr terms it,†† which l in favour of elderly counsellors, as than the young, may be noticed also as symptomatic of the pacific mind. "Kings should choose wise counsellors, we read, in order that they may govern pacifically, and enable their subjects to lead a tranquil life. Each counsellor must beware lest he should ever act by the impulse of passion, or of his own will, or from a root of pride, lest anger, impatience, or any other vice should disturb his judgment.* Counsellors of state were to be men of eminent patience, to hear and endure contrary opinions;† and it was deemed "better to choose good men of moderate capacity, than men of splendid abilities, with less virtue."‡ In fact, the people still held to Cato's maxim, "that no one could be a good senator, who was not a good husband." "The king ought not to have faith in a man who boasts to be wise, but whose works are not good," says Pierre Salmon, addressing Charles VI.; "for many words," he adds, "are vain, and works show the man. The counsellor should be a patient man, and obedient to the holy Church." Nor was it only pacific men who were the counsellors of kings. The government of the state was conducted on the same principle, as that of the family in which every natural and legitimate influence was recognised. During the desolation of Frejus, after its invasion by the Sarassins in the tenth century, Augustus, count of Provence, took possession of some property belonging to the churches of our Lady and of St. Leonce. When Riculphe, bishop of the see, remonstrated with him, the count replied, "that he was very anxious to satisfy him, but that he wished first to confer with his wife, and the lords of his council."§ Women, therefore, were heard; who, as daughters of the church, are ever the advocates of peace. We must observe, then, on entering into this pacifical ideal of government, the manner in which the ancient emperors declared publicly, in their diplomas, that they granted privileges, through the intercession of their wives and mothers; for what can show more clearly that they ruled by love, and not by force? Thus Lothaire I. says in one, "because our beloved wife Hirmingard desires;" and in another, "at the entreaty of the Empress Hirmingard, our beloved wife."|| Lewis II. similarly ascribes his acts to the advice of his consort, "because our beloved wife Angilberga has suggested," and

t. Bles. Epist. lxxxiv.
ist. vii. * Id. xlvii.
eman. Rerum, Script. Dedicat.
r. iii.
e Nug. Cur. Lib. v. c. 7.
d. iii. 1. †† Hist. of Rome, iv. 112.

* Dion. Carthus. de Vita et Regim. Princip. i. 14.
† Le Conseiller d'Estat. Paris, 1645.
‡ Id. 150. § De Ruf. Hist. de Marseille.
|| Heumann de Re Diplom. iii. 2.

in another, "by the intervention of Angilberga, our most beloved wife."* The influence of Hirmentrude appears no less in the diplomas of Charles the Bald. "Because our sweetest wife Hirmentrude proposed;" and in another "at the suggestion and prayer of our dearest wife;" and again, "at the salubrious exhortation of our beloved wife Hirmentrude.†" Uda, wife of the Emperor Arnulph, is similarly commemorated in the diplomas of her husband: "by the intervention of our beloved wife Uda;" and elsewhere, "at the admonition and prayer of Uda our beloved wife."‡ Henry the Fowler speaks in like terms of his Matilda: "being asked by our wife, Queen Matilda;" and in another, "at the call of our beloved wife Matilda." The Othos, her sons in various diplomas, ascribe their acts to her intercession: "at the entreaty of the venerable and beloved Lady, our mother, Matilda;" and in another, "obedient to the power of our beloved mother Queen Matilda;" and in another, "by the intervention of our grandmother, the most mild Matilda, and of our mother, Adelheid."§ Otho I. proclaims the influence of his wife Editha, daughter of Edward, king of England: "by the intervention of our dear wife Editha;" and in another, "as our ears were assailed by our beloved wife Editha."‖ The intervention also of Adelheid is frequently proclaimed in the diplomas of Otho I.: "if conformable to the pious solicitations of our beloved Adelheid, we ordain honours to the churches;" and in another, "by the advice and intercession of Adelheid, our beloved wife." Nineteen diplomas of this emperor, with similar avowals are cited by Heumann,¶ with eleven of the second Otho, declaring "that he acts by the advice of his Lady mother the Empress Adelheid;" "because," he says in one, "our Lady mother the most serene Empress Adelheid, with maternal confidence, has boldly intervened with our filial majesty, entreating." Otho III. avows the same respect for her as his grandmother: "by the intervention of our beloved grandmother, the Empress Adelheid;" and in another, "for the love of God, and at the prayer of our beloved grandmother, the Empress Adelheid," &c.** The influence of Theophania, daughter of the Greek Emperor, is attested in many diplomas of her husband, Otho II. Thus the expressions "by the intervention of our beloved wife Theophania," and "following the of our beloved wife," occur in thi charters cited by Heumann, whi less visible in those of her son twelve of which attest that he ac love of God, and at the requ dearest mother Theophania.* of Cunegund is found similarly lomas of her husband, Henry II intervention of our beloved wife, C and in another, "having consulted wife, Cunegund;" and "at the pr most loving wife, who is our flesh account of the devotion of our bel which expressions occur in tw charters cited in this work.† Con clares in thirty-three diplomas, t by the intervention and advice of h wife Gisela, who, as a mother, ex lar influence over Henry III., whose charters avow that they a her request.‡ Henry III. similar that he acts at the prayer of hi loved wife, Cunehild, daughter king of England; as also by the tion of his second wife, Agnes d William count of Poictiers. "At of our beloved wife, Agnes," is ble to twenty-five diplomas of thi cited by Heumann,§ whose infl tended even to Henry IV. her attested by twenty of his charters the first wife of the latter emperor in fifteen diplomas, as "the bel by whose intervention they are Henry V. avows in many cha cited, that he acts by the interve through the love of his dearest wif daughter of Henry king of E Similarly, it is at the suggestion of his beloved wife, Richenza, tha peror Lothaire declares several d be granted: "for the love of G the prayer of our dearest wife Ric the expression used on one occasio intervention of Gertrude is repeat ed in the diplomas of her hus Emperor Conrad III.: "followir stinct of our beloved wife Gertru preamble to one of these.†† He marks, that from the time of Fred names of the Empresses hardly ev in this manner; though he dis stances in which the intervention o wife of Frederic I. and of Mar

* Heumann de Re Diplom. iii. 63.
† Id. 80.
‡ Id. 100.
§ Id. 107.
‖ Id. 109.
¶ *Id. p.* 125.
** Id. p. 127.

* Heumann de Re Diplom. iii. 141.
† Id. 157, 9.
‡ Id. 165
§ Id. 183, 5.
‖ Id. 208
¶ Id. 213.
** Id. 22
†† Id. 232, 3.

of Lewis of Bavaria, are acknowledged
e ancient manner.
gain, parliaments were a pacific institu-
of the middle ages, which would supply
ious contrast with those of later times.
nier says, that "as Louis-le-Débon-
was more inclined to console his people,
to perform great exploits and deeds of
, he wished principally to maintain his
leur by the solemn assemblies of par-
ent."* The fact, however, is, that in
fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, a
nd for representation to parliament, or
e states general in France, was regarded
n attempt to involve individuals in
ion.† It followed from the object of
atholic government, that no great im-
nce was attached to any mere form of
nistration. "It matters not," says an
ian of Genoa, "whether our city be
by consuls or by a podesta, or by a
in, or by abbots; for if it is best
ned by consuls, then consuls are the
if best by a podesta, then the podesta
t; if best by a captain or by abbots,
these are the best government. What
ant is peace, and what we must avoid
cord."‡ In fact, in 1190, the Genoese
ged their form of government, by choos-
podesta instead of consuls; and this
did because, as many of the citizens
aspiring to be consuls, much envy and
l arose in the city.§ The truth is,
the monarchal government prevailed
ghout Christendom, in consequence of
ing found most conducive to the peace
e world. The relative merits of all
of rule are estimated by St. Thomas,
ding to their greater or less fitness for
aining peace:|| and the establishment
e imperial election was itself the con-
nce of a pacific thought; for the third
having no heir, the others having
ied the empire by inheritance, he
oned Pope Gregory V. to ordain elec-
throughout all Germany. Of those
hus drew their origin from the Holy
hree were spiritual, the archbishops of
nce, Treves, and Cologne; and four
, the king of Bohemia, the Count
ine, the marquis of Brandenburg, and
uke of Saxony.¶ But whatever was

echerches de la France, ii. 2.
hierry, Lettres, xxv.
ic. de Voragine. Chronic. Jan. pars. v. ap.
Rer. It. Script. ix.
L. Script. xii. c. 3.
e Regimine Princip. Lib. i. 2.
lartin. Fuldens. Chronic. ap. Eccard. Corp.
Med. Ævi, i.

the form, nothing so contrary to charity and peace as a systematic opposition or an organized disorder entered into the theory or practice of government in ages of faith, when men studied harmony in the structure of the universe, to copy it in their own works. If we might borrow such a phrase, there were no antispastic unions then. "One difference," we read, "between a king and a tyrant is, that the former seeks to make his subjects agree together for the public good, while the latter seeks to set them at discord, lest they should rise against himself."* The least circumstance that could favour the maintenance of tranquillity was deemed important. "Do not execute what you have deliberated on by night," says Cardan; "but what you have determined by day, for that will please afterwards; and those are the safest decisions which are approved of by a mind at peace."† We see from these few glimpses, taken almost at random, what a contrast existed to later times, when senates were a scene of civil jar, a chaos of contrarieties. We, too, have counsellors for kings, and parliaments for the community; but what fearful tempests in the heads and hearts of those who are now chosen to legislate, where the calmest in the storm are masters of their passions less to repress than direct them! What would Peter of Blois have said if admitted to their deliberations? "One would have taken the members," says a keen observer, "for maniacs in a cell, raging and unchained, rather than for legislators. Their eyes rolled fire mixed with blood. Breathless, they darted at the speakers looks of lightning. They bounded on their seats; exclamations, mixed with threats, burst from between their teeth. There was transport in their brain; they stamped, they hurled in these fits of parliamentary excitement, while the spectators stood aghast. Around me were murmurs, sarcasms the most cutting, epithets the most revolting, cries inarticulate, groans, gnashing of teeth, and the howl of wild animals. The confusion was indescribable."‡ Compare this with what we read of Catholic senators in ages of faith. What do the headstrong splenetic men deserve who now occupy their seats, for continuing to defeat the end of all their noble and pacific labours? For sole punishment they should be condemned, on going out, to turn their eyes—for the force of nature is very great—upon portraits of a Suger or a Sir Thomas More.

* Dionys. c. de Vit. Princip. iii. 1.
† Prud. civ. 33.
‡ *Timon*, Etudes sur les Orateurs Parlementaires.

The judicial office of Catholic monarchy must be noticed in proof of its pacific character. The legislative right of the people was granted to the king, as the jurisconsults, at the diet of Roncaglia in 1158, said to Frederic Barbarossa.* During the coronation of the duke of Carinthia, three families have the right to cut down, burn, and pillage, to show that the moment of interregnum is the sleep of justice, and that the people must hastily obtain a defender.† If the visitation of men were peace, their rulers were to be justice.‡ The rigour of the punisher was the peace of the people.§ But woe to those who presided over men unless God presided over them;‖ "without whose grace neither has a prince honour, nor the people peace, neither religion rest, nor the church liberty."¶ Wipo, chaplain to the Emperor Henry III., shows him the duty of mingling law and mercy.

"Est bona temperies, quam lex et gratia miscent;
Hæ si conjunctæ, generabunt pacis amorem.
Peccatum pereat, peccator vivere discat.
Qui se convertit, non est hic qui fuit olim."**

The sword itself, in the imperial insignia, denotes only justice; for thus Godfrid of Viterbo says to Henry VI.:

"Judicii signum gladius monstrare videtur,
Quo malefactorum feritas cessare jubetur;
Nam si tardus erit, pax vacuata perit."††

As for the sword of conquest, Peter of Blois, advising Henry II., says, "You will find among the Roman princes no shedder of blood whose blood was not in return shed; but those who used the sword only to justice paid the tribute of the human condition by a natural death."‡‡ All texts of Scripture that seemed to contradict such views were interpreted in a pacific sense, as the words of the Prophet, "Maledictus qui prohibet gladium suum à sanguine," which Peter of Blois understands as the word of exhortation from the mortification of sin.§§ The king, therefore, was the pacific judge, a title and office which French writers say their kings, above all others, desired for themselves, wishing to be represented always not combatting, but sitting on the throne of justice:* and in fact, as Bonald observes, according to the ancient and venerable spirit of the French constitution, justice was superior to force, and the magistracy was before the army. The nobility itself was rather judicial than warlike;† for the glory of arms, in a Christian people, grew pale before that of intellectual and moral triumphs. The words of the French bishops in 858, to Lewis, brother of Charles the Bald, show what was then deemed the proper qualification for the office: "Constitute counts and magistrates who hate avarice and detest pride; who do not oppress or dishonour the peasants; who do not hold courts for sake of lucre; but, in order that widows and orphans, and all the people, may have justice; and who study to recall litigators to concord rather than seek to derive any profit from their litigation; and who, if they cannot pacify them, will judge justly. Similarly, if you would be a Christian king, make counts like yourself; men fearing God, showing themselves benign and affable to their peasants."‡ "A judge," says Dionysius the Carthusian, instructing kings, "must beware of evincing impatience or any perturbation, for he ought to judge with a tranquil heart. He must not have compassion on the poor to such a degree as to derogate from truth and equity in judgment."§ But it is Philip de Beaumanoir, counsellor of Robert, count of Clermont, son of St. Louis, whom especially we should hear in this place to learn how pacific were all views of administration. "The great hope," he says, "that we have in the aid of Him by whom all things are prospered, and without whom no good work could prosper—the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Ghost, which are one God in trinity—has put into our heart and understanding the thought of finding a book by which those who desire to live in peace may be taught how to defend themselves from wrong, according to the custom of the county of Clermont, in Beauvaisis; the customs of which county, above all others, we are bound to discover, for this reason, especially, that God commands us to love our neighbour as ourselves, and that we are of that county, all whose inhabitants, therefore, we must endeavour to benefit by our labours. We are of opinion that whoever would be a loyal bailiff ought

* Radevicus, ii. c. 4.
† Michelet, Origines du Droit.
‡ Is. 60.
§ Gerv. Tilleber. Otia Imperialia.
‖ Petr. Bles. de Instit. Episc.
¶ Id. Compend. in Job.
** Wiponis Paneg. ap. Canisii Lect. Ant. tom. iii.
†† Pantheon, ap. Murat Rer. It. Script. vii.
‡‡ Epist. xlii.
§§ Epist. lxxvi.

* Le Conseiller d'estat, Paris, 1645.
† Legis. Prim. ii. 2 0.
‡ Ap. Baronius, 858.
§ De Vita et Regim. Princip. iii. xi.

to possess ten virtues, of which one ought to be lady and mistress of all the others, since without it the others could not be governed, and that is called sapience or wisdom. The second virtue is that the bailiff ought to love with all his heart God our Father and our Saviour, and for the love of God, holy Church, and not with the love which some serfs have for their seigneurs, who love only because they fear them: but with entire love, as a son should love his Father. 'Car de lui amer et servir vienent tout li bien.' Nor has he sapience in him who above all things does not open his heart to the love of God, and much matter should we find for speaking on this head, but that it would lead us far from our subject; and besides, holy Church shows and teaches us it every day. The third virtue is that the bailiff should be sweet and débonnaire, without felony or cruelty; but not gentle to felons, lest he should place in peril of death those who wish to live in peace; but sweet to the good and to the common people. The fourth virtue is that he be ready to hear, and full of long suffering, and not quick to answer or to be angry. The fifth virtue is that he be brave and vigorous without indolence, for if he were a coward, he would not dare to make angry the rich man who would have to appear against the poor; or he would not inflict death on those who deserved it through fear of their lineage. Therefore, he must not be a coward, but brave and without fear; that is, he ought to be wisely brave, for there is a foolish bravery, which belongs not to his office, but to the foolhardy. The sixth virtue is that he be generous, and liberal, and courteous, in order that he may be loved by God and the world; for in the avaricious heart loyalty cannot have a lodging. The seventh virtue is that he obey the commandments of his seigneur in all that he commands with loyal justice: for the bailiff would not be excuseable before God if he were to do wrong to any one in order to obey his seigneur; and the bailiff must rather leave the service of such a seigneur than do such evil; for the sires are not worth serving who take more care to do their own pleasure than to maintain right and justice. The eighth virtue is, that he be very knowing, so as to discern the good from the evil, and in all relations, above all to know who are the peaceable and who the troublesome; that he may protect the one and restrain the other; that he may terrify and constrain the troublesome, so that the peaceable may live in peace. The ninth virtue is that he be skilled with subtle intelligence to put to profit, without doing wrong to any one, the lands of his seigneur. The tenth virtue is the best of all the others, for without it the rest are nothing worth; for it is that which enlightens all the others, and that is loyalty; for whoever is loyal is wise to maintain loyalty; for better is a man loyal and with little sense than him who is cunning without loyalty. Disloyalty, when it is lodged in the heart of a man who has much land to maintain, can sow much poison; for all kinds of evils can come from it." In the conclusion of the whole work he speaks thus: "After we had thought much on this whole matter, it seemed to us that there is nothing which we ought so much to covet as firm peace; for those who have firm peace established in their hearts are justly sires of the world and companions of God; for the man is sire of the world in as much as he is in good thoughts, and has his heart in peace so as not to covet wrongfully any earthly thing; and he is companion of God in as much as he is in a state of grace and without sin; for without these two no one can have his heart established in firm peace: for, if he be covetous of earthly things in any malicious manner, his heart is at war and in tribulation instead of being in peace; and if he be not in a state of grace, but in mortal sin, then his own conscience makes war with him, for we do not believe that there can be any man so evil as not to have war in his heart if his conscience be troubled: therefore, whoever would have firm peace ought, above all things, to love and prize God, and to despise earthly things; and then, though he should have assault of war, or any loss of friends and substance, if he love God and covet firm peace, he will suffer his tribulations with such good grace that they will little or not at all grieve him. Since, then, we have said that firm peace is the best thing, we pray Him who is the fountain of peace, that is to say, Jesus Christ, the son of St. Mary, his blessed mother, who draws from that fountain and dispenses peace to his friends, to deign to grant us peace in such manner as to conduce to the saving of our souls according to His power and mercy, which power can do all things, and which mercy is comparable to no other mercy. Amen."*

Peace, again, is indicated in that relation

* Coustumes de Beauvoisis.

which existed in ages of faith between the temporal and spiritual power. "The kingdom and the priesthood were made one."* Religion and politics did not interfere with each other. There was harmony between them. There was between them a common fund of thoughts, sentiments, and designs. As St. Thomas observes, "The emperors of Constantinople, from Constantine to Charlemagne, were obedient to the Holy See, and full of reverence for its decisions; as were, professedly at least, the emperors who succeeded down to the third Otho, all whose intention seems to have been to favour faith and to honour the holy Roman Church."† Under the Carlovingians, in every political mission, in every temporal affair requiring two persons, a bishop and a count were always united as the agents of government; never a count or bishop alone.‡ The bishops are exhorted to agree with the counts, and the counts with the bishops, in order that both may fulfil their respective ministry. Thus a capitulary of 789 says, "Let there be peace and concord between bishops and abbots on the one side, and counts and judges on the other; for without peace nothing pleases God." This citation is continually occurring in the ordonnances of Charlemagne. The crosier, the sword, and the crook, were symbolical of one government; the sword of that which was to defend by temporal power the other two from the adversaries who against reason would disturb and molest them.§ So at the coronation of the Emperor Otho in 1209, one of the questions addressed to him by Pope Innocent III., in St. Peter's Church, was whether he wished to live in peace with the Church; and upon his answering thrice in the affirmative, the pontiff replied, "So give I you the peace which our Lord gave to his disciples." The difficulty of this union shows what an influence had then the principle and love of peace. "Since the fall the world is Manichæan," says a French historian, "and always will it feel the struggle of the two principles. We wish not to believe that there is this duality, but we find it every where—nowhere more than in ourselves. What do you seek? Peace. Such has always been the object; but man is and ever will be double: according to the form of the middle ages, he will always have in himself the pope and the emperor."

What is admirable, therefore, in the middle ages is the solicitude which was exercised to counteract this element of discord, and to preserve the two powers of the state in harmony.

Murmur as men will, by the law of nature, as St. Thomas shows,* it is the spiritual that must have precedence. "As the body is governed by the soul, so should the temporal power be subservient to the Church," says Ives de Chartres, addressing Henry I., king of England. "Knowing this, you should understand that you are not the lord, but the servant of the servants of God; not the possessor, but the protector. You ought to be one of the cedars of Libanus which the Lord hath planted, in which the sparrows build their nests; that is, under whose safeguard the poor of Christ converse and bring forth fruit in peace."†

"O, wonderful power and infallible grace of the Saviour," exclaims St. Augustin, speaking of the Roman pontiff. "Who could believe that a plebeian fisherman should be prince of the apostles, to resist kings, to sanctify kings, to command all kingdoms, to bridle the world by laws, to order the virtues, to open heaven to men when he wished, and to shut when it pleased him, to give an immortal kingdom to the converts, to deny it to the perverse, to take cognizance of the merits of the world!"‡ This was no usurped dominion, as our weak adversaries at present pretend. It was but the reconciliation of earth with heaven, the fruit of divine charity, as St. Leo observes, when addressing Rome, in the memorable words: "Less was that which warlike labour gained for you, with all your victories, than that which has been made yours by Christian peace:" and so far were the people from regarding it with suspicion, that Magna Charta was granted, according to the words of its preface, "for the exaltation of the Holy Church." At the head of the demands of the barons, who extorted it, was that the Church should have freedom and all her rights. Magna Charta, therefore, rested upon the great principle which the Protestant charters reverse and destroy. In the living societies of Catholic times, to secure the interest of one part was to conduce to the felicity of the whole; and instead of an artificial, disjointed state there was a natural and harmonious community.

* Petr. Bles. Serm. lv.
† De Regim. Princ. iii 17.
‡ Fauriel, Hist de la Gaule Merid. iv. 15.
§ Jehan de Brie, Le vray Régime des Bergers.

* De Reg. Prin. iii. 10.
† Io. Carnot. Epist cvi.
‡ Serm. de Petro et Paulo.

iselves, if just, had nothing to addressed by the Church in hese of the bishops of France These things we say, not as iggerations against your domi- as discharging the duty of our Truly, we ought, and we wish ou such, that you do not desire itation of your kingdom to the f your soul. There is no rea- se which should stimulate you petitions; for we are not men nd disseminate, and nourish ssensions, or seditions, or wars, ord hath chosen to ordain us nd followers of peace, whose veep for our sins, and for the mitted to us, and to have war and peace with the brethren. esire and seek peace and quiet, ls and wars; because, as the h, our arms are not carnal, but ir feet being shod in preparation el of peace; and we militate, arthly, but for a heavenly King, safety of all the people com- is; it being our office to hurt ct unfaithfully towards no one, to render service to all men."* s, undoubtedly, there were, as see in the concluding book; rough the ages of faith kings been addressed by the clergy ls of the archbishop of Rouen to . of England. "The word of bound in our mouth, but in the erty we speak what gives salva- s, quiet to the people, freedom ch, honour to God, and deliver- e country."† The Manual of says, expressly, "The emperor se war against the Church, and pt it, his subjects are not bound ."‡ Ratherius of Verona thus the Emperor Otho:—"Be not who embrace that foolish wisdom d, which our true pacific, beau- the sons of men, hath con- ather than the eternal and true hanging the vessels of Egypt, ensils for the tabernacle of the sing them as ornaments of the pt, to serve the purposes of tude, representing that dragon, f the world, as triumphing, not n by Michael. You introduce mpey, and Cato, rather than Peter, and Paul, and John—wars of the Emathean fields rather than the councils held by Christian doctors. Therefore, since they are of earth, while they abdicate celestial things, and speak only of the earth, let them fear, lest they be devoured by that ancient dragon; for thus He, who cannot lie, promised, 'Earth shalt thou eat all the days of thy life.' Cease to think that you can judge bishops: you can spoil, you can banish, you can imprison, you can deprive of sight, you can mutilate; yea, to your own prejudice, you can kill; but that name, that sceptre, that crown and purple, that benediction, that power of binding and loosing, that judgment, that principality, that angelic office, that apostleship, that pontificate, that kingdom, that pastoral office, lastly, what is above all, that unction, you cannot, with all your force or authority, ever take away. But this is needless to say to you, whom I perceive to be most Christian, and remote from the madness of tyrannic power."* Assuredly, the world felt the influence of pacific hearts when this spiritual government had such power, defended as it was in reality, as to human means, only by the sentiment of duty, or what a French historian terms "the grand mystic poesy of its bulls," like that beginning "Unam sanctam," which electrified the twelfth century; when the spiritual sword derived an edge and irresistible force from such symbols as the dove and the ark, and the tunic without seam, each of which could protect the popedom. To the deepest recesses of their heart men felt the shock when there was the least infringement on its integrity, in which consisted the source of all true peace. Pope Leo IX., a German, owed his election to the emperor. On entering Rome to take possession, he heard, it is said, a voice of angels singing, "Dicit Dominus, Ego cogito cogitationes pacis." He instantly recollected the influence which had raised him to the primal seat, and resigned, but then by the cardinals and people was re-elected.† In the calm majesty of the popedom kings themselves might have seen the only lasting basis of their own tranquillity, for, as Gerbert says of the Roman and apostolic chair, "Quid deinceps stabilietur si id dissolvitur?"

Such, then, was the glorious republic of Christians till the monarchal absolutism,

onius, ad an. 858.
s. Epist. xxxiii.
des Batailles.

* Præloquiorum Lib. iii. ap. Martene, Vet. Script. ix.
† Martini Fuldens. Chronic. ap. Eccard. Corp. Hist. Med. Ævi, i.

arising from unsound faith, commenced by Philip-le-bel, and completed by Louis XI., was established nearly in all kingdoms. Vengeance on the first, according to a general opinion, was not slow to follow. His eldest son kills his wife, his daughter her husband. "In less than thirteen years," say the chronicles of St. Denis, "all his lineage was extinct,"* while Toulouse still mourns for having given Nogaret his instrument to France. The Gallican party, which began with Guillaume de St. Amour, whose portrait, on the window of the Sorbonne, existed till the Revolution sought to compose these dislocations, and to organize the disorder, yet the force of truth often prevailed to the restoration of harmony. "We have carefully avoided extending our power," says a king of France in 1717, "over what concerns doctrine, of which the deposit has been confided to another power."† So far we have seen the pacific form in all systems of Catholic government. It only remains to speak of its development in the idea respecting a unity of empire, which was sought to be realized in the middle ages.

"I thought that the office designed for you was to destroy Rome," said a barbarian to Alaric on his leaving the eternal city, "but I perceive that it is to labour henceforth to preserve it." In fact, the barbarians thought to restore the ancient Roman empire, but they finally discovered that the true Rome then existing, was the humble pacific Rome. It was not merely genius, as in the instance of Brunehaud, that dictated such hopes. Men cherished them through the desire of peace. Let us hear Vincent of Beauvais. "The Roman empire," says he, "is erected by God over all men, as supreme arbiter in temporals; and other princes govern only by privil ge granted by it: for if there were no one greater than all others by law, who could put an end to disputes? Then would follow many discords, robberies, slaughters, and wars, to the destruction of all peace: but if we live under one head, if we were all to follow one obedience, if we were to recognise one supreme prince in temporals, the consequence would be peace every where, and the sweetest concord, a manifest proof of which is that from the beginning of the world till this day, we read that there never was a universal peace, excepting when the eyes of the whole world were directed to one Cæsar Augustus, which was permitted to happen then on account of the reverence of Christ, our Redeemer, who assumed our human form; yet it ought to suffice that the Divine Creator of the world has shown how we might have peace, if all the world were under one prince. The privileges, therefore, of other kings ought not to avail against this power, nor ought a prince to tolerate things which tend to the subversion of the empire."* Unity, such was the aim from the beginning. In the second age St. Irenæus wrote against the Gnostics his book on the unity of the principle of the world—De Monarchia. Such is again the title of Dante's work, on the unity of the social world. A French historian adds, "that his book is extravagant, but that its formula is peace, as the condition of development, peace under one sovereign."† "The pope and the emperor, wondrous system," he exclaims, "material force, the flesh, in the empire, in the church, the word, spirit: force every where, spirit at the centre, spirit having dominion over force; the son of the serf stronger than Frederic Barbarossa."

Dante, like Vincent, would have attached the organization of Christian Europe to the traditions of the ancient Roman empire, in the establishment of which, he traced the designs of Providence, providing for the good of men. Peace is the great object, in his theory of government; which, indeed, explains all those axioms of the middle ages respecting the monarch being the minister of all.‡ These ideas of the temporal society entered even into his mystic visions, as when he saw the command to love justice written in characters of fire, till the letter M alone remained in a crown of glory, as the initial of monarchy, which was then superseded by an eagle, as an emblem of the holy Roman empire.

Our limits will not permit us to follow the history of these political views. Charlemagne, in dividing the empire between his three sons, assigned as his motive, the desire of preventing after his death quarrels, respecting succession, and of maintaining a peace that was to last for ever. The object was laudable—but the means were inadequate. They were rather according to the old tradition of Germanic customs, than to the reasonable views of

* Ad an. 1327.
† Declar. du 7 Oct. 1717.

* Specul. Historiale, liv. xxxi. in fin.
† Michelet, Hist. de France, iii. 59.
‡ Dante de Monarchia, ii. St. Thom. i. 11. Q. 76. 4.

enlightened men at the time, who sought to establish peace. As Fauriel remarks, "the popes and an eminent portion of the clergy of Gaul, regarded this object as only to be attained by preserving the unity of the empire. When Louis-le-Débonnaire, in 833, saw himself opposed by his three sons on the Rhine, Pope Gregory IV. intervened with this view in favour of Lothaire."* The most energetic and enlightened portion of the clergy entered into the opposition against Louis-le-Débonnaire, with the same views as had dictated the constitution of 817, which he had reversed, in order to preserve the unity of the empire. "The struggle," as Fauriel observes, "was in fact between two contrary ideas,—the Germanic in favour of the indefinite partition of the empire, and the Roman, tending to its unity. The bishops attached to Louis-le-Débonnaire, who took umbrage at the interference of the pope, were political men, less concerned about the church, than about the state, and who in regard to the state itself, had no project of a better order of things for the future."† Fauriel doubts whether the sacerdotal portion of the adherents of Lothaire had any power to prevent the deposition of his father. If they did act, it was through weakness and compulsion. Yet, at their deaths, the biographer of Louis-le Débonnaire says, "that the kingdom of the Franks deprived of them, lost nobility, valour, and wisdom." The grief with which they beheld their hopes of a universal government expire, is feelingly expressed by the monk who wrote the life of Wala, "O that fatal day," he exclaims, "which dissolved the union of the empire, and laid the seeds of civil war, whence all our calamities and sorrows flow! O that day, day of clouds and darkness! O execrable day which first heard that counsel! This is the hour of the wrath of God, the hour which summons us to retribution, in which the eyes of all men are opened with Balaam the soothsayer, when we all fall down, and the rod of the fury of God watches over us, and when all the justice of law is violated."‡ Nevertheless, neither the final dismemberment of the empire of the Franks under the second race, which required fifty years' war, nor the division of the kingdom into two states under the first, ought to be imputed to the fault of the kings, since, as Thierry shows, both were the effect of causes which no power could resist: for Louis-le-Débonnaire and his sons were impelled by the movement of two distinct races, which cherished the memory of independence.* It is remarkable, that the Carlovingian Romances, like that of Renaud de Montauban, were written under the auspices of the feudal lords, descendants of the chiefs, who at the end of the second race had broken to pieces the Carlovingian monarchy, and that the spirit of their fathers had descended to them, so that the romances are directed against the unity of the monarchy, which their ancestors had destroyed, celebrating the rebellions of the Carlovingian dukes and counts, and even depreciating Charlemagne himself.† For many ages, however, the world lived on two ideas of order and peace—the one never to perish, the holy Roman Pontificate, the other subject to contingencies, the holy Roman empire—two universal hierarchies, to secure harmony between kings and each other, and between kings and the people committed to them.

We ought not to close this chapter without taking into account with the pacific ideal of government, that of the subjects who were to be governed. Had Cicero known a Catholic community, he would not have said "that no animal is more morose than man, or more difficult to be ruled."‡ In ages of faith, as in all others, the Lord sees iniquity and contradiction in the city, and stretches out his hands to the people, and says, "Father, forgive them;" but they who think iniquities in their heart, and who all day long constitute battles, were then less numerous or less able to disturb the peace of the Christian society. The Church could address men in the prophet's words, and say, "Dominator quem vos quæritis," without intending to perplex them. Therefore, the fathers of the synod of Teudo, under Drogo, of Metz, in their address to the three imperial brothers, Lothaire, Lewis, and Charles, could say to them with confidence, "if you be reconciled to God, you may lay aside all fear of men; for He will fulfil in you, what He promised, saying, 'Cum placuerint Domino viæ hominis, omnes inimicos ejus convertet ad pacem.'" Accordingly it was in later times, that arose those politic maxims, and that cumbersome luggage of war, argument of human weakness, rather than of strength. The force of opinion was then the best

* Hist. de la Gaule Mer. iv. 131.
† Id. iv. 137. ‡ Lib. ii.

* Lettres, x. † Fauriel.
‡ De Fin. v.

rampart to cities, as when the Emperor Henry and his wife, Cunegund, were said to have surrounded the church and city of Bamberg with a silken thread, against the attacks of all enemies.* "Instead of the ancient idea of the general will, that of duty and of truth became predominant in the middle ages," says the biographer of Gerbert.† All guides of the people would then have said with Peter of Blois, "may you have peace and holiness, the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace, for no form can be found more expressive of angelic conversation than social unity."‡ The fathers of the council of Mayence under Raban Maur in 847, decree as follows: "Truly it is necessary that there should be peace and concord, and unanimity, in the Christian people, because we have one Father in Heaven, and one mother, the Church, one faith, one baptism. Therefore, in one peace and unanimity we ought concordantly to live, if we desire to attain to the one true inheritance of the celestial kingdom, for God is not the God of dissension, but of peace, as He himself says; and if among all the faithful, peace and concord are essential, according to the Apostle, who says, 'follow peace with all men, and holiness, without which no one shall see God,' much more ought bishops and counts to be at concord, each of whom shall endeavour to assist the other in the discharge of his ministry. Since then peace and concord are to be esteemed the chief good among Christians, and as qualifying them for the title of sons of God, we ordain and confirm by the ecclesiastical authority, that all those who make conspiracies against the king, or the ecclesiastical dignities, or any legitimate powers of the republic in any order, are to be removed from the communion of Catholics loving true peace; and unless by penance and amendment they should be restored to ecclesiastical peace, are to be cut off from all society with the sons of peace."§

It is clear from what we have seen throughout this history from the beginning, that elements of peace existed in the state upon which governments could always reckon with confidence, and which, undoubtedly were necessary to give efficiency to the principles on which those governments were formed. Such was the fact noticed by Tertullian, and which still continued to have an immense influence, that a Christian is the enemy of no one, and certainly not of the emperor, whom he knows to be constituted by God."* These were not the times when a king was unhappy or miserable: miserable if he wished to retain his crown, unhappy if he was unable. The streets of cities never during the worst moment of the middle ages, heard the cry, "we will not that God should reign over us, or a king who pretends to reign by the grace of God: we will have no other king but such as we choose to make ourselves." Men would not have revered as lovers of their country, guides like Milton, who believed, as Johnson says, "that man was made for rebellion;" nor would they have applauded or taken up arms after hearing such harangues as those of Heinsius, in which he says, "liberty wishes to be attacked; it wishes to be engaged with iron; it wishes to combat an enemy; it grows in arms; it is nourished not with milk but with blood."† The total absence of all such pagan thoughts constitutes one of these facts. So alien were they, that the historian of Brescia accounts for the divisions which distracted that city at the time he wrote, by saying, "that whoever deserts that light which illuminates every man coming into this world, can never attain to the way of rectitude."‡ "Consider in what straits you are placed," says Petrarch to one who was fomenting war in Italy, "when not one of the titles to which you aspire can be yours; for I deny that you can be even called an orator, since all who have written upon that art declare that he must be a good man, which you can never be while you are the adversary of peace, while your tongue is the root of the public misery; for if you had not spoken, inflaming minds with venemous words, Italy would not have mourned. Remember the command of Truth, love one another, love your enemies, follow peace and holiness, without which no one shall see God. Put on the love of peace, lest you be an alien to those men of good-will to whom the angels announced peace."§

Another of these facts was that of the existence of multitudes, whose life even by vow was private, unactive, calm, contemplative, little suspicious to any king, while all the weight of education tended to keep

* Heumann de Re. Dip. iii. 153.
† Hock Gerbert und sein jahr hundert 9.
‡ Epist. lxxvii
§ Ap. Heumann, de Re Diplomat. ii. 337, 339.

* Ad Scap. c. 2.
† Orat. xvii.
‡ Jacob. Malvecii Chronic. Brixianum, ap. Mur. Rer It Script. xiv.
§ Epist. x. 17.

others from bristling up the crest of youth against the supreme authority. The maxims of government conveyed in the pastoral lessons of Jehan de Brie, suppose the pacific innocence of the people. "The lambs," says the author, "being so young and tender, ought to be treated lovingly, and without violence; they ought not to be struck or injured in any manner."* No nation would have boasted in ages of faith that it was the cave of Æolus, from which, at the wink of a minister, all the unsettled humours of the land, rash, inconsiderate, fiery hosts of voluntaries, with fierce dragons spleens would rush forth to make Christendom their prey, and gore the gentle bosom of its peace. "There have been commotions and riots in Paris, Rouen, Montpelier, Lyons, and other cities of France," says an ancient historian; "but we must not impute such boilings over of humour to the magistrates, or to the noble citizens, any more than the seditions of the Israelites to holy Moses, but only to the dregs of the populace, which are like froth."† "While citizens obey their prince," says Dionysius the Carthusian, "they have a quiet heart and tranquil times, and can exercise their different offices in security; so that, unless where he commands things contrary to the law of God, it is a great folly in them not to obey him."‡ The tranquillity of order, which was the result of peace, was known to be the right disposition of equals and unequals.§ Degree was not, therefore, a source of discontent, and as for calamitous times when evil men reigned, the people knew, as Albert the Great remarks, "that God permits such afflictions for the punishment of men's sins, and for the exercise of the good in patience: therefore, in all times, subjects endeavoured to have peace with their princes." "Time commands princes, wait then for time," was the precept of Cardan to his sons.¦ The old question of Gall, as stated by Tacitus, "Libertas an pax placeret," without, therefore, being solved in the sense of Grotius,¶ who decides absolutely for the latter, on ground that would not have satisfied St. Thomas, involved no men personally in a dilemma. Even on their tombs we find proclaimed the love of that obedience, which in the end is the best safeguard of liberty, which St. Isidore says is peace. In the convent of the great Augustins, at Paris, on the sepulchre of Gui du Faur, Seigneur de Pibrac, president of the parliament, were read these lines:

"Il est permis souhaiter un bon Prince;
Mais tel qu'il est, il le convient porter."

A sentence ratified in advance by Cicero himself, who deems any peace more useful than civil war.* The provisions made for preserving peace in the event of a great and manifest utility, suggesting to the community the expediency of a change of ancient laws, are worthy of being observed, though I cannot stop to enumerate them.† The general conviction then was, "that all zeal for a reform that gives offence to peace and charity, is mere pretence." Lupus, writing to Charles the Bald, says, "not to flatter you, but through regard for the safety of your subjects, I declare that if they observe not their oaths to you, they will bring death on their souls; nor can they be the sons of God who are unwilling to be pacific."‡ "Let us cease to act perversely," he says elsewhere, "and learn to do well. Let us cease from seeking carnal, and sometimes think of gaining spiritual things, and that cupidity may be tempered and moderated, let us call to mind the quick transit of those whom we have seen in dignities, nor forget that we are following them. Let us recover the manners by which this kingdom grew and flourished. Let there be no factions, no conspiracies among us, who invoke a common Father, to whom priests so often say, 'Pax vobis,' for whom all priests cordially pray, 'Da propitius pacem in diebus nostris,' and to whom it is said, 'Beati pacifici.' Let us not think lightly of the woe pronounced upon those who cause scandals. Let us through fear of God, and regard to our own interest, endeavour unanimously to procure the public good, that we may obtain tranquillity for the faithful, and procure from the Almighty that two-fold peace, such as can be found at present, and such as will be given to the elect hereafter."§ Marsilius Ficinus, in few words, sums up the Catholic doctrine on this subject, "we know from infinite good," he says, "that all things

* Le Vray Régime des Bergers, chap. iv.
† Paradin, Hist. de Lyon, iii. 17.
‡ De Vit. et Reg. Princip. iii. 22.
§ Hugonis Floriacensis Tract. de Regia Potestate, i. 4. ap. Baluze, Miscel. ii.
¦ Præcept. ad Filios. libel. 2.
¶ De Jure Belli, &c. ii. 24.

* Phil. ii.
† Dion. Carthus. de Vit. et Reg. Princip. iii. 18.
‡ Epist. xcvi.
§ Epist. c.

turn to good to the just; and we have learned from Paul, the herald of Christ, to obey princes."*

Nor was any undue advantage taken of these dispositions according to the pacific ideal of government, predominant in ages of faith, though modern English writers choose to affirm that "king, priest, and soldier harshly associated every base and degrading idea with the very name of the people."† Persons who are conversant with the writings of the middle ages, need not be told that the good of the people as being that of the community, was proclaimed the end of all just government. Slavery was not considered peace, but rather its direct foe, as placing the governed, and those who govern, in a false position. The angel of the school, in his admirable treatise on government, in denouncing tyranny, evinces the most noble regard for freedom,‡ and expressly teaches that the consequence of tyranny is to render men servile and pusillanimous. He shows that, in a just monarchy, the occasion of tyranny must be taken away, and at the same time, that the power of the king must be so tempered, that he may not be able to tyrannize. He says, that "if the contract be not observed by the king, the people have a right to obtain redress by judicial means."§ Donatus Barbadorus, the jurisconsult and embassador of Florence, went farther, for in presence of the pope he said, "there can be no cause of war more just than the defence of the liberty of one's country, in which are comprised houses, children, wives, and fortune, and churches, and all divine and human things."‖ But the church sought and laboured with a ceaseless solicitude to prevent the possibility of such a collision; and hence all those measures in the exercise of her recognised right, which modern writers have so foolishly condemned. The strongest sympathies of St. Bonaventura, as those of Dante, who spoke the real sentiment of ages of faith, are on the side of the people: for the powerful, who seek a separate interest from that of the community, they have only words of severe admonition or words of terror.¶ "If you ask," says the author of the Tree of Battles, "what is the difference between a prince and a tyrant, John Andrieu will tell you in a gloze, saying, 'that he who is a true prince, always labours for the utility of the poor commons, and for the good of the country, whereas a tyrant only thinks of filling his purse, and so he succeeds he cares not how.'" One need only read the letters and discourses of the Franciscan, Antonio de Guevara, preacher of the Emperor Charles V., to see with what discretion and justice such men laboured to promote the happiness of the state, and to prevent every abuse which might afflict the people. "In all ages, in the most difficult times," says Thierry, "there have been men in France to defend justice and liberty, and in regard to the last, our forefathers have surmounted more obstacles than we shall ever meet with;"* truly a remarkable admission. The middle ages, in fact, witnessed the liberty of the subject, while later times have beheld the slavery of the independent.

In the division of the kingdom of Lothaire by his brothers, Charles and Louis, Nithard relates that it was made less according to material equality than to the greater or less degrees of affinity and fitness between the populations. Unhappily, it cannot be a question, whether, on an occasion analogous, the people would be treated with equal consideration at the present day. Kings were told in the middle ages that they would have to answer for the rebellion of their subjects, unless they had made every effort to conciliate their love. "As a prince," says Dionysius the Carthusian, "must endeavour to surpass other men in virtues, so must he strive with all his force that his people may have peace with him; and though the people should prove themselves unworthy, yet he, for the love of God, and through zeal for the divine honour, ought to do all things for their common utility, lest God should be dishonoured by the rebellion and discord of his people. Moreover, as he ought to love them with a spiritual love, he should strive to secure for them the peace which is so necessary for their salvation; and to remove all occasion that could induce them to murmur and disobey. A sense of justice, too, should make him labour by every possible means to obtain for them concord; for that is the end of his authority. Above all, the remembrance of the final judgment of God should make him spare no effort to gain them peace; for, as he will have to give an account for all their sins arising from his negligence, terrible will be his sentence if,

* Epist. Lib. iii.
† Palgrave, Truths and Fictions of the Mid. Age.
‡ De Regim. Princip. Lib. i. 3.
§ Id. Lib. i. c. 6.
‖ Poggii Bracciol. Hist. Florent. Lib. ii. ap. Mur. Rer. It. Script. xx.
¶ Ozanam, La Philosophie de Dante, 172.

* Litt. sur l'Hist. de France, i.

perchance, by his indiscretion or fault there should be given any occasion to the people for rebellion and discord. Therefore, to avoid eternal punishment, he must provide for peace between himself and his people, and not be ready to excuse himself easily."*

The celebrated treaty of Constance, between the Emperor Frederic I. and Henry VI., his son, and the confederate states of Lombardy in 1183, begins, after the usual invocation, with these words: "The mild serenity of the imperial clemency is accustomed always to show that grace and favour to its subjects, that, although it ought and could correct offences with strict severity, yet it studies rather with the propitious tranquillity of peace and the pious affections of mercy, to rule the Roman empire, and recall the insolence of rebels to their due fidelity."† These were the results which the ecclesiastical voice was ever raised to procure. Antonio de Guevara the Franciscan, writing to certain rebels who disturbed Spain in the time of Charles V., says, "When I was at Villabrassima, in your presence, I preached nothing to you but penance; and when I was at Rio Seco I preached nothing to the governors but clemency and mercy." It would be impossible to describe in more exact terms the action of the clergy in regard to subjects and to kings.

Such, then, was the influence of pacific hearts upon the views respecting government which prevailed in ages of faith. The Church uttered no voice clearer, and promised nothing greater: for self-devotion and obedience from a sense of duty, as the keystone of all her institutions, was her universal principle, and what she promised, as the consequence, was peace. Some will here object that the promise was not fulfilled. Strictly, perhaps not; but the Roman philosopher observes that things are named always after their greater part, even if there be a deficiency; so that if the Catholic state were disordered in part, yet, from its greater part of harmony, must it deservedly be named pacific. Besides, granting that the promise was not fully realized, still, to use the words of the same philosopher, "I count this itself a great thing, that there was such a promise." Truly it was not always realized. There is often an afflicting contrast between the sublime ideal and the powerless, desolating reality. But how can we require perfect order in the political when the moral world is so troubled? peace in the state, when there are combats in each man's breast? "Here," says St. Augustin, "we have peace only in hope; for, as yet, what peace is within us? Where is there perfect peace in one man? But when there will be perfect peace in one man, then there will be perfect peace in all the citizens of Jerusalem."* Probably, too, some princes defended and established peace, moved, at least, at first, by mere human motives; but on these we have the authority of St. Augustin for looking with milder eyes than those of censure. "This state," says he, "which is called Babylon, has its lovers consulting for temporal peace, and hoping for nothing beyond it, and fixing all their joy there, and terminating it there; and we see them labouring much for the earthly republic. But yet if men faithfully employ themselves in it, if they do not seek their pride, and perishable honour, and indolent vanity, but exercise a true faith as much as they can, and as long as they can, and to whomever they can, God does not suffer them to perish in Babylon, God understands their captivity, and shows to them another city, for which they ought truly to sigh, for which they ought to endeavour all things, to the attainment of which they ought to exhort, as far as they are able, their fellow-citizens and strangers. 'O Sancta Sion! ubi totum stat et nihil fluit.'"† "What is this world," cries Peter of Blois, "but misery and a flying shadow? Let pass then, as they are temporal, the kingdoms of this world, and let us hasten, with all the intention of our mind, to that rest which no grief disturbs: let us ascend, by the degrees of charity, to that city, in which God alone reigns King for evermore."‡

* De Vit. et Regim. Princip. iii. 26.
† Ap. Murat. Antiq. It. Diss. xlviii.

* In Ps. cxlvii.
† Id. Tractat. in Ps. cxxxvi. ‡ Epist. xxxv.

CHAPTER VIII.

THAT the pacific ideal of government led to no practical results is a conclusion, however, to which a study of the historical sources of the ages of faith will never lead. Not without visible effect had the world heard those joyful anthems of the church, "Rex pacificus magnificatus est; cujus vultum desiderat universa terra;" and "Magnificatus est rex pacificus super omnes reges universæ terræ." Here was, indeed, a prodigious change on earth. In his letter to the Roman Senate, Trajan, enumerating the evils of a ruler, observes that if a king be pacific he is regarded as a coward. Very different was the consequence, in the middle ages, of resembling the great prototype of Christian rulers, the mysteries of whose nativity, as the Church desires, infused peace into men. One may conceive what was the revolution of opinion respecting the glory of a monarch's reign from the expression of an old chronicler, who, speaking of Charlemagne, says, "Cujus vita gloriosa et mitissima."* Meekness was glory.

The writers of the middle ages were not like Tyrtæus the poet, who reserved all his praises for those who were of illustrious fame in war.† The object of their highest admiration and warmest sympathy was often what Homer terms φυγοπτόλεμος, a warflier :‡ one who shed tears, not blood; not an Homeric shepherd of the people, who longed to wear a garment all of blood,

Θύνοντ' ἐν προμάχοισιν, ἐναίροντα στίχας ἀνδρῶν.

but pastors of the Christian type, of cheerful semblance and sweet majesty, whose desire is expressed on so many of the ancient coins, on which we read, Pax æterna; Pax augusta; Pax orbis terrarum; Pax perpetua et libertas; whose ambition was to be styled, as many were, Fundatores pacis, and Paciferi;§ and whose reigns were not the less glorious, even if viewed with the eyes of old philosophy; for Pindar, who is its voice, declares that in happiness which alone they wished for their people, consists the summit of glory.* The ages of faith have but one voice to magnify the rulers who loved peace. With what praise does Alfonso of Carthagena speak of the pacific kings of Spain—Sigeric, Enricus, Recared, Suintila II., Tulgas, Recensuindus, Wamba, Egica, Silo, Veremundus, Alphonso II., Garsias, son of Alphonso III., Froila II., Alphonso IV., Ordonius III., Sancius I., Ranimirus III., Santius the elder, Sancius III., called the Desired, Alphonso IX.; all of whom, he says, are painted wearing a pacific robe, because, though some reigned very long, they had no wars.† Truly, the number of such kings was great, if we survey the whole of our history. "War," said the King Don Alonzo, "is a thing which should never be undertaken without a long, previous examination, as to the justice of the grounds." Don Savedra cites another king of Spain, who was so anxious to justify an expedition which he had undertaken, that even after having had in his favour the opinion of many theologians and jurisconsults, and after his army had arrived at the very scene where the action was to commence, he stopped, in order to return, and again consult with them.‡

Some writers say, that it was in order not to kindle a civil war that Wamba abdicated the crown in favour of the traitor Ervig, and retired into a convent. Let us turn to France. There, amongst the Merovingian kings, we ought not to look for the pacific type; and yet they are not without its traces.

Of Clotaire II. the chronicles of St. Denis say, "He was a man of great patience, full of the fear of our Lord."§ Nantilde, widow of Dagobert I., would not defend with rivers of blood the avenues to the throne, to which her son was called. Of Clovis II. we read, "This king governed peaceably, without war or battle, all the days of his life."‖

* Chronic. Monast. Mellicensis, ap. Pez. Script. Rer. Austriac. tom. i.
† Plato de Legibus, i. ‡ Od. xiv. 213.
§ Pignovius, ap. Muratori, tom. x. p. 328.

* Nem. Od. i.
† Alph. Carthag. Reg. Hisp. Anacephalæosis.
‡ Christian Prince, ii. 325. § Liv. v. 8.
‖ Id. v. 22.

Charles Martel himself is praised for having left France in great peace and prosperity.* "In all lands hath gone the sound of the piety and goodness of Robert, the most sweet and religious king of the Francs," says his biographer. And, describing his countenance, he says, that his sweet lips seemed formed for giving the kiss of holy peace.†

Charlemagne, commending his empire to the prayers of religious communities, says, that it may delight you to pray assiduously for the stability of our kingdom, and for the quiet of our people.‡ The address of the patriarch, John of Jerusalem, so solemnly sent to Charlemagne, and that also of Constantine, make mention of his love of peace. "You love peace from your heart," says the former; "and when you find it you preserve it in supreme charity." And the latter said, "You are a defender of peace, and seek it with great desire, and keep it in great love."§ To the pacific disposition of his son and successor, Louis, we have many testimonies. That of Agobard is remarkable, who says to him, "I have presumed to remind you of these words of Pope Gregory, that, as no one doubts that you are ineffably more a lover of the celestial than of the earthly kingdom; and as, according to your faith, you can by no other work so much please God as by solicitude in the maintenance of peace and unity, you may labour to make every faithful soul advance in faith and in the knowledge of God."|| "This emperor," say the chronicles of St. Denis, "always loved peace and concord, and not alone with his sons, but with strangers also, and even with his enemies, who had at times sworn his death."¶ "When he thought that danger was at hand, he feared not for himself, but for the state of the holy Church which he had to protect."** "Cruel affliction it was for him to be obliged to take up arms in 840, at the beginning of Lent, a season which he was accustomed to spend in matins, and fasts, and prayers, and almsgiving; but now he would not give himself a single day's rest through the desire which he had to obtain peace and concord for the holy Church."†† "Louis-le-Débonnaire left nothing undone," says Heumann, "to preserve concord at home and abroad, to cause justice to be maintained, and the fury of hostile invasions averted."* In his precepts to his sons, on dividing the kingdom between them, he makes the most minute and judicious provisions with a view to prevent, if possible, the least occasion of discord from arising. "If there should be any controversy concerning boundaries, which testimonies cannot remove," he says, "let the will of God be sought by the judgment of the Cross, but let not for such a cause any battle of any kind take place."† In his imperial epistle to the people of God generally he ascribes the famine and pestilence of the time to the sins of those who disturbed peace: "nor do we doubt," he says, "that these things are sent as a divine punishment, in consequence of the scandals which arise in this kingdom from tyrants who endeavour to destroy the peace of the Christian people, and the unity of the empire."‡ In the midst of these civil discords he felt his last hour arrived. "Who could relate the care which he had for the holy Church, the joy he felt when he saw it in good estate, and the grief and compassion of his heart when it was in tribulation? Who could number the tears he shed in praying our Lord to comfort it? He did not mourn because he was about to pass from this life, but on account of the tribulations which he perceived would ensue after his death. "Alas!" he cried, "why does my life finish in such sorrow, and such persecution of peace and concord?"§

Among the princes who contended for the divided empire, Lewis, King of Germany, who died at Frankfort, in 876, is praised by the Saxon annalist as a most Catholic prince, and ardent executor of the things which are of justice and peace. Hearing that Charles was about to break the treaty, he sent embassadors telling him "to be mindful of Jesus Christ, that he should spare the sword, and shudder at the dire cupidity to shed human blood." Even in these deplorable contests the voice of peace is heard. At the meeting of the three royal brothers at Coblentz, Charles said aloud in the Romance tongue, "The men who have acted, as you know, against me, I forgive on account of God and for his love; and I give them their property, if they will engage to be pacific in my kingdom, and so to live as Christians in a Christian kingdom ought to live."||

* Christian Prince, v. 27.
† Helgaldi Vit. Rob. ap. Duchesne, Hist. Franc. Script. iv.
‡ Ap. Heumann. de Re Dipl. i. 115.
§ Les Chroniques de St. Denis, Liv. iii. 4.
|| De Comparatione utriusque regiminis.
¶ Id. i. c. 21. ** Id. 22.
†† Id. 23.

* De Re Diplom. i. 216.
† Ap. Duchesne, Annal. Franc. ii. 331.
‡ Id. i. 453.
§ Chroniques de St. Denis, i. 23.
|| Id. ii. 356.

One article of the convention in 878 is to this effect, "if any whisperers and detractors envying our peace and hostile to the peace of our kingdom, should wish to sow quarrels between us, neither of us will receive him, and all our faithful will reject him as a liar, and sower of discord between brethren."* Lewis Balbus, who governed Burgundy, is called a mild prince and a lover of peace, and Carloman, king of Bavaria, is termed "just and pacific."† In the annals of Metz, Carolomann is described as "a learned king, devoted to the Christian religion, just and pacific."‡ Charles the Bald says in a public act, "during the conflict with my brothers, I came to the village of Magniacum, where the body of the holy confessor Vincent is enshrined, and there, adoring God, I prayed that by his suffrages, I might obtain divine protection, and be restored to tranquil prosperity."§ "To us and to our brothers it seems fit," says Lothaire, "to seek the will of God, in order to learn how the holy Church can be restored, and how we and you, and the Christian people, may have peace."‖ Turning to England, we find King Edgar, who reigned in the tenth century, and who was such a friend to the Benedictines, that he boasted having founded or restored fifty houses of the order, obtaining the epithet of the Peaceful. The church commemorates the saying of King Edward the Confessor, who knew not how to be angry, that he would rather want a kingdom which could not be obtained without slaughter. Even in the conqueror's own family, the pacific man was found, for if Robert de Courte-heuse wished to be of all birds a hawk, and Guillaume-le-Roux an eagle, Henry, the youngest brother, wished to be a starling, because it is a simple bird that injures nothing, and flies in concert with others of its kind, and if imprisoned in a cage consoles itself by song. Peter of Blois, perhaps in hopes of reminding him of his obligation, terms Henry II. "our pacific king."¶ But the truth is, that our Norman and English kings have not in general been glorious, as imitating the pacific type. Henry I., Henry III., Henry VI., Richard II., though wanting energy, and Henry VII. deserve commemoration, but the rest, as if to foreshow the dismal warfare which awaited us, breathed discord as their native element, and monitors were not wanting to intimate to them, that Satan was in their court, as if with a privileged right of entry.*

Let us, then, look elsewhere: King Louis, father of the saint, loved peace, so that it was thought he was alluded to in the prophecy of Merlin, under the epithet of the pacific lion.† St. Louis, who so pacifically extended his power, by an act of noble disinterestedness, put an end to the wars which had recommenced with the kings of England. When he knew of any high prince who had anger or ill-will against him, which he did not dare to show openly, he drew him to peace charitably with gentleness, and thus converted his enemies into friends.‡ In his last advice to his son Philip, he said to him, "you ought to use all your strength to cause your people to live in peace. Beware of exciting war with any Christian man: whoever seeks pardon should obtain it."§ The cry of the people of Paris when they heard of his being in danger of death was this, "why take from us the king who preserves us in peace?"‖ Indeed, kings who had such wishes were not singular in France. Suger says, that "the great protector of the people's peace, Louis le gros, was so gentle and benign, that when a boy, some regarded him as simple:"¶ he says, that this king was sweet, and beyond human thought, mild.** When he came in his last sickness to St. Denis, vast crowds of people followed him, and numbers left the towns and castles, and their ploughs in the fields, and wept tenderly through the love they bore him, because of the peace which they had enjoyed by his protection.†† In 1190, on the coronation of Richard, King of England, Philip Augustus, for the good of peace, gave to him the cities of Tours and Mans, with Chastel Raoul, and all that he had conquered from King Henry, his father.‡‡ When the Viscount de Thouars besought Philip to pardon his treason, and sent messengers on the king's arrival at the castle of Loudun, "the King," says the chronicle of St. Denis, "who, according to his custom, preferred much to conquer his enemies by peace rather than by battle, received the viscount to amity."§§ "He had the fear of our Lord fixed in his heart," say the chronicles. But let us turn to the Germans. Speaking of the Emperor St. Henry,

* Chroniques de St. Denis, ii. 378.
† Annal. Saxo ap. Eccardii Corpus Hist. Medii Ævi. ‡ Ap. Heumann. de Re Diplom. ii. 287.
§ Ap. id. i. 361.
‖ *Ap. id. ii. 330.* ¶ *Epist. lxvi.*

* Pet. Bles. com. in Job.
† Chroniques de St. Denis ad an. 1226.
‡ Ibid. § Id. 1270. ‖ Ad an. 1244.
¶ Vit. Lud. vi. ap. Duchesne, iv. ** Id. 20.
†† Chroniques de St. Denis, 1137.
‡‡ Id. ad an. 1190. §§ Id. ad an. 1214.

emporary writer says, "as Moses ed by prayer more than by arms, so t glorious Prince Henry finished all y the arms of justice, and without ed always triumphed. Thus did he the Burgundians. This was a divine t a human victory, for when the as drawn up and prepared for bat- ing down their arms, not through r of man, but by the impulse of sking for the things which are of he soldiers gave their right hands."* 313," says another writer, "the or Henry died at Florence, a man worthy in every respect, pacific, and nicating every Sunday."† The Em- Henry I., father of Otho the Great, d, "though glorious in conquer- emies," which is an allusion to ending Germany from the Sclavo- Huns, and other Pagans who ravaged et being pacific, took no pains to the imperial crown and benediction, ered himself to be prevented by the who in succession disturbed Italy."‡ he Great, who in some manner re- ed the empire of Charlemagne, was eminent lover of peace, and the tor of Italy.§ "Unless you had ed the gravity of moral philosophy," e celebrated Gerbert, writing to him, words, would not have been so im- with humility, which is the guardian irtues." His death was worthy of . After celebrating the ascension in burg, he came on the Tuesday after ost to Nunnæmia, and the next even- down cheerfully to table. Afterwards ceeded to assist at the office of Ves- At the end of the Magnificat he felt The princes who stood round him ing it, led him to a seat, and tried tion to warm his head, which sunk on ast. Then receiving the communion, hout a groan, in great tranquillity ed up his spirit.‖ Otho II. on arriv- Italy, used great efforts to remove turbers of peace,¶ and Otho III. is ited as a son of peace, "ein sohn des "** He as his father and grand- favouring the church in Italy, Ger- many, and Belgic Gaul, governed the empire, says another chronicle, "strenuously and pacifically."* Continuing to turn over the ancient historians, we read that Rodolph, of Habsburg, reigned with much peace, and that the Emperor Lewis, of Bavaria, a pacific man, during all the time of his reign, governed the empire pacifically and solemnly, "pacifice ac solempniter."† The Emperor Henry III. is termed "a pious pacific king, and a mirror of justice;"‡ and Lewis IV. is described by a contemporary author, as being from his childhood, "meek and pacific."§ Speaking of the pardon of certain conspirators, Nicolas Lanckmann, of Valckenstein, in his narrative of the espousals and coronation of the Emperor Frederic III. says, "the serene Lord Emperor as a pacific king imitated the meekness of David."‖ Of this emperor, another old writer says, "there are many things in this Cæsar which can be praised; such as the sedate and tranquil tenor of his mind, and his immense desire of peace and leisure."¶ "The Emperor Sigismond," we read, "laboured all his life to promote the union of the Church, and the peace and concord of Christian princes."** Even emperors of evil renown were obliged in their public acts to conciliate the public opinion by using the language of peace; as when Henry VII. to the embassadors of Pisa, who expressed hopes that a time would come of vengeance, on the despisers of the empire, replied, "that his wish was to contribute, as far as he could, to cause all Christians to live at peace;"†† and as when the Emperor Frederic, instructing his son Conrad in the regal duties, said "be pacific and true, that Mercy and Truth meeting, Justice and Peace may embrace in your kingdom."‡‡ Lower in the scale of power we find in abundance the true pacific. After describing the peace enjoyed under Gaufrey, the count of Poitiers, a contemporary writer deplores the calamities which followed his death, which took place in 586, at the castle of Chisegius. "Woe to us who have sinned," he exclaims, "who did not deserve to have any

a S. Hen. Imp. ap. Canisii Lect. An-

hurdianus Antiq. Variloq. ap. Menckenii Rer. Germ.

manni Corneri Chronicon ap. Eccardii ist. Med. Ævi, ii.

rat. Antiq. diss. vi. 11.

man. Corneri Chronic. ¶ Id.

adtwegii Chronic. ap. Leibnitz, Script. censia illustrant. iii.

* Martini Fuldensis Chronic. ap. Eccard. Corp. Hist. Med. Ævi, i. † Id.

‡ Chronic. Austriacum, 1040. ap. Pez. i.

§ Anon. Chronic. Lud. iv. Imp. ap. Pez. Script. Rer. Aust. ii.

‖ Hist. Desponsat. Fred. ap. Pez. tom. ii.

¶ Viti Arenpeckii Chronic. Austriac. ap. Pez. i.

** Chronic. Cornelii Zantfliet, ap. Martene, Vet. Script. tom. v.

†† Albertini Mussati Historia Augusta, Lib. v. 5. ap. Muratori, Rer. It. Script. x.

‡‡ Chronic. Siciliæ 24, ap. id. x.

longer such a prince! O daughters of Jerusalem! O daughters of peace! O churches of Aquitaine, weep for Gaufrey, who gave you such abundance of peace! O ye sons of the churches of Aquitaine, weep for him by whose industry you were enabled to pass your time in quietness and charity, by whose desire of love and peace you were filled with the delights of wisdom, and made to enjoy the fruits of learning; and above all, you, O monastic flock of this monastery, weep, because you have lost him who filled you with all good; but weep not so as to make it appear that you had placed your hope in him, for it is written, 'Maledictus homo qui spem suam ponit in homine et carnem brachium suum;' but so weep as if you mourned that peace should have perished by his death, and as if you would never, as is most just, forget his soul. His body was brought to the monastery with great lamentation of all the people, and buried in the chapter, but in the year following, it was removed into the church, and placed in a tomb before the high altar. The monastery remained unfinished, for he had intended to have built two towers in front of the church, and he had already begun to build the third over the choir. Every day a mass is sung for him. In all the hours between the Psalms, the De profundis is said for him, his anniversary is celebrated with all the solemnity of a chief festival, for on the Vigil after Vespers, we sing the Placebo and Dirige, with the lessons and responses for the dead, and the next day a solemn mass is sung, and we all offer."* What sons of peace were Count Gerald as described by St. Odo, the abbot of Cluny,† and that Thibaud II., count of Champagne, the intimate friend of St. Bernard, the protector of Abeillard, the advocate of all good monks, whose cause he always made his own, seeking to appease their enemies, and that Raoul de Nesle, styled the good count of Soissons, who had such a reputation that it extended to Rome; so that in 1216, Honorius II. wrote to him, saying, that "he was to give example as a light on a candlestick." Stephen, count of Blois, renowned for his exploits in the Holy Land, obtained the title of the Wise and the Pacific.‡ Garsius Sanctius, duke of Arragon, was surnamed the Trembler, because though an intrepid hero in battle against the Moors, yet ever he foresaw future wars he us tremble, which did not prevent him winning immortal glory, during the tv eight years of his reign.* Amedée the first duke of Savoy, created b Emperor Sigismond in 1416, passe his life in reconciling princes who w war with each other, making peace in Italy or in France, torn by blood cords, and, finally, becoming the pa tor of the Church, and restoring the of the spiritual society. Of the m dukes of Tuscany and Spoleto, D the Benedictine says,

"Pacis amatores, fortes sunt atque leones;
Hi pacem veram cum prosperitate teneba
Fortes, et grandes velut essent quippe giga

Hugo, the pacific duke of Burgundy cerned the true source of temporal for, in founding the canonical chur St. Mary and St. John at Dijon, h scribed that all future dukes shoul nalize their elevation to that digni repairing thither and saluting the ca in order that, beginning by such and pious work, all other actions succeed prosperously with the Lor their Author, and that they should that church as a resting-place for souls; so that, as other places are pres for the sake of the body, this shou for the sake of their mind.‡

Wibald, abbot of Corby, had writt Henry, count of Salmes, in 1153, to plain of the multiplied rapines comn by the count's men against the men monastery of Stavelo, and the reply o nobleman shows how worthy he w ranking among the pacific. "Henry of Salmes, to Wibald the abbot. 'quid amicus amico.' I rejoice to h your coming, in hopes that you wi establish peace between my men and for though your men, or rather your saries, endeavour to break the bond friendship, thank God it remains It would be long to relate the inju which both parties accuse each oth leave to your diligent and discreet d sation the task of terminating these ences. You know that my castle of S and all things that I possess in pe

* Frag. Historiæ Monast. Pictavens. ap. Martene, Thesaur. Anecdot. iii.
† Bibliothec. Clun.
‡ Bernier, Hist. de Blois.

* Lucii Marinei Siculi de Reb. Hispanii viii.
† Vit. Matildis, Lib. i. c. 6. ap. Murat. I Script. v.
‡ Innocent III. Epist. Lib. xiv. 163.

war, are ever ready to serve you as well as myself. Absent, or present, you wish to preserve my honour as well as your own."*

Archduke Ladislaus of Poland, in the thirteenth century, is described as "a humble man and lover of quiet." In the same age, Archduke Leopold of Austria, who founded Lilienfeld in 1206, is mentioned as being adorned with the triple grace of princely splendour, chivalrous heroism, and Christian mildness. Of St. Henry, while only duke of Bavaria, we read that "he ruled the people pacifically, and extended peace."† The nobles of Thuringia, during the reign of Duke Lewis, husband of St. Elizabeth, are described as imitating his example. "The nobles then were true and pacific."‡ Lord Otacher, founder of the great monastery of Garsten in Upper Austria, is described in the chronicles of that house as a man very memorable, a worshipper of peace, and lover of justice. He it was who received and held out a hand to Conrad, archbishop of Salzbourg, who had been concealed many days in the woods and mountains, flying persecution, when he came to him, which no other prince dared to do.§ Albert III., duke of Austria, surnamed Cum Trica, was a man of peace, and a lover of the divine worship, brave and glorious, too, in arms, as was proved in his deeds against the infidels, and against oppressors of the poor, and disturbers of the public peace; as when, in 1388, he attacked Rorer of Lostain in his deemed-impregnable castle in Styria, and contrived to take it, when he razed it to the ground, to punish him for having interrupted and imprisoned the mighty barons, Goldeckler and Velber, on their return from Salzbourg. Loved and venerated he was by his subjects on account of his humility, fear of God, modesty, and prudence, and for for having governed the people committed to him, with all justice and truth, in peace unto the end. On his death-bed he charged his son, Duke Albert IV., to govern his subjects pacifically.‖ Philip, duke of Burgundy, was surnamed the Good, as Gerardus Naviomagus says, in consequence of his wonderful charity and love of peace.¶ Godefried, duke of Bouillon, uncle of the great Godfrey, is commemorated in the abbeys of the Ardennes as the great preserver of peace. His death before the castle of Flarding was tearful to all Lorraine; for justice and peace prevailed under him to a degree beyond what could be remembered by men of his time.* The rhythm on the murder of Charles, the good count of Flanders, contains these lines:—

"Te exhorrebant impii,
Amabant pacis filii."†

The blessed Bernard Margrave of Baden, in the middle of the fifteenth century, one of the most accomplished princes of his time, evinced such zeal and ability in maintaining peace in his territories amidst all the troubles which agitated his neighbours, that he obtained the title of the Solomon of Germany. Hyenceslaus, duke of Bohemia, in the time of Henry the Saxon, followed the pacific king so closely, that he used to go secretly by night to the forests, and bear wood on his own shoulders to the doors of widows and poor people, and leave it there.‡ The short announcements of the death of such men are still made to proclaim their ruling passion. Thus we read:—"In 1339, the most mild Otho, duke of Austria, Styria, and Carinthia, passed from this life."§ In a northern chronicle we read that, in 1482, died William, duke of Brunswick, a most pacific prince; and that in 1483 died Henry, Landgrave of Hesse, another propagator of peace.‖ St. Leopold, the pious marquis of Austria, governed a people then, by long custom of nature ferocious, with such gentleness that he seemed only appointed to serve them an example of all peaceful virtues. So in the beautiful bull of Pope Innocent VIII., which announced his canonization, it is stated that during the forty years in which he ruled Austria, in those times so disturbed by the contestations of Henry and his sons, and afterwards by those of the fourth Henry and Lothaire, while all Germany was filled with war, and flames, and devastation, he administered all things with the utmost justice, humility, and tranquillity; and

* Ap. Martene, Vet. Script. ii. 569.
† Adelhold, Episc. Traject. in Vit. S. Hen.
‡ Montalembert, Hist. de S. El. 38.
§ Vita B. Bertholdi Abb. Garst. ap. Pez. Script. Rer. Aust. ii.
‖ Thom. Ebendorff, Haselb. Chronic. Austriac. ap. Pez. Script. Rer. Aust. ii.
¶ Ap. Antonius Matthæus, Veteris Ævi Analecta.

* Hist. Andagenensis Monast. ap. Martene, Vet. Script. iv. 951.
† Ap. Martene, Vet. Script. tom. vi.
‡ Ricobaldi Hist. Imperatorum, ap. Eccardii Corp. His. Med. Ævi, i.
§ Chronic. Claustro-Neoburg. ap. Pez. i.
‖ Chronic. Terræ Misnensis, ap. Menckenii, Script. Rer. Germanic. tom. ii.

while other lands were deluged with blood he preserved the province of Austria, committed to him in peace, for which he has gained from highest God the recompense of eternal peace. In the ancient sequence for his festival we read,—

> "Sumpsit felix et in terra
> Prolem venustissimam
> Pace fruens, sine guerra
> Formam gessit optimam."*

Rudolf, son of Albert, duke of Austria, is described in another chronicle in these few words: "a lover of virtue and of peace;"† and to Albert an old chronicle applies the words of Solomon. "Omnes semitæ illius pacificæ."‡ Charles the good, duke of Savoy, is represented in the histories of that nation as a pacific prince, ruling over a peaceable people. In the chronicles of Italy we have many and glorious examples. "The great Lord James of Carrara," says one, "was a sincere lover of peace. He did all things wisely, so that he preserved Padua in peace and justice, and had peace with all men. In 1350, when he died, the grief of the people was extreme. Then, in the general assembly, a voice cried, 'O Padua, holy city, arise, and receive the successors of the great James, who, by reason of their relationship to him, and of his example, will cause you to see good and peaceful days.'"§

"When the Lord Canis the great of Verona was dying," says another, "he called his nobles into the cathedral church, and there gave the dominion of Padua to the Lord Marsilus of Carrara, who refused it, saying, that Padua should be under the dominion of the house of La Scala: yet, fearing lest the mind of the sick man should be disturbed, he accepted it."‖ Afterwards, in 1337, this prince said before the assembled people of Padua, and in presence of the embassadors of Venice and Florence, "the Lord knows truly that not for my sake, but for that of the citizens who have chosen to give me this power, did I accept the dominion, and that it was in order that peace and justice, and rest, might be granted to every one."¶ In 1329, Azo Visconti, Lord of Milan, migrated to Christ, a man full of faith and all devotion, for he left more alms in his will, than any other that ever died in Lombardy, and he died with such piety and tears, after receiving all the sacraments, that he seemed to surpass monks; and all the clergy and people, and all Lombardy mourned for him; nor is it strange; for though a young man, not more than thirty-seven, he was the father of all the religious orders, a lover of peace, and of making concord, sweet in speech, beyond measure mild in voice and countenance, most prudent, generous, just, and chaste.* He had no war in his time, and loved not war, says another.† The noble Luchinus Visconti, his brother, succeeded him. No one ever better preserved justice and peace; his heart was constant and his word firm: he heard diligently every day the causes of poor women, and fed thirty poor persons daily at his table. In general, the house of the Visconti had many laudable qualities; the first is, that they were not men of blood, but always they gave life to their mortal enemies; they were warlike but never cruel against persons, for it was scarcely ever heard that they committed an act of violence against any one. They were devout; they honoured the religious, and they had the royal disposition of being sweet in speech, and prone to the reconciliation of enemies.‡ As long as John Galeaz de Visconti lived, all Lombardy was preserved by him in peace and tranquillity.§ Peter de Castelleto, a hermit of St. Augustin, preaching his funeral sermon; after describing his great charity and proneness to forgive, as seeking peace with all men, exclaimed, "O noble Bologna, mother and nurse of learning, long time wearied with blood and slaughter, didst thou seek peace and rest without finding them; but under the wings of this prince thou hadst tranquillity." It was his last prayer, that he might see peace in the church and in the empire, at least in Italy, or at least in Lombardy. Many cities and towns had wished to militate under him, but he not being a greedy invader of the property of others, rejected them, being contented with what was his own.‖ The illustrious Lord Pinus Ordelaffi, of Forli, was at all times a most mild and placable ruler, ever ready to forget his injuries, and extend grace to all

* Ap. Pez. tom. i.
† Bernard. Norici Chronic. Aust. ap. id. i.
‡ Anon. Leobiensis Chronic. Lib. vi. ap. Pez. i.
§ Hist. Cortusiorum de Novitatibus Paduæ, x. 5. ap. Mur. Rer. It. Script. tom. xii.
‖ *Id. Lib. iv. c. 9.* ¶ Id. vii. 3.

* Gualvanei de la Flamma Opusc. de Reb. Gest. ab Azone ap id. tom. xii.
† Petri Azarii Chronic. ap. id. t. xvi.
‡ Id.
§ Mat. de Griffonibus Memoriale, Hist. Rer. Bonon. ap id. t. xviii.
‖ Ap. Mur. Rer. It. Script. xvi.

ught it, so that he was praised and not alone by the exiles, whom he ted to return to their country, and m he restored their property, but the people.* This excellent prince d and built many fortresses in order nd the people, and preserve them e. He it was who constructed also autiful palace in Forli, which was d with such noble columns and ter- hat it seemed a paradise of pleasure, many churches, and nearly all the edifices of Forli, through love for and its inhabitants. In MCCCCLXXII omplished another great work; for difference and quarrel having long between the communes of Foro- ii and of Bertinorii, which led for ges to litigations and controversies, at injuries, even to homicide, while were disputing respecting their ries, and since every year, especially season of harvest and vintage, these cenes were repeated, at length, by ty of the Lord Pinus, with the aid reverend bishop of Arezzo governor na, and Bertenosio for Pope Sixtus, reat labour, it was decided that orth there should be no more such s, and so by God's grace, all the ratified the agreement with love, ace, and tranquillity.† "We owe nd immortal thanks to Christ," other historian, "who willed that should be governed by John Ben- II. who has preserved Bologna ar. and not only from calamity, but ne fear of calamity. Though the f two potent kings were not far re- no invasion of our territory has lace. Many of our citizens enter- deadly hatred against each other, his grave discourses they have rought to lay aside their ani- and to contract alliances as a bond . These things are divine, and e commemorated in our annals."‡ 0. Taddeo de Pepoli was made Bologna, and we read he well de- he honour, for he preserved the unbroken peace, and even his admitted that in the world there er been a more just Lord. Again, fine testimony which Thomas de Fregoso, doge of Genoa, could bear wn government in 1404, when, in answer to Philip Angelo, duke of Milan, who said, "that he sought only a lasting peace, but that in consequence of the conduct of the Genoese, he must declare open war," he replied, "we have endeavoured all our life to live pacifically with all Christian princes."* But it is above all in the Venetian chronicles that we find the greatest examples of this kind. The government of Venice was, indeed, generally praised for its giving rest to the people, and for endeavouring to keep them, as far as possible, remote from a warlike disposition.† "Suppose that you live under a republic well instituted," says Cardan, "such as that of the Venetians, what have you to fear? there good men can live happily."‡ Bessarion, patriarch of Constantinople, making a donation of his library to that city, in a letter to the senate, assigns for his reason, that there he can find rest on every side for his mind, as being a state that imparts the utmost security, leisure, concord, and tranquillity, being governed with wisdom and moderation, in a spirit of gravity, unity, and goodness.§ The portraits of the doges which we find in the original histories, present an astonishing series of great pacific men. Let us hear the chronicles. Felix Cornicula, master of the army, began to govern Venice in 738. This humble and pacific man recalled to peace the Venetians, who were at discord.‖ The Doge Maurice, in 764, is commemorated by Andrew Dandoli, as having reconciled the citizens to each other, and kept peace.¶ Ursus, created doge in 864, a man of much piety and wisdom, and a lover of peace, restored the sweetness of tranquillity between the Venetians and the Frioulians.** John Particiacus, in 887, refused the dukedom of Venice, but at the prayers of the people permitted himself to be enthroned in the palace, in order to appease the popular clamour. Six months after, when the commotion had subsided, he persuaded the people to provide another doge, and then returned to his own house.†† Petrus Tribunus succeeded him. "Many," says Dandoli, "write that he was wicked, and for his demerits slain by the people, but

Mur. Rer. It. Script. xvi.
ales Foroliv. ap. id. tom. xxii.
n. Garzoni de Dignitate Urbis Bononiæ, tori Rer. Ital. Script. tom. xxi.

* Martene, Vet. Script. i. p. 1570.
† Le Conseiller d'estat, Paris, 1645.
‡ De Utilitate ex advers. cap. iii. 2.
§ Ap. Goldast. Philologicar. Epist.
‖ Andreæ Danduli Chronic. Lib. vii. 5. p. 1. ap. Murat. Rer. It. Script.
¶ Id. vii. 12. 1. ** Id. viii. 5.
†† Id. viii. 8.

this is an error, as we have found in authentic writings, which attest that he was a wise, pacific, and benign man, and that he died a natural death."* How dear peace was to Ursus Particiacus II., was proved by his abdicating in 932, when he entered the monastery of St. Felix de Amianes. He was a lover of justice and holiness.† Petrus Urseolus, created in 976, from his boyhood studied only how to please God. He feared to accept the dignity of doge, when elected by the people, lest by the ambition of secular honour he should lose his desire of sanctity. At length, the people being importunate, he accepted it for the good of the republic.‡ Of the manner in which he renounced the world and became a monk, after reigning two years and twenty days, I shall speak in the next book. Aureo Mastropetro, elected in 1178, after reigning fourteen years, left the world, and took the religious habit in the monastery of the holy cross.§ When Pietro Ziano, in the twenty-fourth year of his government, had resigned and retired to his own house, the voices of the electors were divided for a successor. To prevent discord, therefore, it was determined to make choice between the two by lot, when James Teupolo was raised to the dukedom. After three days, he went to visit his predecessor, lying in bed, who on account of his family, and the unusual mode of his election, despised him; but the new doge practised a pacific duty, took no notice of the insult, and returned to the palace.‖ Marco Cornario, elected in 1365, was a most wise jurisconsult, and an eminent lover of peace. He procured rest for the island of Crete, which rebels, from their impregnable mountain-tops, had long disturbed.¶ In 1367, Andrew Contareno was created doge against his will. To avoid being elected on the vacancy occurring, he tried many expedients; among others, that of withdrawing from the city; but though removed from the eyes of the electors, his approved virtue was present to their minds. On being created, he endeavoured to reject the dignity, but, conquered by the supplications of the city, he humbly accepted it. This doge was greatly Catholic, and skilled in the divine page, a lover of justice and of the republic, and he proved himself a zealous worshipper of peace. Though the Tergestini, who were anciently under the ducal dominion, had committed great injuries against the honour of the Venetians, killing the captain of the galley deputed to guard Istria, and perpetrating other insupportable acts, yet he piously spared them, and was content with their promising to erect in their solemnities in the public place the standard of St. Mark, which by ancient covenant they were bound to receive at the creation of a new doge, and to send the murderers to Venice. This duke, abhorring the shedding of Christian blood, never made war, excepting for the sake of peace.* Michael Mauroceno, created in 1382, a man greatly Catholic, solicitously watched to the maintenance of peace.† Antonio Venerio, elected in 1383, diligently studied to preserve peace. This doge was a worshipper of peace, and all his endeavour was to preserve his reign with honour free from warlike acts."‡ But enough of these great names. Heroic acts of self-renouncement, the absence of ambition unequivocally manifested, an intention expressly directed to the fulfilment of the Christian law,—such are the indications in ancient Catholic histories, of the sincerity with which men loved peace.

As a conclusion to these researches, let us visit for a moment the cloisters of the middle age, where there is mention of those who sleep in dull cold marble: for one should never leave such a subject, without hearing testimony of this kind. So again, let us talk of graves, of worms, and epitaphs.

In the monastery of St. John, in Stams, in Carinthia, we find the tomb of its founder, Meinhard, duke of Carinthia, who died in 1295. On which are these lines:

"Heu! Meinhart, actor pacis litisque subactor,
Cœnobii factor hujus, pius et benefactor,
Qui similem nescit, Dux et comes hic requiescit,
Quem Fratres isti deplorant pectore tristi."§

On the tomb of John Galeazo Visconti, duke of Milan, are these lines:

"Nec fuit in totis Europæ finibus umquam,
Aptior imperiis Princeps; nec sanctior alter
Religione fuit, nec pacis amantior illo.
Hic erat, unde quies magnorum certa laborum

* Andreæ Danduli Chronic. ap. Murat. Rer. It. Script. Lib. viii. 9.
† Id. viii. 10. ‡ Id. viii. 15.
§ Id. x. c. 2. ‖ Id. x. 5.
¶ Raphagni Caresini Continuat. Chron. And. Dand. ap. id. xii.

* Raphagni Carcsini Continuat. Chron. And. Dand. ap. id. xii. † Id. ‡ Id.
§ Anon. Leobiens. Chronic. iii. ap. Pez. 1.

Italiæ speranda foret duce læta sub isto.
Namque videbatur cœlo demissus ad unum
Natus, ut in Latiis componeret aurea terris
Secula, et afflicto tandem daret otia mundo."*

On the tomb of Philip, brother of Charles the Bald, duke of Burgundy, we find this line:

"Prælia quod gessit, non sua culpa fuit."†

We might search for a long while in Westminster or St. Paul's, to find such a thought expressed upon a sepulchre.

The next is of ancient date. Gaufrid Martelle, count of Anjou, is thus commemorated on his tomb, in the abbey of St. Nicholas, which he had erected:

"Dum viguit tua, dum valuit, Martelle, potestas,
Fraus latuit, pax magna fuit, regnavit honestas."‡

In the abbey of Charlieu, in the diocese of Besancon, among the sepulchres of some counts of Burgundy and seigneurs de Chauvirey, Dom Martene found that of Gesard de Charvireg, knight and lord, on which he read:

"Pacem dilexit. Pax sit æterna sibi."§

The inscription on the tomb of Charles the Bald, in the Mantuacensian monastery, attested his placid government; and that over the grave of William II., king of Sicily, contains these words: "He was a worshipper of peace and justice, and with all his strength he assisted the holy apostolic see against its enemies."‖ The epitaph on the Emperor Louis II. in the church of St. Ambrose, at Milan, attested his having ruled the kingdom with a firm and pacific breast.

That on Pepin, king of Italy, was thus:

"Rex bonus et placidus, nulli pietate secundus,
Jure alios rexit rex bonus et placidus."

Mark the beautiful epitaphs which attest the pacific character of some princes of the Longobards at Beneventum. On the tomb of Arichis, who died in 787, we read,

"Solicite gratiam pacis servavit amator,
Ornasti patriam doctrinis, mœnibus altis:
Heu mihi quam subito perierunt omnia tecum
Gaudia, prosperitas, paxque quiesque simul!"

* Ap. Mur. Rer. It. Script. xvi.
† Ap. Ant. Matthæus, Vet. Ævi Analecta.
‡ Chronic. Turonense, ap. Martene, Vet. Script. t. v.
§ Voyage lit. de Deux Bened. 141.
‖ Sicilia Sacra, i.

On that of Sico,

"Picificus, mitis, prudens, sanctusque, suavis."

On that of Radelchis,

"Nobilis et prudens, justus, patiensque, benignus,
Pacificus, verax, mitis, et aptus erat."

On that of Radelcar,

"Tutamen patriæ, spes, requiesque fuit;
Fortia Francorum sedavit regna, suosque
Confines vinxit undique pacis ope."*

We find testimony of the same kind in the ancient calendars of particular churches, in which are inscribed the obits of benefactors. Thus in one of these we read,

"Obiit Gofridus, clarus consilio, amicus pacis."

And again,

"Obiit Adelelmus, nobilis miles, et humilis."†

But it will be said, granting that the number of pacific rulers was immense, still the middle ages were pre-eminently ages of war and desolation. We have seen the extraordinary circumstances which then existed, to cause the disorders, which I have not sought to extenuate or conceal: but to the objections founded on such facts, we can find a sufficient answer in the words of St. Augustin, to the pagans of his time. "There are many," he says, "who now calumniate Christian times, and impute the evils which are in the state, to Christ, and the good, not to Christ, but to its fate: whereas, on the contrary, if they had any just thoughts, the cruel and hard things which are suffered from enemies, they should ascribe to that Divine Providence which corrects and amends by wars the corrupt manners of men, and exercises by such afflictions the just and laudable life of mortals, before it transfers them to a better; while they should ascribe to Christian times the good, which is so contrary to what would have followed from the natural order of barbarous wars, and acknowledge that they owe to the name of Christ, even their own preservation. Whatever of devastation, slaughter, pillage, fire, and affliction was committed in these times, was done after the custom of wars; but what was done in a new manner,

* Ap. Murat. Rer. It. Script. ii. 310.
† Martyrolog. Eccles. Antissiodor. ap. Martene, Vet. Script. vi.

"quod autem more novo factum est," that barbarous ferocity should appear mild, that vast basilicas should have served as a safe asylum for a conquered people—this, by every one who is not blind, must be ascribed to the name of Christ and to Christian times."*

"Never was there, and never will there be rest to mortals," says Cardan, "but yet compare what happens to you now, with the state of things in the time of Polybius, and these are wreathes of roses: those might truly be called calamities; nothing was safe to them. Slaughter without cause, slavery, plunder, all was a jest. Add to this, that we have the contemplation of an eternal and happy life, which to them was unknown."† The second Punic war in Italy, Spain, and Sicily, consumed above fifteen hundred thousand men, in less than seventeen years. The civil war of Cæsar and Pompey three hundred thousand men; that of Brutus, and Cassius, and Sixtus Pompeius, was still more bloody. Caius Cæsar boasted that he had caused the death of one million one hundred and ninety-two thousand men in battle. Pompey the Great wrote in the temple of Minerva, that he had defeated and slain at one time, one hundred and eighty-three thousand; Quintus Fabius destroyed one hundred and ten thousand Gauls; Caius Marius, two hundred thousand of the Cimbri; Mithridates by one epistle caused the death of eighty thousand Roman citizens, dispersed through Asia. What were the battles of the middle ages to these, or, until the wars of the false reformation began, what their horrors compared to these horrors? Besides, after all, the extent to which wars prevailed in the middle ages, has been greatly exaggerated. After the coming of the Desired of all people, often and during long intervals, peace was established under these meek and holy monarchs, who reigned in safety and in bliss. He in whom they trusted spoke peace to the nations, and his power was from sea to sea. In the historical dialogue of the Scotch monastery at Vienna, the boy who elicits the information says towards the end, "you have related many wars and other evils which occurred in the time of your youth. Pray did not some good happen during the same?" To whom the old man replies, "yes, more good than evil did befal."‡

* De Civ. Dei, i. 1. 7.
† Hieron. Card. de Vita propria, Lib. ii. c. 45.
‡ Senatorium Dialog. Hist. ap. Pez. Script. Rer. Aust. ii.

Muratori, after censuring the s disdain with which the gramm treated all monuments of the middle adds these words, "during these there was an abundant population, a difficulty to find genius of the first the fields were cultivated; commerc peace, and riches were not wanti Fauriel concludes from incidental pa in the exhortation to the judges by dulf, bishop of Orleans, in the nintl tury, that the cities of Gaul were fa being completely devastated by the of the barbarians, that there was an dant circulation of Italian and A money, that foreign merchandize w wanting, that commerce and industr the arts of peace had not ceased, amidst those dreadful invasions.† It was the worst epoch, the exaggerati modern writers on this subject m extreme. Truly it would be diffic them to prove, that at any period c middle ages, the evil overpowered the the wicked had dominion over the the earth was more free to the violent to the peaceful, or cruelty more safe innocence. The ancient histories al with passages attesting the peace prevailed.

Of Italy, in the time of Theodor read, that such peace and security re that merchants travelled without m tion; gold and silver were as safe open fields, as within the walls of a No town then had gates, so that could pass in or out at all hours a wished.‡ How interesting to de testimonies of this kind in these frag of Langobardic inscriptions, like that a stone dug up in the sixteenth centu Modena, commemorating a foun made by Luitprand, on which cou read,

> "Hic ubi insidiæ prius parabantur,
> Facta est securitas ut pax servetur.
> Sic virtus altissimi fecit Loncibard.
> Tempore tranquillo et florentiss.
> Omnes ut unanimes.... Ple..is prin

Agatha, the scholastic who flou under Justinian I., speaking of the F says, "among their other virtues, I g admire the mutual concord and j which they entertain amongst themse Under them, as under the Lango

* Antiq. Ital. tom. i. Præfat.
† Hist. de la Gaul Mérid. iii. 495.
‡ Muratori Antiq. Ital. diss. xxiii.
§ Ap. id. xxi.

Italy enjoyed constant internal peace.* During the reign of the Carlovingian kings, and the empire of the Franks, which lasted about one hundred years, Lombardy, says James Malvecius, another old historian, enjoyed happy tranquillity. There was no violence then, no oppression, no schism, but the people were nourished in justice and joy. Then men used to sweeten their labours with cheerfulness of heart, and then were heard on all sides those songs in praise of kings and royal maidens, which, in my days, the rustic youths delight to sing.† Landulfus senior, describing the Italians of his age in 1085, says, "Charity, which covers the multitude of sins, as a mother nourishes them, abounding in all good things. The life of men without incursions of wars, or invasions of nations, or movement of enemies, passed in pleasure, and their manners were pure from lust, so that the race of inhabitants was perfect and without deformities. The times were pacific, happy, delightful full of love, and salubrious."‡ During two hundred years, while Germany and France continued under the same kings, Thurgau enjoyed an uninterrupted peace, which the rude sons of Louis-le-Débonnaire were the first to break.§ Nor was it alone the people of this region who had rest, as if Spartans among Greeks.‖ Peace might be interrupted elsewhere, but it was ever quick to rise again and flourish. "It is wonderful how his father, King Henry," says the biographer of Bruno, archbishop of Cologne, "came to such serenity of peace, after finding all parts of the kingdom in confusion, from the cruel invasion of the Danes, Sclavonians, Hungarians, and the efforts of domestic foes! By his fortitude and benignity he repressed the one, and appeased the other."¶ "In the time of William," says William of Jumiège, speaking of the Conqueror, "the inhabitants of Normandy enjoyed peace and repose, and all held the servants of God in great respect. All the great rivalled each other in building churches on their domains, and in enriching the monks who should pray to God for them."** "King Henry, who succeeded William Rufus," says Orderic Vitalis, "governed during thirty-five years in peace and prosperity. In his time the church of God increased in riches and honours for the greater glory of God. This is attested by the monks and clerks, who gained so much in numbers, by the hermits who cultivate the deepest recesses of the forests, and who rejoice to see monasteries and palaces rise, and to hear in the calm of the heart, the glory of God sung in the very places were lawless banditti used to commit so many crimes. At this time a great number of new basilicas and oratories, and vast cloisters of convents, were built in the English villages. All the religious orders enjoying peace and prosperity, applied within and without, to manifest their zeal in the worship of Almighty God. In the fervour of their devotions, the faithful demolished the ancient churches which had been built under Edgar, Edward, and other kings, in order to carry them to greater perfection in height and magnitude, and elegance of workmanship, for the greater glory of the Creator."* Froissart says of the time when the Black Prince invaded it, that the country of Carcasson, Narbonne, and Toulouse, was rich; and that its good and simple people did not know what war was, having never before witnessed it.† "In the time of Otho," says an old writer "there was throughout the whole of Germany the utmost peace and security, so that all men wondered how even in his absence such peace could be maintained."‡ In fact, a golden age began with Otho the Great, the son and husband of saints; for Matilda his mother, Editha his first, and Adelheid his second wife, were all three canonized, and ended with Otho III. surnamed the Wonder of the World, and Henry II. who merited the title of the saint. This period saw the deliverance of Europe, the restoration of the Church from its injuries, the conversion of the Hungarians, Moravians, Bohemians, Poles, and Danes. Then flourished the holiest bishops, the most learned men, the most eminent schools. Peace and prosperity, with renown, were simultaneously obtained.§ The local historians of the middle ages speak with delight of the peace enjoyed by cities. "In few words," says one in 1310, "I will relate what I have seen in the marshes of Treviso. Padua is free: full of infinite riches, adorned with

* Ap. Muratori Antiq. Ital. diss. D. xxiii.
† Jacob. Malvecii Chronic. Brixianum. Dist. v. c. 22. ap. Murat. xiv.
‡ Hist. Med. tom. iv. Rer. Ital. Script.
¡ Ildefons von Arx Geschichte des S. Gallen, i. 64.
‖ Thucyd. i. 70.
¶ Vita Brunonis à Ruotgero ap. Leibnitz. Script. Bruns.
** Hist. Norm. Lib. vii. 22.

* Lib. x.
† Liv. iii. 104.
‡ Fragm. Hist. in Urstis.
§ Hock. Gerbert und sein Jahrhundert, 35.

towers and other delicate edifices. Strangers come to it from divers parts, as to an asylum. It is splendid with wise men, doctors in every liberal art, and religious men; and to conclude in brief, many bodies of saints are buried there, by whose prayers God has preserved Padua in peace for the last fifty years, ever since the death of Ezzelino."* Jannotius Manetti, Prefect of Pistoia, in the beginning of his history of that state, appeals to all the citizens to witness the peace and prosperity which they enjoy under him; adding, "for with this mind and resolution we undertook the government, that all our efforts should be directed to promote the public and private welfare, and moreover, the gratification of Almighty God, whom above all others we should desire to gratify; and hence our success seems wonderful to all, especially in that province, where party-factions had so long flourished."† Petrarch, addressing Thomas, of Messana, says, "that they live under a king in such sweet and delightful peace, that they seek neither the fortune of Alexander, nor the ardour of Romulus, nor the magnificence of Ancus."‡ Moreover, in earlier times, at the most disturbed epoch, there were always some territories where, under pacific lords, the children of peace could find tranquillity. Thus under Fulco the good, count of Anjou, we read that the people enjoyed such peace and prosperity, that crowds of peasants flocked from all sides to live in that region. This was the count who used to go into the choir with the monks and sing matins; and who on the festival of St. Martin, in winter, after receiving the communion, while returning to his place in the choir, felt slightly indisposed, and presently expired in the arms of the clerks. But we must attend to the facts of a new order, to which St. Augustin alludes, as being so contrary to the ordinary events of wars, and which he ascribes to the Christian religion. Such was the conduct of the barbarians in the fifth century, sparing Toulouse, which offered so rich a prey, at the prayers of Exupère, its bishop. Such was the Church, becoming an immense asylum for the conquered, the Romans, and the serfs, and for the conquerors who fled into it, from the tumult of the barbaric life, and the violence of their own passions: fo serfs mounted to the priesthood, along the sons of kings and dukes. The and the great met together in Jesus C while vast donations transferred the from profane uses, to enrich pacific poor men, and serfs.* Such, again, the peace enjoyed by that vast multi commemorated by the Church who derfully pursued their way, keeping divine commands, that they migh found uninjured amidst the mighty w After citing the constitutions of Rik bishop of Soissons, in 889, an histori that city says, "these innocent exhorta to assiduity in the ecclesiastical d seem dictated amidst the most prof peace, and form a singular contrast the real situation of a society, torn disorganized to its centre."† He seer forget that this profound peace was a re in the worst of times for men of good because, as Pope Innocent III. says injured queen of France, "patien patienter passio non est pati." Of gang, Theodoric, abbot of Fulda in a contemporary poet, sung,

"——— hic tempora ferrea vidit:
At miti vicit pectore triste malum."‡

After reading some modern histo of the middle ages, one would su that men were continually overwhe with a sense of present danger, and they could not possibly have attend any thing but their own deliverance. contrary was the fact even when peac most disturbed! "The great que which agitated the fourteenth century Michelet observes, "was not the wa the English in France, the battles of and Poitiers, but that of the Concepti the blessed Virgin." It was this tender and delicate doctrine which engaged the public mind, as well a greatest intelligences that dignified human race. It is true, however, cannot open the writings compose times of real desolation, without asto ment at the interior peace which have been enjoyed, when men could t late the stubbornness of fortune in quiet and so sweet a style. But the phenomenon itself, of which St. Aug speaks as formerly unprecedented,

* Hist. Cortusiorum de Novit. Paduæ, Lib. i. xi. ap Murat. Rer. It. Script. xii.
† Hist Pistoriensis ap. Muratori Rer. Ital. Script. tom. xxix.
‡ *Epist.* iii. 7.

* Michelet, Hist. de France, i. 253.
† Martin, Hist. de Soissons, i. 362.
‡ Schannat, Hist. Fuldensis, p. iii.

be added also to these facts of our history; for what was originally the transient result of an involuntary impulse, was in the middle ages the permanent effect of legislation. Hear the law. "Let the man engaged in quarrel, find peace in the church, in his house, in going to the church and returning from it; and whoever shall break this peace, must pay nine times thirty solidi."* Those who took sanctuary, might be seized, however, if they attempted to defend themselves by arms, and if killed in the porch with arms in their hands, the sanctuary was not violated; but with that exception the churches and monasteries were asylums for the innocent during war, generally held inviolate, until the invasions of the false reformers, who respected nothing. The barbarians had introduced the custom unknown in the time of the Romans, of habitually wearing arms. In 1032, the bishops of France, not content with prohibiting it, decreed that in future no one should shed the blood of any Christian: on which occasion many supposed that universal peace would be established; but others, among whom was Gerhard, bishop of Cambray, argued that this was an unwise opinion, for that the race of combatants would ever exist among men, and that it was even necessary for the protection of those who prayed, and those who tilled the earth.†

If the total suppression of wars was impossible, still, however, much was done as an approximation towards peace. The Burgundian prelates obliged the barons of their duchy to swear, under pain of excommunication, to renounce all private wars of revenge. The interposition of the church in general caused a return of peace to many countries, as we shall see presently: but unquestionably the most remarkable of these new facts in relation to the mitigation of war, was the suspension of hostilities at stated times, of frequent recurrence for frighted peace to pant, while men without disturbance might assist at the divine worship; for this was obtained through the influence of the clergy, that peaceful people, whose life passed in a round of festivals and processions, and who only sought the innocent renown arising from their schools. The terms of one of the charges brought against Louis-le-Débonnaire, "that, contrary to the Christian religion and to his vow, without any public utility or certain necessity, he ordered a general expedition during the season of Lent,"* shows what was the general usage in that age.

Guido, bishop of Puy, in Velai, at the end of the tenth century, was, however the first who established the Treuga Dei, which was the origin of the great provision for peace, emanating from Cluny in the following century. The council of Clermont decreed that the truce of God should be observed during all the festivals and their vigils of St. Mary, and those of the apostles, as also from the Sunday before the beginning of Lent, till sunrise on the Monday after the octave of Pentecost, and from sunset on the Wednesday before Advent, till the octave of the Epiphany, and every week from sunset on Wednesday till sunrise on Monday.† The fathers of the council in 1041, at which presided the archbishops of Arles and Avignon, thus speak: "we beseech and conjure all you who fear God, and believe in him, and who are redeemed by his blood, to provide for the safety of your souls and bodies, and to follow the footsteps of God, having peace together, that you may deserve to possess with Him perpetual peace and rest. Receive, therefore, and hold inviolate that peace or truce which has been ordained, the mercy of God inspiring us, that from Wednesday evening till sunrise on Monday, there may be firm peace between all, that during these four days and nights, every one may be secure to do what he chooses, delivered from all fear of enemies, observing the Thursday, through reverence of our Lord's ascension, the Friday on account of his passion, the Saturday through veneration for his sepulture, and the Sunday to honour his resurrection."‡ In 1155, at the council of Soissons, King Louis VII. and many princes assembled, revived and swore to observe the truce of God inviolably, and that all the churches and their possessions, all labourers and merchants in all places, and all men of every condition, should have peace and full security. But, perhaps, the most interesting memorial fo this institution is, the letter of Ives de Chartres, to all the people of his diocese enforcing its observance. "We ask and entreat," he says to them, "and by the authority of Jesus Christ we pre-

* Lex Frision addit. Sap. tit. i.
† Hermanni Corneri Chron. ap. Eccardii Corp. Hist. Med. Ævi, ii.

* Ap. Duchesne, Ann. Franc. ii. 331.
† Orderic Vital. Lib. ix.
‡ Ap. Martene, Thes. Anecdot. tom. i.

scribe that, mindful of your salvation, at least, these four days, on which our Lord and Saviour more evidently worked the medicinal sacraments of our salvation, you will hold for pacific, and restrain your minds, tongues, and hands during them, from all injury. Every disciple of the Christian religion knows that on the fifth feria, our Lord Jesus celebrated his last supper and instituted it for ever, and then washed the feet of his disciples, and the same day was betrayed, and on the same also in view of his disciples ascended into heaven, and in all things left us an example of peace; and that on the sixth feria, the first Adam was made of the earth, and the second Adam who came to redeem man, was made incarnate, and suffered, and thus restored peace to the world; and that on the seventh feria, God rested from all his work, to signify to us the future and eternal Sabbath of the just; that on the same day the flesh of Christ rested in the sepulchre, while his soul made war with hell, and brought back spoils from the ancient enemy;—O Christian, redeemed with the blood of Jesus, be not ungrateful or unmindful of these works of peace!—and that on the eighth feria, which is the first, the Lord rose from the grave, and left us an example of our double resurrection; for all which and other reasons, our ancestors decreed that more especially on these days, peace should be preserved, under grievous penalties, proportioned to the quality and the crime of the violators of peace; and see how much is wanting to you of Christian perfection, when the days which should be devoted to celestial warfare, to the seeking of salvation, you compel to be remitted to you to exercise malice, and to find death! See, brethren, if any one of you should during three days cut his flesh with iron, or burn it with fire, or afflict it with any other torture, and should only rest during four days, would he not be tied by his friends, and sent as a madman to physicians? How much more ought not one who wounds his soul, to be bound with the chains of Christ, that he might cease from inflicting wounds on his soul, and might attend to its life! But since every age is prone to evil from youth, and that perverse men loving the wages of sin rather than those of justice, rise up, like madmen against physicians, expecting to hear better things of you and things nearer to salvation, we tolerate your imperfection, we dissemble your impiety, and since iniquity abounding we are unable to cure you perfectly, we would rather have you infirm and wounded than altogether dead; therefore, we entreat and command you to observe these days of peace strictly."*

Many instances might be given of the farther enforcement of this observance. In 1209 we find the Lord Milo, legate of the Holy See, saying to the barons of France, "I prescribe that you observe amongst yourselves, the peace or truce as it has been enjoined on you."† But we must not remain longer here. The passages already cited, will justify the remark of a recent author, that this institution, the wisest and most humane on record, will be remembered to the honour of the Church while human records exist.

* Ivon Carnot. Epist. xliv.
† Ap. Martene, Thes. Anec. i.

CHAPTER IX.

WHO can ever meditate on the peace of men in communion with the church of God, without having in his ears, "ut omnes unum sint,"* and the rest of that divine sentence not tered by unhallowed lips, the fulfil- which constitutes so astonishing, so dented a fact in history, the most result, as well as the most abun- urce of peace, both internal and , possessed by the pacific in ages ? "In the council of Nice the ad the first idea, and the first e of a society existing in different s amidst local and private laws, and pendent of the princes and societies which it was placed, a people forming other nations, and yet isolated in st of them, sending their deputies l parts of the universe, to treat ffairs which concerned only their fe, and their relation with God."† versaries remark "this one great ch characterizes the middle ages." act," say they, "is the unity of the n society, independent of all the ies of time, place, government, lan- and origin. Singular phenomenon! moment when Roman empire dis- . when the political union perishes, gious union rises up, and the church ns the most perfect unity of its e, and the universality of its law. s and fruitful fact, which has ren- mmense services to humanity, from h to the thirteenth century." Then lmitting that the unity of the church aintained bonds between nations, ntiments of a vast sympathy, they le that the result was, "the most ed and the purest idea which has llied men, the idea of a spiritual , for that is the philosophic name church, and the type which it has to realize.‡ Instead of the modern fashion of one nation with a variety of religions, there was then the spectacle of a variety of countries with one religion. As the church sings in her office of many martyrs, "one faith and one hope was in them." Pass through all the kingdoms that acknowledge Christ, interrogate the first you meet in each, or even the dead, whose voice is graven on their tombs, and when you ask to what nation they belong? they will reply as the souls in purgatory said to Dante, who asked, "if any soul of Latium dwelt amongst them?" "My brother! we are each one citizens of one true city."* All generations from the beginning of the church, till the revolution of the sixteenth century, attest the fact. "Though the distance of territory makes the habitations of Christians different, yet," says Peter of Blois, "the society of holy charity under one pastor, Christ, makes them all one flock."† "One faith," cries Agobard, "one hope, one charity, one will, one prayer for all men, of all nations, and all conditions, invoking one Father, seeking one sanctification, demanding one kingdom, O celestial fraternity! O eternal concord! O inseparable unity! derived from one, and referred to one Author of all things, by whom the heavens rejoice, and the earth is gladdened! All are thus brethren—the servant and his lord, the poor and the rich, the ignorant and the learned, the weak and the strong, the humble workman and the sublime emperor. No one disdains another, no one is puffed up, since there is one bread, one body of Christ for all, whether Aquitains or Longobards, Burgundians, or Alamanns, serfs or free. All are citizens of the saints, and servants of God, who hath made all one, making peace, and reconciling us to Himself by his cross, evangelizing peace to those who were afar off, and to those who were near, so reducing all to one body, that they are to be called Christ, rather than Christians."‡

1. xvii. † Chateaub. Discours Hist. ii. 13. ot, Cours d'Hist.

* Purg. xiii. † Epist. lxvii.
‡ Agobardi Epist. ad. Ludovic. Imp. 104.

The chief Sophist of Geneva, of the last century, accuses the Christian religion of not being sufficiently national. Where religious unity is broken, the inhabitants of different countries are found sufficiently eager for claiming a nationality in the old pagan sense for themselves, and not slow disciples of Rousseau and the Abbé de Mably, who were great advocates for exciting nations to regard each other with hatred; but the fact undoubtedly is, that in ages of faith religion had so united all nations, that the very name to indicate separation was unknown. The precept which overthrew the system of national religions, changed the face of the world. Unknown to all the sects of philosophy, without antecedent or example, it alarmed even the apostles themselves. It was not till after the third prodigy, that they obeyed it; and St. Peter, after baptizing Cornelius, thought it necessary to justify himself by saying, "what, was I to resist God?" During the middle ages the nation of each Christian was Christendom. "In every country," as Michelet observes, "the popedom encouraged institutions universal, which were not confined to a locality. The people in Spain, till the year 1820, had never heard the word nation in the modern pagan sense. They understood what was meant by Spain and Spaniards, but as the sophists complained, the Spanish nation was a phrase unintelligible to them. So it was in every part of Europe, till those heretics rose up, through whose ill counsel in the world, no more one faith prevails, but each creed is to men of other nations understood by none. Europe was then disorganised, and as Saint Simon says, after describing the harmonious unity of all states in the middle ages, "one half of the Europeans emancipated themselves from the Papal chains, that is to say, broke the only political bond which attached it to the great society."

This absence of a spirit merely national, must not be mistaken for the neglect of any social duty. Thierry remarks that, "a few simple sentences in the old chronicles, transcribed neither by Mézeray, Velly, nor Anquetil, say more to the praise of the townsmen of the middle ages, than long pages pompously repeating the words people and nation."* The love of one's country was held by the great doctors of the school, to be included in charity, and one of its chief gifts,† so that Dante speaks of "the charity of native land, that in his wrought."* St. Thomas expressl "that for his country's safety, a go should be willing to die," and, in fac were there more glowing or pathe amples of the power of that love, thar the middle ages. All its tenderness found. Peter of Blois, after tw years spent in England, writing t bishop of Paris, to request that he recalled to France, that he may at buried in his native country, conclu these lines:

"Me natale solum quadam dulcedine t
Semper et immemorem non sinit es

There is not wanting proof th affection for the land of one's birth delightful influence over the man Catholic states. The people of P 1330 are described as being affab familiar to all persons: but if they m fellow countrymen in foreign parts told that not only friends, but even e whether of the city itself or of the surr towns and villages, receive each oth such benignity, that one might supp were beloved uterine brothers.‡ Th of nations under the church favou love, inasmuch as it tended to streng the charities of life, while on the oth it did not exclude diversity of custo laws. In the ninth century, the were governed by the Roman l Francs by the Salic and Ripuari Burgundians by the Burgundian, th bards by the Lombard, the Saxons Saxon law; but notwithstanding this the great principle of unity prevail the canonical legislation was one same for all the people, and the r society was essentially one. In E the Merciap, Danish, and West Sax simultaneously prevailed, until the collected into one body of the comn by King Edward the Confessor, but while the union of faith no less exist countries were within the pale: "t were united in God," as Gilles, of observes, "while the whole kingdom evil, whatever may be their polit commercial bonds, is necessarily brol dispersed;"§ since, as Tacitus r "faciliore inter malos consensu ad

* Lettres sur l'Hist. de France, i.
† *St. Thom. de Regim. Prin.* iii. 4.

* Hell, xiv.
† Epist. clx.
‡ Anon. Ticinens. de Laudibus Papiæ Mur. Rer. It. xi.
§ Ægid. Rom. de Regim. Princ. i. c. 3

n pace ad concordiam."* For war hey can associate together, and like mans call each other brothers.† There o strong national traits of character in linary sense of the term; for, in fact, re generally at the bottom, vices. If we to nature we find that children are ne every where. It is evil customs troduce in after life these nationalities, have so pernicious a tendency in ging the inhabitants of one country ose of another, till they even contract l Pythagorean notion, that the use of ign language is a thing to be con- d, and that no one should speak in t his vernacular tongue. If we interro- ligion, the type is likewise every where ne. Hence, at Rome, there is nothing r or exclusive, which Romans only mire; because in the centre of Catho- y it is the universal sense of enlight- hristians, which determines what is d becoming. The consequences of ion of nations, though at times par- efeated, were upon the whole immense. first place it secured the world from gers of wars of opinion. There was ilosophy for all countries: so that in as there a party sending armies from de to impose its views of constitutions, oral wisdom, upon the people of other as was so lately seen in Portugal. No had that qualification which Guizot s to France, the feeling that it has a reign over the world, to govern facts, is called to reform and to regulate cording to its own reason. "This," s, "is what Italy wants;" and he know that all countries that were ic wanted it. England, France, or Germany, would have revolted with from the idea of giving Europe a phic system, or any social amelioration, s not identical or in harmony with dom of the church, and the manners re the consequences of faith. There n no people insolently boasting that uld give law to Christendom, because nbers of revolted spirits would fly to em; and as I before observed, no r of a state avowing that he had in d the slips of war, the impious of all s, whom he could let loose in an in- on the pacific. If we look at the s of France in ancient times, we find ey were disorders which did not in- ne question of the duty of maintaining this unity. The English wars with France were owing to a disputed succession: the wars of the house of Anjou, and the expedition into Italy, form no doubt a history full of tragedies: but there was no war against religion, to overthrow the work of all Christian ages, and to reconstruct the human society while attempting to place it on a new foundation. There were no revolutionary wars, no formidable phalanxes marching forth to subdue kings and people with unconquerable audacity, rapid like the lightning, and leaving behind them more fatal traces of their destructive passage: thrones were not seen on all sides tottering, respected princes belonging to ancient races, whose power seemed consecrated by time, obliged to fly into exile: the course of armies was not marked by the fall of all ancient and venerated things, by the overthrow of all former relations, institutions, customs, opinions, and manners. Whatever horrors attended war, there was always some alternative for human prudence but despair, always some secure ground in the force of wisdom, virtue, and ability. Secondly, religious wars were excluded: and whoever desires to know the extent of this benefit, should refer to the writings of Florimond Raymon, Pasquier,* Paradin, and other writers, who as eye-witnesses describe them. What the moderns, forgetting Him who can cause men to agree, deem impossible, was accomplished, and not in vain rose from every altar the church's prayer that God would inspire the minds of the faithful with one will, causing them to love what He prescribes, to desire what He promises, that amidst the worldly vicissitudes their hearts might be fixed where true joys are found.† With the ancients, the privilege of isopolity was necessary to enable the inhabitants of one independent city to partake in the sacrifices and festivals of another.‡ The short periodical interruption of hostilities consequent on the Olympic festival, did not allay the animosity of warring tribes. There was, perhaps, no other occasion on which the Greek was so forcibly impressed with the consciousness of the separation between himself and other nations. The business of the festival itself ministered constant fuel to the selfish and malignant passions of rival cities. The separate treasuries at Olympia, as at Delphi, of different states, were often monuments of their mutual enmity.§ In

t. i. 54.
idii Tschudi Epist. ap. Goldast. Philologic. ent.

* Lettres, liv. iv. 12, 13. 15. 17.
† Fourth Sunday after Easter.
‡ Niebuhr, ii. 50.
§ Thirlwall, Hist. of Greece, i.

ages of faith no nation had such festivals. There were no national religions, as with the moderns, who have returned to the Gentile notion in this respect, whose patriotism derives strength from their religious views, and whose religious views become exclusive as their patriotism, insomuch that the limits of their territory seem to serve also as the limits of their religious obligations. The social state was in ages of faith no longer the end, but the means of life. No one conceived the idea of bringing back the narrow and barbarous civism of the ancient pagan republics; for from the unity of the church, all people tended even in spite of themselves, to become one people. "I say nothing of the labour of the journey which I have undertaken," says St. Avitus, "because whatever may be the length of time, or the vastness of the distance, for which he leaves the habitation of his father-land, a priest can never be called a stranger or foreigner, wherever the Catholic church can be found."* The troubles of a journey, as we often observed, were then immense. Ives de Chartres says of his going to Rome, "if with youthful strength we could still proceed on foot over the broken ways of Alps, ride through precipices, and across the waves of intervening torrents."† The κελευθοποιοὶ παῖδες Ἡφαίστου, to use the expression of Æschylus, were not then seeking to connect nations together by rails of iron, but what perhaps was a greater triumph, Rome had so united them intellectually by the charity of faith, that thoughts and sympathies passed like lightning between the most distant members of the mystic body. In 1164, when it was reported in France that peace was made between the holy archbishop of Canterbury and the king of England, a correspondent of the former assured him, that all men in that kingdom rejoiced for his peace, as if for their own, "omnes de pace vestra tanquam de sua lætabantur." The discipline of the church tended to make men forget the differences of nations, and to renounce those antipathies against which a law of the first Christian emperor was levelled, when the Roman emperors were permitted to form alliance with the blood of the Francs.‡ While some interested nobles and narrow-minded churchmen complained, the people were thankful that merit without regard to birth or local connections, might determine the choice of those who were to guide them.

* S. Avit. Epist. ad Cæsar. Episc.
† Iv. Carnot. Epist. ccxix.
‡ Constant. Porphyr. de Administ. Imp.

England beheld without jealousy, Italians, and Frenchmen, among her as Germany, Italy, and France bow heads under the pastoral staff of an I man or an Irishman. Some moder rians remark that these papal reservat the advantage of rescuing great se the feudal influence which might provided for them. Whereas, the po to select from a convent or the univ some learned and holy man, to be m mate of the Gauls, or of the empire. sublime prayer before the eleventh on holy Saturday, alludes to this u all nations in the common country faithful; for it addresses God as united the diversity of nations in fession of his name, and it seeks th may be one piety of actions, as wel faith of minds; so that making al for the genius of individuality, like the Celtic races, in all essential manners as well as principles wer similar and universal. Catholic pa again, besides being delivered fr danger of religious wars, had also a tion that no national wars to do offe scathe in Christendom, could be e As in early times described by Thu there were local wars between cities great national wars waged as such not for the reason to which he ascr smallness of the ancient expediti want of money, to which the world at is said to owe its peace, but from the of any systematic hostility between of the common family. The δεινὸς ἔρως‡ never disturbed its peace: t querors of the ages of faith had not, th to make complaints like those of Pasquier, where he says, that if you Italian historian, you will find t French victories stript of their gl bastardized; for in the renown of Christian warrior, all nations took a interest. It was not till the fo century that wars changed their c from being the result of particular between lord and vassal, or vassal an becoming general wars of a people a people, a government against a ment. Previously, a war between Cl had a character of sacrilege. If the empire had not been counteracted passions of men, and the questions out of the feudal law, there would ha ed a universal peace: that idea excl

* Michelet, iii. 495.
† Lib. i. 15. ‡ Æsch.

collision. Hence the chronicles of
s say that judgment was given by
hommes, on the differences between
of France and England, according
ws and decrees which declare that,
igations and the alliances which are
ainst peace, should be considered
The church and her peaceful
es had made all nations one family:
o poet then would have dared, like
ien satirist, to pray that tearful war
ilence might be transferred to a
land,† when he was aware that
of his own countrymen were saying
ttom of their hearts to the men of
land, with whom they were asso-
the bonds of religious rites, and
personally too, by a thousand fami-
arising out of them, "Propter
Domini Dei nostri, quæsivi bona
'alk not of rival interests, of the
of powers. Tell me not in the
words: Τὸν αὐτὸν φίλον τε καὶ ἐχθρὸν
τῶς τῇ πόλει.‡ Plato would have
ws had he written after the blessed
l been nailed upon the tree. What
an earthly country have for me, if it
against charity itself? Alas! I
l what it is styled in verses that
upon the tomb of Dante, and
ordered to be inscribed over his

"A mother of little love."

ie prevalence of this conviction re-
the duty of maintaining peace
Christian nations be shown from
clearly it can. All through the
ges, we find that political peace
it for on religious grounds. Charle-
n his letter to Offa, king of the
, explains his motive in seeking
rith him, in these words. "Since
s powerful and renowned kings to
in the ties of friendship, and to
ate each other in mutual joys, in
it in the bond of charity, Christ in
by all, may be glorified."§ The
f peace, therefore, in ages of faith,
y different from these that were
d in later times, when political
y was exclusively concerned in ad-
ie pretended equilibrium of popu-
l territory, in consequence of which
sovereigns began to watch each
a jealous eye, having that kind
l esteem and confidence which
exist among those lesser powers, which are concerned with the highway;* being as ready to court alliance with a usurper and murderer, like Cromwell, as with a Saint Louis, having no scruple to cause a revolution in another state, if it could benefit their own, as when the emperor and king of Spain secretly favoured that of England, with a view to separate England from France, and whose reply to any of the old Catholic arguments in favour of peace, might be given in the words of Northumberland, "that were some love, but little policy." The religious republic of the Venetians, when oppressed with the weight of their war with the people of Camertes, renounced a triumph over many princes, when Othoman, emperor of the Turks, offered them an army of 30,000 men, because they said they would rather fall under the standard of the cross, than conquer under the crescent.† Even Grotius extols the pious words of Fulco, archbishop of Rheims, to Charles the Simple, "who would not shudder," he exclaimed, "at finding you wish to contract friendship with the enemies of God, and by a detestable treaty to use pagan arms to the destruction of the Christian name! for it matters not, whether you be the ally of pagans, or the worshipper of idols." Cervantes ascribes this spirit to the young Spanish lover, Ricarede, who resolves within himself never to draw a sword upon those united with him in the bonds of the same faith. When Elizabeth, the English Queen, requires him to signalize himself by some heroic act in her service, that he may receive from her the hand of Isabella—he refuses. The thought of such hostilities fills him with horror, and he exclaims, "never will I engage in such a service." This was the old feeling: the heroes of the Carlovingian romances make war only in defence of Christians against the Mahometans, "and in this respect," says Fauriel, "they are only a mirror of chivalry till the end of the thirteenth century, while it was under the religious influence."‡ Don Antonio de Guevara, confessor to the Emperor Charles V., in a letter to a noble commander, reminds him of this distinction. "Lord Marquis, if your camp had been before Jerusalem, we should have esteemed your cause just, but since it is before Marseilles, we esteem it scrupulous. I hesitate not to declare that there can be no war between Christians so

1113. † Hor Car. i. 21.
de Legibus, xii. § Ap. Baluze, i.

* St. Victor, Tableau de Paris, iv. 1. 3.
† Palatius, Aquila inter Lilia, l. xi.
‡ Origine de l'Epopée Chev. du Moyen Age.

justified, as not to be ground for scruples. I wish to promote your salvation, and not to applaud you."

The complaint of Milton was the cry of millions in every country during ages of faith, whenever a king or feudal prince came forward to open the purple testament of bleeding war. We have their letters and their chronicles, their solemn pleadings and their official acts, all repeating words like his,

"—— O shame to men, though under hope
Of heav'nly grace and God proclaiming peace,
Yet live in hatred, enmity, and strife,
Among themselves, and level cruel wars,
Wasting the earth, each other to destroy."

When Gloucester asks Henry VI. if he is willing to establish peace with France, that king replies, "Ay, marry, uncle; for I always thought it was both impious and unnatural, that such immanity and bloody strife should reign among professors of one faith."* Expressions like these, I am aware, may be found on the tongue of poets, and of eminently just men at all times; but what is singular in the history of the middle ages is, that they were then strictly diplomatic phrases and practical maxims, adopted by rulers and statesmen, and by all writers, whose works were invested with a political and positive character.

Childebert being in Spain, having besieged Saragossa, made peace with the citizens for no other reason but from discovering by their processions that they were Catholics. Oderic Vitalis pretends that William the Conqueror used to admonish the Norman knights not to oppress the vanquished, who by the profession of Christianity were the equals of the conquerors.† What finally induced Lothaire to submit to Louis and Charles, and seek to conclude a lasting peace with them, was more than the horror of making war against his brothers, the consciousness of his offence against God in having caused discord between the people of Christian states.‡ Even Edward III. in his letter of defiance to King Philip, of Valois, in 1340, declares his desire "that our Lord may make peace more and more between Christians."§ All thought of union and political concord in Italy in the middle ages, was a religious thought. It was under the title of St. Mary the Glorious, that brother Bartholomew, of Vicenza, founded at Bologna, the military order, the office of which, was to maintain in harmony, the different Italian cities. The Platonicians used to say, that the end of peace was friendship. In ages of faith, by peace was understood, not a cold political alliance, while covert enmity, under the smile of safety, wounds the world, but real Christian love. So in the chronicles of St. Denis, we read that Philip de Valois, in 1344, seeing the troubled state of his kingdom, began to be pensive and full of care, seeking how he could remove from his kingdom all hatred, and establish it in true peace. But let us hear the diplomatic acts. In the treaty of peace between the Venetians and the Count Sicard, and the people of Edessa, they say that they will observe with them, "peace and most true charity."* The first article of the treaty between the Venetians and Paduans, in 1373, concluded with these words, "but now that the cause of evils has ceased, the effects ought to cease also, and both parties should rest in perpetual charity and peace, assisted by the clemency of Jesus Christ, who when about to ascend to the Father, said to his disciples, 'My peace I give to you, my peace I leave to you.'"† The treaty of peace made in the city of Lodi on the 9th of April, in 1454, between Francis Foscaro, doge of Venice, and Francis Sforza Visconti, duke of Milan, begins with a solemn invocation of the holy and undivided Trinity, and then proceeds thus: "since the word peace is sweet, and the thing itself most salutary, which alone in human affairs is named good and delectable, and since the enemy of the human race always watching to malignity, had sown certain errors, discords, and scandals, between the illustrious duke and dominion of Venice, and the illustrious duke of Milan, which led them to open war, which occasioned infinite robberies, burnings, wounds, homicides, and other horrible crimes, the parties desiring and intending to live pacifically in fraternal love, and to remove all matter of war, sent orators and delegates, and, at length, in the city of Lodi, by the inspiration of the Holy Ghost solemnly came in this manner to agreement and peace."‡ Again, letters of the Venetians to the doge of Genoa are to this effect, "too long have we been waging hateful war against each other. What are you doing, dearest brethren? You are Italians, and what is a still greater bond of charity, Christians. You have not to contend with the perfidy

* Hen. VI. i. 5. † Lib. iv.
‡ Nithardi Hist. iii. ap. Script. Rer. Franc. vi.
§ *Chron. de St. Denis*, 1340.

* And. Danduli, Chronic. Lib. viii. c. 15. p. 7. ap. Murat. Rer. It. Script. t. xii.
† Raphagni Caresini Contin. Chron. And. Dand.
‡ Ap. Murat. Rer. It. Script. xvi. p. 1010.

ıtics, or the blindness of Sarassins, ›city of Tartars. We both adore ›d, the one Christ, one Redeemer, ır of peace—of that peace which rom you. Lay down then your which you offend God, and while to conquer others, gain a victory selves. Lay aside the anger in ı have more than sufficiently in- ıd grant to us your brethren, who ıth all our souls, the calamities ›y the people of both our states, t of peace."* The eloquent writ- arangues of modern authors and rho seem most satisfied with their for peace, when they have cited then testimony,† have but little ce, in this respect, to those of in ages of faith. Let us take an om the latter. Paulus Guinisius, e aid of the duke of Milan had chief power in Lucca, afterwards e said duke in his war against the s. When it was a question at of making war upon Lucca, not ıat reason, but also because he as ıted Florence, and that, therefore, measure of safety to attack him, zano spoke as follows: "It is the ıtence of the wise, excellent fellow ıat those who assemble in a place d to deliberate, ought to be free nental disease, and obnoxious to ›ation. To me he seems to be itizen, who, consulting for peace uillity, refers all his thoughts to welfare. We ought all to agree ıg that sentence, by observing can be secure of a happy issue; re should appear any vain hope good, ought we to rush on to act er for which we may afterwards n to repent. And of all wars the ıcertain, especially of those which ›bject but its lust. Renaldus has he people to this war, which he ful and capable of being conducted expense; but it seems to me a nsel to prefer peace, rather than ›n of those who make light of rs after wars, despising the advan- tranquillity. Wars ought to be ı in order that we may live in , that we should be involved in ; for it would be a continued if we were always to be eager for n new wars, at the very name of which I wonder that we do not all shudder if we remember what has past. As for the arguments of Renaldus, that peace is to be suspected, I answer, that there is nothing which cannot be misrepresented. What more certain good, more salubrious than peace? What virtue more acceptable to God? What more useful than leisure and concord, what more desirable than quiet? I truly prefer peace, and dread the prosperous fortune of the tyrant, when it is certain that God must favour those who resist, rather than those who commit an injury, those who defend themselves, rather than those who attack through cupidity. It is not a just cause which impels us to this war, unless the desire of domination be a just cause, unless the crime of ambition be an excuse. Paulus Guinisius has taken part against us in this war; but ought the innocent citizens to be punished for the crimes of a tyrant whom they detest? If we have cause of indignation against him, ought a whole city to suffer for what has been done by a faction? What will you have to answer to those who may be injured by this war, without having ever injured you? By no divine or human law are we permitted to seize what belongs to another. There is a just cause when we have to defend our country, and the issue of such wars is generally happy; but unjust wars are rarely crowned with victory. Infamy and hatred follow them. Therefore, I exhort you not to heed the counsels of those who advise you to this war, merely in order to make their profit by it, and who care not who conquer, so that it be protracted, that they may the longer receive pay. It is my opinion that we abstain from unjust arms, and that we should rather for sake of our own honour, endure the past injuries of the tyrant, with an equal mind, than through vengeance attack an innocent and deserving city. I pray God to inspire you with that resolution, which may conduce to the honour and safety of our country."*

See how many principles of the Catholic religion are here appealed to before senators; —the need of interior purity in political deliberations, the sin of wars for domination, the necessity for determining public measures by the rule of pleasing God, the good of quiet for a people, the duty of a nation to bear with the injustice of any enemy, rather than neglect charity to his subjects, and the infamy of disturbing peace between Christian states.

ırtene, Vet. Script. i. p. 1587.
ichoeckius de Pace, and Grotius, pas-

* Poggii Bracciolini Hist. Lib. vi. ap. Mur. tom. xx.

CHAPTER X.

WARS, however, there were in ages of faith reputed just, of which, the pacific in this world of cruelty did not complain; they may be divided into distinct classes, but it will be expedient in the first instance to investigate their general character and, perhaps, even those who turn with pain and shuddering from all ordinary records of the grating shock of wrathful iron arms, will stop to hear us tell with what pacific thoughts war in ages of faith was begun, carried on, and finished.

Wars were then begun by careful and solemn scrutiny of the justice of the cause. Thus we read of the Marshal Boucicaut, "before he begins a war, he considers well whether the grounds be or be not just and sufficient."* Speaking of the impiety of the Paduans in making war upon Venice, a contemporary writer observes, "that such discussions should not be committed to artisans and mechanics, or consequently to their representatives, who only look to their own chances of gain, but men should hear the continent and sober, who are not quick to determine on war in any cause; knowing that it can never be undertaken with integrity, unless for a great and just cause."†

"We earnestly intreat the royal majesty," says the Abbot Suger, in his letter to King Louis, "not to make war rashly against the count of Anjou, whom you have made duke of Normandy, without first taking counsel from the archbishops and bishops, or the chief men of the state; for if you do any think hastily, you cannot afterwards escape from it with honour, or perfect it without great labour. But since you have convoked your men for this purpose, let there be delay until you hear the advice of those who are sworn to advise and assist you with all their strength."‡ The advice of such counsellors would resemble that ascribed to Vi Beauvais, in these words: "the prin to have peace with all foreign nat and near; nor ever ought he to m not even when they provoke it, unless necessity, and for some very arduou He ought carefully to consider wha evils of war, what perils to the r what troubles of minds, what oppre the poor, what destruction of goods tation of vines and corn, conflagr towns, slaughter of men, rancour mities in future, and the loss of innu souls."* "Peace should result fr will, war from necessity," says St. Au Such were the principles. The n however, might arise, and accordi the school remarked, Christianity s the profession of arms. When ot received and praised the centurion, not require him to abandon it;‡ the Prince of the Apostles requi Cornelius after he had baptized hin did the Baptist, who instructed soldi demn their profession.|| "Think n St. Augustin, "that no one can plea who ministers with arms of war. Th borne by that centurion, who said Lord, 'non sum dignus.'" "Be p war, that you may lead those wh attack, by conquering, to the be peace," words cited by Anselm, of defending Pope St. Gregory VII. Guibert.

"Battle is allowed by the divin says the author of the Tree of Battl battle, in its legitimate sense, is a m having for its end to turn dissensi peace." The judgment of the midd however, was not calculated to ma think lightly of undertaking war. man die in battle for the church," s same authority, "and is not othe mortal sin; or if he die in battle, just war, he is saved; but if it be in just quarrel, he is in the way of da

* Le Livre des Faicts du M. de Boucic. p. iv. 4.
† Ferreti Vicentini Hist. ap. Mur. Rer. It. Script. ix.
‡ Sugerii Epist. et. ap. Duchesne, tom. iv.

* Spec. Mor.
† Epist. 20
‡ Matt. viii. 3.
§ Acts x. 1
|| Luke iii. 14.

es to hell. Men of arms are not ily enemies of God, for by good maintaining just causes, they may the love of God." So also Cæsar erbach says, "If men fall in a just in defence of their country, no evil als them."* "Not every aggression ' says Gilles of Rome, "but only makes men brave."† But no one ered to deceive himself on this point. excuse their homicides in the late ' princes," says the Penitential of Maur, "as not being voluntary, they were committed by order of rinces, and in conformity to the nt of God; but it is necessary for ho desire to defend this nefarious r, to consider whether in the eyes of y can be excused as innocent, who avarice, which is the root of all evils, npared to the service of idols, and sake of the favour of their temporal lespised the eternal Lord, and dis- g his commandments, not by accident, l full intention, committed homicide. re, they must see whether by chance y not be in the number of those to he prophet said, 'Woe to you who good, and good evil, light darkness, kness light, bitter sweet, and sweet

He who expects pardon from God, doing condign penance for evil works, rring penitent; and if he hasten to others, he is bound by a double evil. s to be observed, that there is a great ce between him who endeavours to the tranquillity of Christian peace, who contends with arms to defend gainst iniquity, of which many ex- are found under the old law, and he new testament, which can teach we are to think of such contention."‡ hen were the legitimate causes of On this point there was no want of ion. "An army is constituted," says ns the Carthusian, "to defend the from external enemies, and from ho would cause internal seditions, those who would oppress the weak poor."§ Hence, as De Bonald , "the military service of nobility on horseback, as being more defen- n offensive: society in ages of faith preserve what was its own, not to t."‖ The preference for a force of cavalry was deemed by the ancients to indicate an unstable and effeminate character. An infantry, in fact, as an instrument of aggression, has always been the force of democratic or despotic states; whereas a cavalry by the nature of its composition, is chiefly available in the defence of domestic hearths. The Romans, with their invincible infantry, invaded all nations who had only infantry to oppose to them; and they found an insurmountable barrier to their progress in the Parthian cavalry.* An infantry, therefore, unless under the strong control of a public sense of religious obligations, is a source of danger for mankind, as was seen in late times, as soon as the old pagan spirit had gained the ascendancy.

That a war should be lawful, St. Thomas requires three things: the authority of the prince of the state, a just cause, and a right intention in the combatants, that they have in view the public good, or the defence of the Christian religion, or some other just cause. Therefore, the desire of injuring or of avenging, or the lust of rule, or the disposition to rebel, must be absent from the mind. "Ambition and avarice," says Dionysius, "easily grow upon men, unless they be extirpated by the fear and love of God; and domination is ineffably perilous. Therefore, wise princes will never seek to extend their territories, knowing the consequent responsibility. They will remember that, whatever is contrary to the spiritual love of God and their neighbour, is mortal sin, and, therefore, they will tremble at the thought of that tremendous judgment which awaits all those who attack the dominions of other princes, and disturb the people committed to them, and afflict the poor. Consequently, before a war a prince will diligently inquire from men who fear God, whether there be certainly a just and sufficient cause."† "The king who undertakes a war," says another guide, "ought not to confide in material force, as in the power of a great army, but in God; and he ought to begin by good counsel; for sense is better than force."‡ Guy de Bremen spoke the general sentiment of these ages when, in reply to the duke of Burgundy, who asked him, what he thought should be done with the hostages of Liege, which some proposed to put to death, he said, "My lord, I think that

st. Mirac. Lib. xii. 15.
id. Rom. de Regim. Prin. ii. 1. 9.
iit. Rhabani, 4. ap. Canis. Lect. Antiq.
Vita et Regim. Prin. iii. 31.
slat. Prim. ii. 4.

* Legislat. Prim. ii. 4.
† De Vit. et Reg. Prin. iii. 26.
‡ Le Livre de Pierre Salmon, 32.

above all things we must have God on our side, and, therefore, we must deliver them." So Guillaume des Barres said to Philip Augustus before the battle of Bouvines, "Dieu vous aidera, car vous aves droit en ceste besoingne." And the Norman knights at Melfi replied to the herald of the Greeks, "We confide more in the mercy of God than in the multitude of our men." Murchardt, king of Leinster, hearing of King William's threat to make a bridge of ships wherewith to invade Ireland, asked of the reporter, after a long pause, "Hath the king added to his threats, 'If it please God?'" "No," was the reply. "Then," said he, "I fear not his coming."

The cause of war being proved just, we find that it was undertaken with every demonstration of loving peace, and hating war. "Kings and princes before making war," says Dionysius, "are bound to confession."* And King Henry with our poet says, "Let every soldier in the wars do as every sick man in his bed, wash every moth out of his conscience:" that is, they were to begin in charity with God and man. Solemn and significant customs prevailed to express this. Such was that visit to some holy convent before a war, to take leave of the martyrs there enshrined, and receive its pacific banner, to be borne as a pledge that the conscience was at peace with God. Louis-le-gros was a valiant king, yet when he went to take up the peaceful oriflamb in the abbey of St. Denis previous to hostilities, he was seen to weep; and when the emperor retreated without a battle, intimidated by the preparations of the French, the king rejoiced more than if he had gained a great victory, and carried on his own shoulders in procession the reliquaries of the abbey, shedding abundant tears.† The sobs and groans of Philip Augustus before the martyrs, when he was to receive the oriflamb, are expressly mentioned in the great official history of the chronicles of St. Denis.‡ "The cause, however, being just, the prince," says Dionysius, "not proudly trusting in himself, may go forth to battle with magnanimity, that is, with cheerfulness and delectation to fight; for to contend and die for justice is meritorious of eternal life."§ Hence, the principle of all chivalry, according to the language of Provence, was what was termed joy; which meant a generous magnanimity, enabling the soul to rise superior to all the miseries and vices of the world: and thus in the Spanish code joy is prescribed as a duty to knights, which explains the Italian word "un tristo" to signify a wicked man. It is in this sense that the sword of Charlemagne was called "joyeuse."* Accordingly we behold such warriors receiving on their departure the benediction of the sons of peace, whose impressions on those occasions are so beautifully described by the poet who represents the old monk after the embarkation of Bruce.

"As up the hill his path he drew,
He turn'd, his blessings to renew;
Oft turn'd, till on the darken'd coast
All traces of their course were lost;
Then slowly bent to Brodick tower,
To shelter for the evening hour."

With this prudent, just, and in desire peaceful commencement, the conduct of war was strictly to correspond; and here it is to be observed, that the pacific spirit evinced by Constantine to the soldiers taken in war was a new feature in military history.† "The prince and his army," says Dionysius, "before and during a just war, must be in charity, and for this end they should have cordial contrition for their sins, and go to confession, and then they may go securely to battle, having a right intention, viz. to fight for the common good, to please God, and to be remunerated by Him, all which motives are necessary to soldiers, for otherwise they would be in mortal sin. In battle they must, above all things, take care, lest they should feel any envy against their adversaries: for if they were to admit such passions, they would sin mortally, and be eternally damned if they should be slain."‡ "Every Christian," he says, "is bound to love with a true and spiritual love every man living in this world; that is, to wish their eternal salvation. Therefore, the prince and his army, when about to engage in battle, ought on no account to cease from this spiritual love of their enemies, whatever they may have done, otherwise they would be fighting in mortal sin. Thus Charlemagne, while fighting against the pagans," that is, defending Christian peace against them, "loved them and sought their conversion, as did Oger when combating the Danes."§ In his treatise on the military life he speaks thus: "Vegetius says, that a general should

* De Vita Militari, 3.
† Hist. de Suger, iv. 280.
‡ Ad. an. 1190. § De Vit. et. Reg. p. iii. 38.

* Ampère, de la Chevalerie.
† Eusch. de Vit. Const. ii. 13.
‡ De Vit. et Reg. Prin. iii. 39.
§ Id. iii. 42.

endeavour to sow discord amongst his enemies; but this does not seem lawful to Christians, for it is contrary to charity; and it is a perilous thing for a man to act so, especially when in such danger of death. Moreover, Vegetius says, that a general before a battle ought to excite his soldiers to a hatred of the enemy by representing all that they have done against them; but this again is unlawful for Christians, who are bound to desire the eternal salvation of their adversaries, and to love in them every thing but what is opposed to justice and to peace."* These were not the speculations of a recluse unrealized in the military profession, or in the deeds of princes. That absence of hatred in the midst of battles, that forgetfulness of self, that direction of the intention—all these Christian virtues which he requires were knightly and kingly qualities, the existence and exercise of which are incontrovertible facts of history. The designation of Bologna in mysterious lore, "Pia civitas in bello," was not the exclusive merit of one state. Our Henry III. had many wars with St. Louis, king of France, "yet," says an historian, "they never broke in upon the Gospel as to brotherly love. And, though King Louis, by the great advantage he had over King Henry, often obliged him to make submissions, (a thing not very agreeable to persons exalted in power,) yet this was so far from exasperating the latter, that, in any other matter not regarding the point in debate, Louis was the great friend and adviser to whom he applied himself." Now to observe how soldiers in the very battle acted, let us hear Orderic Vitalis: "King William penetrated into France as far as Pontoise, and with a great army laid siege to Chaumont, ordering his steel-clad soldiers to carry it by assault. The illustrious soldiers of the place defended their fortifications with vigour, and did not lose sight of the fear of the Lord, and the duties of humanity. They spared with care and goodness the persons of the assailants, and directed all the fury of their anger against the horses of the enemy, of which they killed more than 700; so that many knights who had crossed the Epte gloriously on foaming chargers were obliged to return on foot with their king." On the death of the Conqueror, Gaultier and Haimeri, besieged in the citidal of Mans by Helie and Foulques, count of Anjou, after some days, proposing a truce, spoke as follows to Helie, who had permission from them to approach safely as often as he chose, clad in white: "We keep this citadel," said they, "which our master confided to us, well provisioned, and we fear neither you nor your machines. We can hit you with our arrows and stones, because, being on this high tower, we are so much above you, but, through fear of God, and through friendship for you, we spare you."* The public opinion in the middle ages agreed with the sentence of Cervantes, "The most honourable victories are those which are the least bloody." "Truly," says Don Antonio de Guevara, writing to Don Inigo de Velasquez, Constable of Castille, "I find no greater victory than that which is gained without effusion of blood. Believe me, Seigneur Constable, clemency and piety never broke a lance in war but a sanguinary captain is either slain or sold." We are told with surprise that the war song of the Spaniards, who in our age have been compelled to arm in defence of their country, might be taken for a hymn to peace.

"Viva la paz! viva l'union!
Viva la paz y Don Carlos Borbon!"†

In this respect the soldiers of Zumalacarregui only evinced the desire which was formerly evinced in all just wars. One might take for a monastic chaunt, invoking rest and security, the rhythm that used to be sung by the soldiers who guarded the city of Modena about the year 924, when the Hungarians invaded Italy:—

"O tu qui servas armis ista mœnia,
Noli dormire, moneo, sed vigila.
Nos adoremus celsa Christi numina,
Illi canora demus nostra jubila.
Illius magnâ fisi sub custodiâ,
Hæc vigilantes jubilemus carmina.
Divina, mundi Rex Christe, custodia,
Sub tuâ serva hæc castra vigiliâ.
Tu murus tuis sis inexpugnabilis,
Sis inimicis hostis tu terribilis.
Te vigilante, nulla nocet fortia,
Qui cuncta fugas procul arma bellica.
Tu cinge hæc nostra, Christe, munimina,
Defendens ea tua forti lancea.
Sancta Maria, mater Christi splendida,
Hæc cum Johanne, Theotocos, impetra.
Fortis juventus, virtus audax bellica,
Vestra per muros audiantur carmina:
Et sit in armis alterna vigilia,
Ne fraus hostilis hæc invadat mœnia.
Resultet Echo comes: eja vigila,
Per muros eja dicat Echo, vigila."‡

* De Vita Militari, 12.

* Lib x. † Henningsen's Campaign.
‡ Muratori Antiq. Ital. xl.

"The Paduans," says an ancient historian, "becoming effeminate through riches and luxury, began to seek aggrandizement and glory, and hence, unjustly took up arms against the Venetians, whose conduct on this occasion showed admirable forbearance and a strong desire of peace. To their first outrages upon the borders, the Venetians replied by calm remonstrances; but their embassadors were sent back with insult. Nevertheless, the senators, without being moved by the furious words of the Paduans, sent other embassadors, who spoke these words, 'It is not right to lay stress on doubtful things until they have been justly discussed, lest, perchance, a little matter should grow into a great controversy; therefore, excellent men, whom the immense ambition of novelty torments, avoid doubtful cases of war, lest through the pride of prosperity you should have God against you. Suffer us to live quietly, and to use without molestation what was conceded to us of old by your authority.' The Paduans remaining obstinate, and both sides being prepared to use force, Peter Gradonicus the doge sent letters secretly to apprise the Paduans of the very day in which he intended to invade their territories, which he did in hopes of deterring them, but in vain, for they resisted to their own discomfiture."* Let us hear the great manual of warriors in the middle ages to remark what peace was provided for multitudes even amidst the calamities of war. "If the king of France be at war with the king of England," says the Tree of Battles, "and there should come a student from London to Paris to study and take degrees, can he be made prisoner? I answer, certainly not; for the law gives express privilege to scholars, and forbids any grief or displeasure to them, commanding on the contrary, that all honours and reverence should be shown to them; for it would be discourteous and outrageous to do displeasure or villany to a scholar who comes from far and strange countries, leaving relations, friends, so many delights and worldly pleasures, in order to learn science; and it would be cruel and inhuman to do them any outrage, seeing that they are thus naked, powerless, far from their own country among strangers. The servants of scholars should be similarly exempt from arrest. If an Englishman should come to Paris to see his son, a student, who is sick, he ought not to be made prisoner; for God knows if a Frenchman had a son in such a predicament in London he would do as much for him, and we ought not to do to others what we would not have others do to us. If a father should come to Paris to bring clothes, books, or money to his son, he ought not to be made prisoner, nor if his brother or near relation should come to the scholar should they be arrested. A madman should not be kept prisoner, for he is to be considered as no one's enemy. An old man upon hostile territory, having strayed to hear mass in some chapel, should be suffered to return free, as should also a blind man, for he is a privileged person, and a child, for he is ignorant and innocent, and whoever would demand ransom should not be styled a gentleman, but a robber. Can the French in a just war imprison a bishop or abbot, or other monk of England? I answer, they cannot, for such men cannot aid their seigneurs in war. Why then should they be arrested? for the office of clergy is separate from all human wars, for the service of God, and they cannot wear arms, so that it would be little prowess in a Christian to assault or imprison them, since their only weapons are tears, and business to administer the sacraments to the people of God; but if any clerk should go of his own accord to war, and be taken, he may be required to pay ransom; or if a bishop should advise his king to war, and afterwards be taken, he may be required to pay great ransom and penalty, to be determined, however, by the pope, for it was his duty to have exhorted his sovereign to live peaceably, without wishing to have war with any one. As for pilgrims who fatigue their bodies in order to contemplate and revere holy places, or saints there, these are under the special safeguard of the holy father of Rome, and may proceed to accomplish their vow in any country throughout Christendom wherever their devotion may lead them. Equally secure are they in war, or peace, or time of truce, and in this all laymen have the same privilege as churchmen; and this is decreed through reverence of God and of his saints, whose pilgrims they are; and whoever lays a finger on them goes against the ordinance of the pope, and sins mortally, and incurs excommunication: so that the richest merchant of London may travel to St. Denis in time of war without any safeguard from the king of France. Finally, all labourers may securely pursue their

* Ferreti Vicentini Hist. ap. Mur. Rer. It. Script. ix.

occupations in time of war without any molestation to themselves or to their animals: and a man of arms who should touch the poor unarmed peasants would be not a knight, but a wolf, and unworthy of all knighthood. So that, in short, bishops, priests, chaplains, deacons, and other clerks, mendicant friars, recluses, hermits, pilgrims, and labourers, are at all times in safety, whether it be war or peace, and need no safe conduct." Here then we see how many of the pacific were partially exempt from the consequences of war; for it must be remembered that, before the use of modern inventions the calamity did not necessarily fall upon all persons within its reach: so that the persons excepted by the fathers of the council of Rheims in the twelfth century could reckon with confidence on a real positive result. They said, "Let clerks, monks, convertites, strangers, women, and those who belong to them in their company, be in perpetual peace. Let flocks, herds, husbandmen, dressers of vines, and merchants be always at peace, independently of what is called the truce of God."* In Switzerland we find the custom noticed of giving previous notice before commencing war, and of publishing the laws of war. The contending powers swear through their chiefs to plunder or burn no church, to injure no woman, or child, or man dedicated to religion, and without permission not to spoil the vanquished.† The virtues of peace were not suspended in time of war, but seemed only to have acquired fresh vigour. After describing the ordinary alms of the Paduans, a writer in 1330 adds, "from these and similar works of piety no adversity of wars, no rapacity of exactions withdraws them, unless they or their churches are totally despoiled."‡ Thus, in 1314, amidst the desolation of war, we find the chancellor of France, John de Dormans, bishop of Beauvais, making a foundation wholly pacific for the good of the people of Soissons, to aid the college of the diocese.§ In England, during the more warlike reigns, we find foundations of peace rising up every where. "It is scarcely credible," says one historian, "that a nation distracted by continual wars should give so much attention to the cause of religion as we find was done during this reign of Stephen." Charity burned in war itself; for nothing was more common than to see men then trusting their lives to their personal foes with a confidence of being treated as brothers, as when Paul Leca was delivered by his mortal enemy, Judicelli Casamaciola, when he fled to him from the Genoese, as is related by Cyrnæus in his history of Corsica.* With respect to men who were personally to be engaged in wars, it should be remembered that in the middle ages there were exemptions which no longer prevail. After public penance it was contrary to the laws of the church that any one should return to the military profession, as Pope St. Leo declared to Rusticus of Narbonne. Here then were others consigned to peace. Muratori is convinced that under the Longobards, even in times of war, all men were not obliged to serve in arms. He thinks it certain that the Longobard kings evinced moderation in the choice of soldiers. Under the Carlovingians the exemptions were more difficult; but servants and men who could plead poverty were excepted, though the former were enlisted as soldiers by the Visigoths. In 1340, the custom of exempting all but such as were hired soldiers is praised as among the laudable institutions of the Viscontis.† The possessors of ordinary fiefs as Castellains were only bound to a service of forty, or at most of sixty days. Fiefs of knights owed only twenty, and those of halberts only ten days' service. One effect of the communes was, that neither the king nor the feudal lord could require the military service of any inhabitant unless in defence of the city.‡ In 1315, the nobles of Champagne told the king of France that they doubted whether he had the right to lead them to war beyond their province.§ "The serfs who labour in the fields for the corn and vines cannot be compelled by their seigneurs to go to war," says the Tree of Battles, "for they must not be subjected to a new servitude." In the seventeenth century in France the enrolment of soldiers was voluntary on their part, and only for three years. The mode of raising recruits was the same as that still used in England; but there was even a difficulty in being received, for there were many cases of exception in favour of districts and employments which rendered men ineligi-

* Ap. Martene, Vet. Script. vii.
† Ildefons Von Arx Geschichte, S. Gall. ii. 616.
‡ Anon. Ticinens. de laudibus Papiæ, 15, ap. Mur. Rer. It. Script. xi.
§ Hist de Soissons, ii. 234.

* Ap. Mur. Rer. It. Script. xxiv.
† Antiq. It. Diss. xxvi.
‡ Script. Rer. Franc. tom. xiii. p. 480.
§ Michelet, iii.

ble.* Revolutionary wars had not then commenced, when men of arms were to approach the foot of the altar to tear away the children of the choir for conscripts. "If it appear strange," says Stephen Pasquier, "that in our time a king of France can hardly raise an army of thirty or forty thousand men, and that the ancient Gauls reckoned their armies by a hundred or two hundred thousand, I answer, that the cause of it is the difference of police, the one teaching principally to brandish swords, and the other to manage a pen; for as our ancestors marched in such crowds to battle, so our kings could sooner raise two hundred thousand men of literature than thirty thousand men of arms."† In the cities of the middle age we find no provision made for the residence of armies within their walls. The evil of universal soldiership, deplored by Cowper was unknown in ages of faith; and he might well deplore the innovation; for "man, associated and leagued with man by regal warrant, or swarming into clans beneath one head for purposes of war, becomes a loathsome body most at variance with all moral good." As for men, so for days there were exemptions. "Battle cannot be given on a festival, excepting in cases of necessity." Such was the rule,‡ though St. Thomas extends these so as almost to invalidate it. Philip Augustus and the French barons were unwilling to fight at Bovines on a Sunday. "I am less anxious to fight," said the king, "because that sacred day should not behold effusion of blood." At the Naves de Tolosa the Sarassins were ready to fight on Sunday, but the king of Spain was unwilling through reverence for the holy day. In 1288, the citizens of Cologne sent to their enemies to say that they would give them food for two days if, for the honour of God, they would abstain from fighting on the next Sunday, and for the sake of His mother on the present Saturday, that they might celebrate them worthily; which offer was, however, rejected at the instigation of Henry, count of Luczenburg, who exclaimed, "Alas! we are not to have a glorious battle this day on account of a timorous clergy." They fought, and this count was slain.§ Philip de Valois was dissuaded from fighting the English at Buironfosse on his arrival, because it was Friday.* The truce of God was, therefore, founded on a general sense of the duty of sanctifying many days. But, at length, the force must be exercised. Let us see with what spirit it was animated. The laws, and duties, and reasons of war were treated on in the middle ages, as Grotius remarks, by those who made sums of cases of conscience.† At the religious revolution of the sixteenth century these ancient guides were of course abandoned; and certainly, from that epoch the consciences of men seemed to be but little concerned in any question of military operations. To explain his motive in writing, Grotius says, "I saw through the Christian world a shameless license of making war; for trivial or no causes men running to arms, and then showing no reverence of divine or human law, but, as if by edict, committing every kind of wickedness with fury."‡ His own work, however, in many points, presents a contrast to the scholastic treatises. Contrary to their sentence, he decides that an innocent citizen may be given up to destruction to save a city when a superior force requires it;§ while they had provided even for the deliverance of the state, in such a case, saving its honour, by teaching that the innocent citizen ought to give himself up rather than cause the destruction of the country. Again, he seems to think that the plunder and violation of churches is lawful in war, supporting his opinion by heathen testimonies;‖ and speaking of some most atrocious heathen laws respecting prisoners, he only says, "I do not dare without distinction to approve of them."¶ Towards the close of the middle ages, however, some works appeared expressly on the subject. It was by order of King Charles V. that the Prior Honoré Bonnor wrote, under the title of L'Arbre des Batailles, the first treatise on peace and war. The Rosier des Guerres was composed in the reign of Louis XI. Still the schoolmen were the chief authorities. The blessed doctor, to explain his having taught the art of war, concludes with these words, "Supposing, therefore, that kings and princes have a just war, and that their enemies unjustly disturb the peace and common good, it is not inconvenient to teach them all kinds of warfare, and all ways by which they can conquer their enemies, all which they should ordain to

* Monteil, Hist. des Français, vii. 93.
† Recherches de la Franc, i. c. 3.
‡ L'Arbre des Batailles.
§ Gesta Bald. de Luczenburg, ap. Baluze, Miscel. i.

* Chroniques de St. Denis, 1339.
† Prolegom.
‡ De Jure Belli et Pacis, proleg.
§ Id. ii. 25. ‖ Id. iii. 5. ¶ Id. iii 21.

the common good and peace of the citizens; for if their intention be so directed, they will deserve that eternal peace in which is the supreme rest which God, who is blessed for ever and ever, has promised to his faithful."* In this very art itself, as taught in the middle ages, the influence of pacific thoughts can be traced opposing irrational fury and the reckless destruction of human life. Soldiers were excited to combat, not like animals, by noise and instruments of Turkish invention to act upon the organs of sensation, but as men under the control of conscience, by eloquence and poetry; for valour was to be grounded upon reason and the result of calm resolution. "The general," says Dionysius, "should encourage his soldiers before the battle with magnanimous words, full of divine hope, as did Charlemagne, Roland, Oliver, Guilielmus, Oger, and others."† Such were those of the prayer offered aloud by Philip Augustus before the battle of Bouvines, and those which he addressed to his army, saying, "Our trust is in God. Otho and his host, as enemies and destroyers of the Church, lie under the pope's ban. The tears of the poor, the sentence of the Church, the sighs of the monks rise against them. We, though sinners, are in the communion of the church: we fight for the freedom of the clergy, and, therefore, we believe that God will give us victory." The reproach of Achilles to Æneas, "you who threaten ἀνασπάζων,‡ could hardly have been addressed to a general of the Catholic school. Charles and Louis before the battle of Fontanet, after representing to Lothaire the horror of the intended battle, and their ardent desire to avoid it, proposed to prepare for it by fasting. It was the ancient custom for combatants to go to confession, and receive their Saviour before going to battle. After becoming obsolete it again revived, and continued through the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, as may be seen in the historians of the battle of Bouvines and of the crusades. As Scipio used to lead philosophers and poets in his expeditions, lest he should be influenced more by popular opinion than by virtue;§ so in the Christian camp were found monks and holy almoners, whom a sense of duty brought to dubious verge of battle, to direct, to shrieve, and to console. The chaplains of regiments were generally Franciscans.‖ On the manner of making war in the middle ages, Muratori treats.* Not every mode was then deemed just. If the old knight described in Gyron le Courtois were now to rise up and repeat his question, "Comment sont maintenant les chevaliers qui se deduysent et soulassent en la mortelle chevalerie?"† he would be horror-struck by the information that would be given to him; not so much, perhaps, from hearing that the individual is now regarded only as a cypher in the account, (though remembering Richard the Lion-hearted's boast in a letter to the bishop of Durham, "with a lance we prostrated Matthew de Montmorenci,"‡ even this discovery might pain him,) as from finding that encouragement was given to a reckless indiscriminate slaughter of men, and that all scientific contrivances for effecting it, were in a military point of view, deemed fair.

In the second Lateran council under Pope Innocent II. in 1139, the use of arrows and cross-bows against Christians was forbidden, under pain of anathema. The words of the 29th canon are, "artem autem illam mortiferam et Deo odibilem Ballistariorum et Sagittariorum adversus Christianos et Catholicos, exerceri de cetero sub anathemate prohibemus;" and Muratori proves, that the prohibition was intended to hold equally, whether the war were just or unjust. Until that time, the Francs in battle used only the lance and sword; but when they returned from the crusades, they brought back with them the use of arrows and javelins, and other missiles, against which the Lateran council raised its voice, as being too deadly. That the French long after abstained from it is clear from William the Briton, who describes the war of Philip Augustus against the count of Flanders, in 1184; for he says expressly, "that the king had not in his whole army any who carried such weapons." Yet Muratori proves that it was not a novelty at the time of the council of Lateran, so that the fathers only sought to extirpate a usage which was beginning to be more prevalent, in consequence of the communication with the east. The bow or balista used by the Saxons had fallen into disuse in England, as Grose remarks, till revived by William the Conqueror. In consequence of the decree of the Lateran council it was again laid aside during the reigns of Stephen

* Ægid. Rom. de Regim. Prin. iii. p. iii. 23.
† De Vit. et Regim. Prin. iii. 40.
‡ Il. xx. 84. § Cardan de Sapientia, ii.
‖ Monteil, Hist. de Français, vii. 120.

* Antiq. It. Diss. xxvi.
† Gyron le Courtois, f. ccxxxvii.
‡ Rym. Act. i. 31.

and Henry II.; but it was revived by Richard I. in his wars against the French, and his death by an arrow was deemed in consequence a divine judgment.

Finally, wars were terminated with a pacific spirit, as even material monuments attest; as when at Bovines, according to the general custom, a chapel was erected on the field of battle, in which mass was ever afterwards said on the 27th of July, for the repose of the souls of the slain. Sometimes even retreats for the pacific arose upon the field, as at Battle in Sussex, where a stately abbey marked the spot where Harold and the Saxons fell by the Norman spear. Wars were terminated with humility in the conquerors, and without malice or envy in the conquered. In 1406, on the fall of Pisa, Ginus Capponius, the Florentine, spoke in these terms to the vanquished. "All things whatsoever He wished God hath done in heaven and on earth; nor is it for us to know why God wisheth this or that. We know only the effect and the event, from which it is clear that God wished the Florentines to conquer the Pisans; which whether for your sins or for our merits, we know not, God knoweth it. We wish to keep possession of your city, merely in order that along with us you may have rest and peace, which experience shows you cannot hope for while divided. Nor should you fear our domination, for the Florentine people has not wished to exercise the right of war, but to preserve you in all things. Therefore, your city being conquered by so great an army has sustained no injury; nor have the conquerors otherwise behaved than as the most continent of Christian men. From such a beginning you should confide in the future. Lay aside all anger and jealousy, and submit to what God has willed; and we have often seen peace and lasting friendship, follow war. The fathers of our republic have decreed, that all injuries shall be forgotten, and that henceforth they will ever salute you as their children." Then Bartholomew Piombino replied in the name of the Pisans. "The great benignity of God our Saviour hath appeared, who not for the works that we have done, but according to His great mercy has saved us. These words should be pronounced with a sincere heart by all the Pisans, who must remember that whenever we have fallen into the power of the Florentines, they have always evinced towards us in their victory not only kindness, but a most singular love. It is a great thing to conquer powerful cities, and great and rich states; but to temper victory, and preserve the conquered, is almost a divine virtue, for it resembles the mercy of our Saviour, who forgave his enemies. Therefore, we all return thanks to the people of Florence, and if any should foment discord, we denounce them as impious; for, in wishing to keep what you have now acquired, you only do what we ourselves would have done if similarly circumstanced. We hope that after such grace, the Pisans may remain ever faithful and affectionate to Florence."*

But it is in the men themselves who were employed in war, that we have the most remarkable proof of the influence of the love of peace. We must now consider, therefore, what was the ideal and reality respecting the profession of arms in ages of faith. The change in the military character which resulted from the change of religion, or from the loss of faith, has been often remarked. The Catholic Church formed the men whom we shall shortly see, whose souls were their own, while monarchs had their duty; Protestantism made captains, brave, indeed, and virtuous, like La Noue, but often cruel in cold blood, and austere less in manners than in spirit. It formed Gustavus Adolphus, Charles XII., and Frederic.† It is to a type and practice of the military profession, wholly different from theirs, that we must now direct our attention.

"Soldiers are instituted for this end," says Alanus de Insulis, "that they may defend their country and repel from the Church the injuries of the violent."‡ Such was the definition in the twelfth century. The exercise of arms, even for the defence of one's country, and of religion, was thought to require a religious vocation, without which, it was not lawful to draw the sword.§ "The duty of a soldier," says John of Salisbury, "is to defend the church, to resist the pertidious, to guard the poor from injury, to pacify the province, to shed his blood, and lay down his life for his brethren. The sword is in his hand, not to serve fury, vanity, avarice, or his own will, but that he should do the will of God, and serve the public good: and this is also the glory of the saints: and soldiers doing this are holy, and promote their own real

* Matt. Palmerii de Captivit. Pisarum, ap. Mur. Rer. It. Script. tom. xix.
† Chateaubriand.
‡ Sum. de Arte Prædicat. c. 40.
§ Joan. Sar. de Nugis Curial. vi. 7.

glory, by seeking in all things the glory of God."* Such was the universal doctrine. Michael Savonarola, writing even so late as in 1440, has only praise for such soldiers as serve from a desire to defend their country, and to deliver the poor and weak, who are no small part of their country, from oppression."† And Don Antonio de Guevara, in his letter to Don Inigo de Velasquez, constable of Castille, tells him not to trust to the justice of his cause, in war, unless those who conduct it are themselves unspotted; so that Shakspeare makes our Henry the Fifth excuse himself by a plea which the school had judged unsound.

The pacific instructions given to soldiers in the middle ages, disclose a wonderful disparity in the opinions of those times with later. "A soldier," says one teacher of the duties of military life, "must always pardon offences against himself, and disregard personal injuries, and aim only at defending the general good."‡ "Soldiers," he continues, "are to contend for justice, and to be ready to lay down their lives in resisting the enemies of the common good, in defence of the Christian faith, and of the public peace, and to protect the weak and miserable; therefore, to soldiers must belong an especial and great perfection of charity: and if slain in the exercise of such duties, they are counted amongst martyrs, as was shown to St. Thomas when he desired to know the state of his brother's soul, who had been a great baron, and slain in the defence of justice and of the liberty of the Church. The office of a soldier consists principally in the exercise of mercy, for it is his office to protect the poor, and all weak, wretched persons against oppressors, and to resist the enemies of their temporal and spiritual welfare; and as this is the highest charity, we must conclude that it includes the perfection of the Christian religion."§ Ratherius, preceptor to Bruno, archbishop of Cologne, the brother of the Emperor Otho I., speaks as follows: "Do you wish to be a Christian, a good Christian, out of many Christians, and are you a soldier? Then attend to the advice of St. John the Baptist to those of your profession. But if you cannot get wages for militating, then gain your food by the labour of your hands, and fly from plunder, homicide, and sacrilege; for the Lord will exercise vengeance on all who commit such things; and think not to make friends of the mammon of such injustice, for God will never accept your oblations, if made from the spoils of the poor."* St. Stephen, of Grandmont, used to give this counsel to soldiers. "My brother, if you wish, you may gain Christ, when you go forth to plunder; but let it be the constant intention of your heart, to keep a vow in this manner: O my God! I am going thither not to injure another; nay, I consider myself on this expedition only as your soldier, seeking to save all, companions and strangers. Meanwhile, when thus compelled by your earthly lord to join these parties, hasten on as if you were a plunderer, and cause every one that you see to fly, or if they must be taken by some one, do you be the first to seize them, in order that afterwards you may set them free: and so now while you observe this custom, you are a monk of Christ concealed under a shield."† You perceive how alive were the guides of these ages to the evils naturally belonging to the military life, recognised with such precision by the ancient philosophers and poets, as when Plato speaks of the value of mercenaries without approval,‡ and Plautus of that Ephesian hero:

"Gloriosus, impudens, plenus perjurii atque adulterii."§

What is singular in their history, is the success with which the true pacific laboured to counteract them. But exist they did in every form, from that of the "cankers of a calm world and a long peace," to that mentioned by St. Bernard, saying, that "while men usurp glory they disturb peace." There were the soldiers of our Norman kings, thus described by Peter of Blois. "They are nourished in delicacies, and more eager for plunder than for fighting. When they return from an expedition without a scratch, they set-to at a drinking bout, they slander innocent men, God's servants, comparing their wonderful labour to the easy life of priests." There were the "Societies" in Italy: there were the Ribauds, on whom the crime of the massacre at Beziers must be imputed, as appears

* Joan. Sar. de Nugis Curial. vi. 8.
† Comment. Savon. Ap. Mur. Rer. It. Script. xxiv.
‡ Dionys. Carthus. de Vita Militari, 5.
§ Id. c. 2, 3.

* Ratherii Veronensis Episcop. Præloquiorum, Lib. i ap. Martene, Vet. Script. tom. ix.
† Vita St. Steph. Grand. ap. Martene, Vet. Script. tom. vi.
‡ De Legibus, i. § Mil. Glor.

from a poem lately published by Fauriel: there were men like the soldiers of Cæsar after Pharsalia, when at his voice, blind with the thirst for gold, they madly prepared to rush over the dead bodies, and trample on the mighty dead:"* there were others like those whom Spain and Portugal have lately witnessed, who thought it mattered little to the fame of a soldier whether he fought on the wrong side or on the right, provided they fought boldly and received their pay. There were the soldiers of the heretic Eccelino de Romana, who evinced a ferocity unheard of in Christian times,† worthy followers of that monster whose character is summed up by the monk of Padua in these few words: "he was the enemy of peace, and alien from the Catholic faith."‡ But all that could be expected from the church and the friends of peace, was conceived and realized in the middle ages. In the first place the evil was denounced, so that ignorance could not be a plea. The Catholic religion had decided that no kind of life was more flagitious than that of men who militate merely for pay, without respect to the justice of the cause, to whom, "ibi fas ubi plurima merces."§ O forbid it, God, would be the cry, "that in a Christian climate, souls refined should show so heinous, black, obscene a deed!" Hence, the indignant words of Godfrey, when, as conqueror, he refused the spoils:

"I set no rent on life, no price on blood;
I fight, and sell not war for gold or good."‖

"To militate is not a crime, but to militate for the sake of booty is sin," say the decrees of Ives of Chartres.¶ "If a man of arms goes to war for the sake of pillage, can he demand pay? I reply that he cannot," says the author of the Tree of Battles; "for no obligation of law or equity can result from things dishonest, wicked, and condemned. Companies who go to war in unjust quarrels without a prince, like those who do not know why they are in the field, are enemies of God, as are all who pursue wars from avarice, to gain honours and riches, or through disobedience, as when subjects are proud and unwilling to live at peace with rulers. Can a man who goes to war for vain glory, demand pay? Suppose a knight, wishing to show his valour, attacks a proud knight, who wars against some lady widow; can he ask pay? I answer no; for I cannot discover in what form he could draw up his petition. He could not allege a command, nor the having rendered her a service, since his chief motive was to render himself a service in demonstrating his valour and strength, which he has done. What more then can he ask? Certes I know not how he could ask pay." "What do you think of soldiers?" asks the disciple in a dialogue ascribed to St. Anselm. The master replies, "Few are good; for they live by plunder, whence they purchase lands and possessions; and of these it is said, Defecerunt in vanitate dies eorum, ideo ira Dei ascendit super eos."*

But it was not enough to denounce the evil. It was to be corrected, and nothing could be more simple than the manner in which the clergy and the ministers of peace proceeded to accomplish their task. The plan may have been suggested by an observation likely to be made by them, which is thus expressed in the Tree of Battles. "Through many motives are men valiant; for one will be valiant to win vain glory, another because he sees the brave honoured, another to serve his seigneur, another from being accustomed to wield arms, another from having good armour, another from confidence in his leader, another merely by natural fury, another through ignorance, another through avarice, another from the hope which he has in God. Now you should know for certain, that among all these men, he alone is virtuous, who is brave through right knowledge, and from a will directed to justice." In these words, one discovers the whole secret of that chivalry which played such a memorable part in our history.

"Chivalry, in its first development," as Fauriel remarks "was an attempt by the clergy, to reform in the interests of religion and society, the feudal and warlike class." The council of Clermont, in 1025, after the first crusade, decreed, that every noble of more than twelve years of age, should swear before the bishop of the diocese to defend the weak, to protect widows, orphans, women, whether married or not, and travellers. This was to impose chivalry on all through charity; and, in fact, chivalry and charity were to be synonymous. Chivalry, never exclusively aristocratic, for in its purest age it re-

* Lucan. vi.
† Rolandini de factis in March. Tarvis. v. 10. ap. Murat. Rer. It. Script. viii.
‡ Mon. Pat. Chronic. ap. id. viii.
§ Soto in v. Bellum, i. ‖ Tasso xx.
¶ Decret. p. vi. c. 125.

* Elucidarii, Lib. ii. 18.

ceived recruits from the popular class,* was an institution of peace; to protect the victims of war, and to obviate by individual exertions its necessity. The formula of the military profession delivered in 1252, at Frankford, to William, count of Holland, on being elected king of the Romans, shows its religious character. "This is the rule of the military life; daily to hear the celebration of our Lord's Passion, to deliver the holy church from its oppressors, to protect widows and orphans in their necessity, to avoid unjust wars, and to reject iniquitous stipends. Such were the terms."† Knights were generally created on great festivals, in order that the multitude of people assembled, might, by their prayers to God, obtain graces for them to enter well upon their career. The whole of the ceremonial bespeaks the object to which it was directed; and the history of many centuries bears witness to the good which resulted. On the defects of the chivalrous character I had occasion to speak in the first book; upon its virtues we have not space at present to dilate. The dissertation of Muratori upon the institution of knights may be consulted.‡ That generosity of a Du Guesclin to enemies, which so endeared him to them—that love and respect evinced for each other by men who were opposed in war, as when the English lamented his death, and the marquis of Pescara that of Bayard—that willingness to admit the merit of an adversary, as when the old knight in the Romance of Gyron le Courtois, declares that the most perfect knight he has ever seen, was his personal enemy, for whose death he has wept and mourned, till he thought he should have died.§ that deep consciousness of fulfilling a ministry of love and honour, which every office of the church contributed to strengthen and exalt—these were features of the military character in the middle ages, which fully justified the remark of Don Antonio de Guevara, that "to be a knight and to be a good Christian, are two things which agree very well together in the law of our Lord Jesus Christ. Believe me," he adds, "Seigneur, heaven is filled with knights, and hell with fools." The romances of chivalry, as Fauriel remarks, are in one sense historic sources, inasmuch as they represent an entire system of manners which really existed.‖ The Carlovingian Romances, which are still for the most part contained in old manuscripts difficult to decypher, represent the first age of chivalry when it was thoroughly religious. Those of the Round Table indicate an alteration, their object being to magnify love; though religion still occupied too much place in the world, not to enter into them of necessity as an accessary. In many of these, love is treated according to the purest and most delicate ideal, free from sensuality, and offending not marriage. However, the champions of peace disappear in them, to make room for men who are only the counterparts of Achilles; who will resign treasures without fighting for them, but who, if there be an attempt to touch that on which they have set their heart, will resist to the last, and suffer no one to take this from them. Thus the eternal opposition between the priest and the warrior, was only silenced for a time, and chivalry itself became in opposition to the church, in later days, when its gallantry predominated. The distinction between the chivalry of the Graal, and that of the world, or of the Round Table, will explain many passages of history which might otherwise lead to misinterpretation and error. Nevertheless, that even independent of the chivalrous system, a pacific mind had characterized the military character during ages of faith from the beginning, is clear from innumerable examples. They occur early, as under the old civilization in St. Victor, the warrior of Marseilles, and St. Martin, and that celebrated conqueror of the Goths, Narses, who never gave battle without having wept the night before, in some church into which he had retired. Similarly among the barbarous warriors, on first embracing the Christian religion, many illustrious instances are found. Witness the noble Ecdicius, of heroic fame, who, no less charitable than brave, fed four thousand poor during a famine, with the produce of his estates.* Vectius was another of these soldiers. "His whole household," says Sidonius Apollinaris, "imitates his virtues. Nothing of corruption in his indulgence, nothing of harshness in his severity, which is so tempered as to be melancholy rather than sad. He reads the holy Scriptures frequently, above all at his meals; he recites the Psalms often, and sings them oftener. It is a kind of life quite novel. It is an accomplished

* Ampère de la Chevalerie.
† Ap. Martene, Vet. Script. tom. v. 97.
‡ Antiq. It. 53. § F. xciii.
‖ Origine de l'Epopée Cheval. du Moyen Age.

* Greg. Tur. Hist. ii. 24.

monk under the tunic of a warrior." Speaking of Robert, duke of Normandy, a true peace-maker, the chronicles of St. Denis say, "he was greatly renowned for his victories, and for his works of mercy."* William of Jumiège describes Drogon de Coutances, son of Tancred de Hauteville, as eminent for Christian sentiments, as well as knightly valour.† We find many soldiers praised for their pacific works. Obizo, that glorious warrior of Brescia, in 1180, whose charities and gracious acts might be read of in the convent of St. Julia, used to go into the woods and cut down timber, and carry it on his shoulders to the cottages of the poor.‡ Speaking of the restoration of the church of St. Saviour, at Blois, Peter of Blois says, "Gaufridus, the soldier, though with slender means, but eminent for nobleness of soul and blood, a most faithful imitator of the Samaritan in the Gospel, has shown mercy to the clergy of Blois, whose sorrows priests and levites despised in passing by. His name shall be in memory from generation to generation, and his house shall inherit a blessing for ever."§ When we see men building churches, it is as natural to conclude that they loved peace as to believe that they are pacific, when we find them devoted to gardening, like Girardot, who after being a musketeer of Louis XIV. conduced so greatly to the advance of horticultural science in France. Bertrand, born in the castle of Setio, son of Raymund, and of the daughter of the count of Toulouse, who was surnamed Cut-steel, when a soldier, sedulously followed the manners of blessed Martin, studying by every mode to relieve the misery of the poor, doing no evil to any one, pious, modest, peaceable, remote from all movement of anger, provoking no one, despising no one, so that he was loved by noble and ignoble, rich and poor.‖ Another of these pacific soldiers was blessed Hugo de Lacerta, in the twelfth century, who was afterwards disciple of St. Stephen of Grandmont. In all the wars in which he was obliged to serve, it was his constant resolution to do nothing contrary to the law of God, rendering to God the things which are God's, and to Cæsar those which are Cæsar's. He used to make fly those whom he was unwilling to capture, and to be the first to seize those whom others would have captured, in order that he might dismiss them in safety.* The reader will recogn this description the attentive scholar Stephen, whose instructions we heard Of Henry, mareschal of France, in th of Philip Augustus, the chronicles Denis say, "that he was a man wo praise in chivalry, and who, above all, God."†

Over the gate of the castle of Castell an inscription to commemorate the vir John Lemeingle, marchal de Boucicau built it; and in this there was e mention of his love of peace: for on was

"Trans hominem solers, et pacis cultor et a

The book of the deeds of this pacific w as a true picture of chivalrous manners to the fourteenth and fifteenth cen possesses a great historical importanc us hear its testimony. One great ob his life is to procure peace for the C by pacific means; "for in matters that to the soul and conscience, no one sho constrained by force, nor ought one t to do it; for it should come from pu will, nor does God wish to be served th force."§ "He is void of cupidity liberal of his own. Whoever aspi high degree must be without cupid amass riches. Never, in all his life, acquire seigneury, lands, or heritage even he makes small account of hi patrimony. So it is clear his thoug elsewhere.‖ His conversation is alw God and the saints, or on some go ample of chivalry; and never does escape his lips a word in the least inj to another, nor will he listen to su "The virtue of justice shines in him derfully. No one can better practi though he never uses undue rigo cruelty to any creature born; and marvellous to consider how, by the me one knight, so many insolent and reb people, accustomed to fear nothing, brought to discipline and peace."** is not alone just, but pitious and f compassion, as ought to be every brav Never does he refuse any one, whatev he may have done him, if he asks merc

* Ad. An. 1031. † Lib. vii. 30.
‡ Jacob. Malvecii Chronic. Brixianum, Dist. vii. 65. ap. Mur. Rer. It. Script. t. xiv.
§ Pet. Bles. Epist. lxxvii.
‖ Vita St. Bert. ap. Martene, Vet. Script. vi.

* De Vita B. Hugonis de Lacerta, ap i vi. † Ad an. 1214.
‡ Stellæ Annal. Genuenses, ap. Murat. I Script. xvii.
§ Le Livre des Faicts du M. de Boucic iii. 3. ‖ Ibid. iv. 6.
¶ Ibid. iv. 7. ** Ibid. iv. 8.
†† Ibid. iv. 9.

"He rises very early, in order to employ the greatest part of the morning in the service of God. He spends three hours in prayer. After the business of the day he goes to vespers, and spends the rest of the evening in conversation, and then retires to finish his service. On Sundays and festivals he makes pilgrimages on foot, and hears read fine books of the lives of saints, or speaks to persons of devotion." In Spain and Italy men of precisely the same type were found. What pacific warriors were Francis Carmignola, who commanded the Venetian army, and Francis Sforza, general of the Florentines; the latter of whom re-established peace among all the princes and republics of Italy with the highest praise and glory; and after all his wars governed the people with such mildness, justice, and incredible charity, as to be worthy of everlasting renown and honour.* Who would omit mention, while pursuing this theme, of Obertus Doria, so often victorious at sea, and so glorious for governing Genoa with holiness and justice? Who of Lucian Doria, who gave the silver cups of his table to relieve his needy men; and when one rower asked assistance, and he had nothing else to give, took off the stud of his own belt and gave it to him? Who, again, of Guillelmo Embriaco, a name not to perish, who commanded the fleet of Genoa in Palestine, and was the first to mount the wall of Cæsarea, and who chose nothing for his share of the spoils but that emerald vase from Solomon's temple which is still preserved in the cathedral of St. Lorenzo?† Shall I remain here longer, waiting, like Ulysses, on the shores of the Dead, to see

——— εἴ τις ἔτ' ἔλθοι
Ἀνδρῶν ἡρώων, οἳ δὴ τὸ πρόσθεν ὄλοντο.‡

We must not delay. Let us proceed with the assurance that each of these brave men, who so often walked in meek procession under banners breathing only penitence and peace, would under colours, too, have re-echoed from the bottom of his heart the words of Nestor:

Ἀφρήτωρ, ἀθέμιστος, ἀνέστιός ἐστιν ἐκεῖνος,
Ὃς πολέμου ἔραται ἐπιδημίου, ὀκρυόεντος.§

As Cato said of the Roman citizen in the olden time,

"Prætulit arma togæ; sed pacem armatus amavit."*

In conclusion, we may remark that blazon, that pompous reminiscence of the tented field, while under Catholic influence, besides inspiring religious thoughtfulness, was not without symptoms of the pacific desire. Some of the ancient mottoes, though cries of arms, were full of amiable poesy, and seemed to bring the remembrance of peace into battle. Such was that of the cry of the Sire de Prie, "Chants d'oiseaux;" and that of the Sire de Cullent, "Nôtre Dame au peigne d'or!" Those of the dukes of Burgundy, Bourbon, and Gueldres, of the counts of Foix, Vergy, Auxerre, and Hainault, and of the Sire de Coucy, were "Our Lady," with the name of their fief added. The symbolism of pride, in some countries, has survived that of Christian peace, which found men to bear it meekly but steadily amidst the wars and disorders which desolated society in the middle ages; but one cannot altogether reject such testimony to the truth we are here investigating.

We may now proceed to consider the three kinds of war which pacific men waged and sanctioned in ages of faith, which were wars for justice, wars for mercy, and wars for peace.

To the first that blessed thirst we before spoke of no doubt contributed, while peace itself required them. The Platonician of old says, that "the end of war is justice." Such was the avowed and real object of many wars in the middle ages. Thus it was the love of justice which determined Duke Lewis, the husband of St. Elizabeth, to engage in long and costly expeditions to defend the rights of his subjects and avenge their injuries. Hence, in 1225, he passed into Poland, and besieged the castle of Lubantsk, because some of his merchants had been robbed near it; and some time after he marched into Franconia, to obtain reparation for injuries inflicted on a pedlar.† You smile: but so alive were men to a sense of justice in those times, that no sacrifice seemed too great when it was a question of redressing a wrong inflicted on the weak. When the crossed knights of Thuringia returned with a resolution to reinstate St. Elizabeth and her son in her

* Benedict. Accolti Aretini de præstantia virorum suæ ævi Dialog. Thesaur. Antiq. Ital.
† Jacob. Bracellius de Claris Genuensibus, ap. Ant. It. i.
‡ xi. 627.
§ ix. 64.

* Lucan ix.
† Montalembert, Hist. de S. Eliz. 97,

domains, we read, that they feared if they were not to do so, lest they should merit the eternal fire of hell. The words of the Sire de Varila, who commanded them, to the usurper, Duke Henry show how necessary it was thought to correct injustice by all means possible. "Alas! young prince," he exclaimed, "what have you done? Fi! what shame! I blush to think of it. Know that you have offended God, dishonoured all the country. A rude peasant would not have wrought such felony against an equal. Your act cries vengeance to God; and I fear his wrath will fall on the whole land unless you do penance. Reconcile yourself to this lady, and restore to your brother's son what you have usurped." The young prince burst into tears, and promised to restore every thing. "'Tis well," replied Varila; "there is no other way of escaping the anger of God."* Similarly, when Venice sent to interpose between the Paduans and Eccelino de Romana, one of their envoys, Marcus Quirinus, told the tyrant to his face, in presence of his brother Alberic and his friends, that men invested with power, if they desire glory, must abstain from unjust wars; and that if they do any thing against justice, they must be quick to retract and give satisfaction.† Even for some deplorable contests which afflicted society in the middle ages, it is but fair to remark that justice was the avowed object of the combatants, although they may have misunderstood the cause. After the death of Louis-le-Débonnaire, Lothaire rested his pretensions on the title ascribed to him of emperor, and the justice of maintaining the unity of the kingdom. Being defeated in the terrible battle of Fontanet, near Auxerre, by his two brothers, Lewis and Charles, the victors spared the fugitives, and promised oblivion to all past offences. Finally, the two kings and the army, afflicted at having come to battle with a brother and with Christians, asked the bishops what they ought to do in consequence. The bishops assembled in council, and delivered this judgment: that, having fought for justice, they were exempt from guilt; but that if any one, according to the testimony of his own conscience, had counselled or acted in this war through anger, or hatred, or vain glory, or any other sinister motive, he ought to confess the sin, and perform whatever penance would be imposed on him.‡

* Montalembert, Hist. de S. Eliz. 192.
† Laurentii de Monacis Ezerinus, iii. ap. Mur. Rer. It. Script. viii.
‡ Nithardi Hist. Lib. iii. ap. Script. Rer. Franc. vi.

Lothaire continuing to make war, hi
brothers met at Strasbourg, and dec
in their address to the two armies, t
was not an unjust ambition which
them act so, but that they wished if
by means of their army, would, at le
give them rest for the public welfare.
oath taken by them to sustain each
began with these words: "For the l
God and for the Christian people,"
Deu amor et pro Christian poblo,"
showed, at least, on what avowed prin
they acted. Again, it is but fair to ob
that the wars of Edward III. and H
in France, had so much claim to be incl
in this category, that, as Stephen Pas
remarks, some Frenchmen lost their
ignominiously for asserting the justi
their cause. Suger, indeed, alludi
some pretensions of William II., had
said that it would be neither just nor na
that the French should be subject t
English, nor the English to the French;
when Philip de Valois received the c
it was by virtue of what the Flemings
a new law, the Salic being then known
other nation. Its origin in Gaul was d
ful: there had never before been occasi
apply it, the crown having always descen
male heirs. It was not in force in the du
and counties which were members o
crown of France, as was seen when Ma
mother of Henry II. of England, inh
the duchy of Normandy; and when Leo
his wife, brought to him by her
Aquitaine and Poictou; while the rig
women to govern France as regents wa
questioned.† That the grounds for
wars, were insufficient we have already
It is only argued now that there was
excuse for them; and that, at least,
object alleged in their defence at the
was nothing else but the resolution to r
tain justice. Let us proceed to consid
wars which were carried on through m
The justice of these, which it pleases
modern theologians to place in rath
equivocal light,‡ has been admitted b
gravest authorities among those oppos
the Catholic Church, as by Grotius,
defends and extols their real princ
The men who heard Foulque de N
and St. Bernard had a difficulty of an
kind; for what perplexed many of the
the call to forsake amusements and vice
iniquitous wars for the ways of penanc

* Vita Ludovic VI. ap. Duchesne, iv.
† Recherches de la France, liv. ii. 18.
‡ La Houge de Ecclesia, 211.
§ De Jure Belli et Pacis, ii. 15.

arity. That they were about to be and intolerant by taking the cross l have been a very convenient thought me, but unfortunately such a pretence occurred to any one; for the true ds of the crusades, which rendered it sible, were always shown. "By what " asks the author of the Tree of es, "can we make war against the sins or other infidels? I will prove re cannot do it lawfully on account of being infidels; for God has made the of the earth for all human creatures rently, for the bad as well as the The sun is not hotter for one than e other; the land of the miscreants es as good corn as that of the Chris- and God has given them empires and oms. But if God has given them this, ould Christians deprive them of it? ver, we should not, and cannot, ac- g to holy Scripture, oblige infidels brace the holy faith and baptism, but ave them with the free will which God ven to them. Therefore, we cannot war upon them to compel them to e the holy faith, 'car par force ne ouume estre contraint à la foy croyre:' ice the infidels have taken possession country and oppressed the Christians re in it, the Christians may recover n them by arms." The religious on, indeed, had been decided by the s of councils; as by that of Toledo, forbad force to be employed for such pose, adding, "cui enim vult Deus tur, et quem vult indurat." The al, or rather the question of mercy, ed only a statement of facts to be d by the common voice of Christians, n. Hear how one who had witnessed ndition of the Christians in the east, s of the dangers to be apprehended. old how we are pressed on all sides. shall we be able to live securely in this of the land of the west? We shall nowhere to fly but to the sea. That end. Alas! if you had zeal for God, ould compose your differences, and n defence of the Church? Why do ercise yourselves in these tournaments, are forbidden, cruel, expensive, and ls very dangerous."* Not intolerance d religious zeal, but mercy, therefore, the crusades, which were originally aken through compassion for the ians oppressed under the yoke of the ins, and from a desire, according to the tradition of all Christian times, to redeem them from slavery and the extreme peril of losing their souls, consequent on their position. The ambassadors of the Emperor Alexis, in the council of Placentia, convoked by Urban II., represented only the afflictions of the faithful in the east, and the terrible servitude with which they were menaced if those of the west did not succour them. In all the treaties made with the infidels the redemption of captives was always one of the first articles;* and the success of the faithful in this respect is attested by the number of those treaties concluded with them to that effect. Innocent III., who had the crusades so much at heart—who commanded that vessels only of wood or earthenware should be placed upon his table, during their continuance, and had the gold and silver plate of his household melted down to supply money for the armament—began his pontificate by instituting the order for the redemption of captives, and giving the cross to them before any of the warriors whom he sent to Palestine; and finished it in the same manner when he saw the failure of the Christian arms, by sending monks and briefs to all the princes of Europe, to excite them to deliver their brethren. The argument he used was to remind them of the terrible maledictions pronounced by the prophet upon those who lived in abundance, seeking only to satisfy their love of repose, and who remained insensible to the affliction of Joseph. "Remember," he said, "how the Lord has sworn their destruction, which shall be so entire that there will not be found a man to bury their bones;" and certainly it indicates no spirit inconsistent with the blessed pacific, when having their minds filled with such reflections men left their lands and castles to suffer for their brethren in the east, who were stretching out their hands to them for assistance. "Woe to us, woe to us," cried the fathers of the council of Clermont, when they heard an account of the cruelties inflicted on them by the Sarassins. The universal Church, assembled in councils, wept at the misery and peril of the captives. If she armed princes to deliver them, it was from the same motive which induced her to send monks to redeem them. Hear the terms of the indulgence published by the sovereign pontiff to the faithful in the council of Clermont. "Let every one who has zeal for the glory of God unite with us.

ole, Le Grand Voyage à Jerusalem, f. cx.

* La Tradition de l'Eglise pour le Rachat des Esclaves, 118.

Let us help our brethren: let us break their bonds. Let us cast off their yoke. Cancel, by a work so agreeable to God, the robberies, fires, and homicides, which exclude from the kingdom of God; in order that by pious works and the prayers of the saints you may obtain indulgence. Have compassion on the afflictions and labours of your brethren, for we are all members, one of another, heirs of God and co-heirs of Jesus Christ."* The letter of Alexander III. to princes, knights, and all the faithful of Christ, is no less explicit as to the motive which should animate the crusaders. It begins with these words: "Amongst all things which in the course of mortal affairs the divine wisdom has disposed for the exercise of charity, not easily can any case be found in which charity can be exercised with more fruit and merit than if the necessity of the oriental Church be provided for, and the faithful Christians of the east defended from the attacks of the pagans; for if the Creator of men and angels bowed the heavens, and came down and underwent the death of the cross for our salvation, it remains that no one should live any longer for himself, but for Him who died for us and rose again, and delivered himself up for us as an odour of sweetness unto God."† "The sufferings of the Christians in the Holy Land," saith St. Gregory VII., in one of his letters, "make me wish for death."

That the bearing assistance to oppressed Christians as to fellow members of one mystic body, was the real principle of the crusades, appears evident also from the spirit of the princes and people who obeyed the summons of the popes. Hence, in ancient works, as in the chronicle of Halberstad, the crusade is named "Mysterium," as of an imitation of the passion.

The chronicles of St. Denis, speaking of Philip Augustus, say, that when the king heard the sad news from Palestine, "he had much great pity and much great compassion for the Christian faith, which in his time had suffered such ignominy."‡ The crusaders did not forget, as Walafried Strabo remarks in his sermon on the subversion of Jerusalem, "that as Jesus drew near to it, seeing the city, he wept over it."§ Suger had advised King Louis VII. against the crusade; but subsequently, when he learned the distress of the Christians in the east, and felt for the late disasters, which would inspire the infidels with fresh courage, after vainly endeavouring to convince his countrymen of the necessity of making a new crusade, he came to the extraordinary resolution of making one himself, and of bearing assistance to Palestine as abbot of St. Denis, under the standard of the abbey. He made his vow and took the cross, but secretly, until he procured consent from the pope. Then he selected a body of picked troops, and laid his plan of crossing over at once by sea, so as to avoid Greece. He soon found noble warriors anxious to share in the expedition, but his own death arrived before he had commenced this heroic act of penitence and mercy. The historian of the crusaders of Pisa, who begins with these words, "We have undertaken to record the things which Almighty God has deigned to affect by the Pisan people," shows clearly that of these brave men who gave the spoils to the Church of Pisa, the ruling motive in assisting at the taking of Jerusalem, and again in making war upon Mazaredech, the tyrant of Majorca, was the desire to deliver the Christians who were in captivity.* Every war against the infidels had the same origin. The letters of Adelgorius, archbishop of Magdebourg, in 1110, to the bishops of Saxony, France, and Lorraine, imploring them "to sanctify a war and call the nations to protect that infant Church from the idolaters," dwell for this reason on the cruel sufferings of the faithful.† Similarly the noble letter of Pope Alexander IV., in 1260, to the archbishop of Bourdeaux, desiring him to call a council of his suffragans to deliberate on the best way of resisting the Tartars,‡ exposes a case for the exercise of mercy, and not of the passions, which lead to unjust war. The Sarassins, whom Charles Martel defeated in the plains of Tours, had come out of Spain in such numbers that no one could estimate them; and with all the provisions for effecting a permanent conquest of the country, ravaging all before them with savage cruelty:§ that victory, with the battle of the Naves de Tolosa, achievements which supply a theme worthy of as many tuneful or eloquent lips as Marathon and Salamis were triumphs of mercy and of all her dearest interests; for what would have become of the merciful if the crescent had then conquered? The wars of the

* Guill. Tyr. i. 15.
† Ap. Martene, Vet. Script. ii. 747.
‡ Ad an. 1192.
§ Ap. Canisii Lect. Antiq.

* Ap. Mur. Rer. It. Script. tom. vi.
† Martene, Vet. Script. i. 625.
‡ Ibid. vii.
§ Chroniques de St. Denis.

ans in Sicily may be included in the category. Roger, count of Calabria, s diploma to the Church of Catana, ich he says, that by God's assistance, ut which he could not have succeeded, s with his army laboured incessantly uire the land of Sicily for the work d, in which labour the number of ldiers that are dead is known only to nd to his saints, but to him and to ier men unknown,* does not speak ne insensible to the virtues of peace. oger," these are his words, "have f planted in this land, which I give Church of Catana, forty thousand

In the preface to his diploma, Church of Messana, he says, "the beheld with an eye of mercy the of the Sicilian Church, which suf- so long under the oppression of rassins. Happy the day, and for lorious, in which the Norman first l on the Sicilian shores; for then urch of God was strengthened, the ian name exalted, and the clergy ople augmented. Happy land, in the Christian name and the Chris- ople have recovered their dignity.†" erable places had reason to bless mory of such warriors. When Lis- as possessed by the Moors, and d in 1147, by King Alfonso, who ed it, there were in that war many knights from various parts of e, who came there to fight, we are r the sake of religion;‡ that is, in r the interests of mercy in the truest ghest sense of the term. Of such a e pacific cannot complain; though for them in later times to raise their to denounce other foreign soldiers iet before the same city with arms ir hands, not "religionis causa," but recklessly to destroy the works of n, moved by the ignoble passion, t which society can only be protected affolds and the galleys. But, as let says, we have crusaders and a n of a new kind. We have faith in and the modern hero will risk as to gain a sequin as Richard the lion- d for St. John of Acre. After making e abatement in consideration of the which crept in, the character of the s who engaged in these wars for eliverance of oppressed Christians cannot, on the whole, be regarded with suspicion or displeasure by the lovers of peace. The first care of the Norman knights, on arriving in the south of Italy, was to repair to that famous church which was built in the fifth century on Mount Gargano, to return thanks for having been conducted by the holy archangel in safety. After delivering Gaimar, the Lombard king of Salerno, from the Sarassins, who had landed with twenty thousand men to demand their annual tribute, that virtuous prince offered them a splendid recompense if they would remain to defend his people; but the noble knights refused his recompense. "Mes li Normant non vouloient prendre merite de deniers de ce qu'il avoit fait pour le amor de Dieu." They promised, however, on their return home, to send out others to defend him. What a compassionate spirit breathed in that Hermann Von Salza, elected master of the Teutonic order in the twelfth century, whom we shall meet again among the blessed peacemakers: and in the old mareschal of the order Dieteric Von Bernheim, one of the companions of Hermann Balk, who first entered the land, and of whom the old chronicle says, "He was wholly magnanimous—a Ulysses in heart, and a Hector in courage."* To have been impelled to war by passion or their own will, these men would have deemed a crime deserving of signal punishment from God. The chronicles of St. Denis, speaking of some Bretons, who took the cross in 1193, say, "they were men who followed their own will; and, therefore, their undertaking failed."

In 1099, when the nobles and people of Milan collectively assumed the cross on the capture of Jerusalem, injuries were pardoned, mortal enemies kissed each other in the public streets, and a wonderful peace was made, which lasted many years, so that nothing, we read, happened afterwards worthy of notice.† Thus pacific was the commencement of these wars; and those who have made a study of history will conclude that the consequences of the crusades were pacific in blending together the different classes of society; for to the day when the seigneur and the serf departed without distinction, the grounds of more Christian peace between them may assuredly be traced. Warlike, indeed, was the tone of poets and historians when

. Sicilia Sacra, i. 521.
id. i. 495.
miani a Goes Olisiponis Descriptio.

* Dusburg. 36.
† Gualvanei de la Flamma, Hist. Mediol. 153. ap. Mur. Rer. It. Script. xi.

alluding to these trials. Tasso, inflamed with ardour for the deliverance of Greece, urges the Christian princes to read his poem on the recovery of Jerusalem, adding,

"And in this legend, all that glorious deed
Read, whilst you arm you: arm you whilst you read."*

"I do not believe," says Orderic Vitalis, "that ever a more glorious matter was offered to philosophers in warlike expeditions than that which is furnished by the Lord to our poets and writers, when He triumphs in the east by the arm of a small number of Christians.† 'Ah! be it not told that we forsook so fair a chevisance,' was the general cry,

None thought it grievous, for so good an end,
Their honours, kingdoms, and their lives to spend."

Here was, no doubt, heroism; and hence the pseudo-reformers were at great pains to prove the crusades inconsistent with the gospel of peace. Certainly, as Catholics replied to them, it was more valorous to make war far from one's country in the unknown sandy plains of the east than in the valleys of France to excite subjects against their princes, to surprise them at Meaux, to besiege them at Paris, and to fill all Europe with murders and carnage.‡ But still, it cannot be justly inferred from the difficulty and grandeur of their enterprize, that those who undertook it ought to be excluded from the number of the pacific. These men, who went to fight, to win or die for Christ their Lord, might have truly said, in the words of Godfrey to the Egyptian ambassador,

"Think not that wars we love, and strife affect;
Or that we hate sweet peace, or rest denay."§

Indeed, the care which the crusaders took before leaving their ancestral towers in Germany, France, and England, to provide for their sepulture in some abbey which they especially loved, might alone convince us that peace was written at the bottom of their hearts. Many take leave of the pacific brethren with sighs and tears, and show, by gifts to monasteries, that wherever they may roam their affections are fixed there. Baldwin, count of Flanders, setting out for the crusade, and making such donations, says, "Since through t
memory of my predecessors I beg
the flower of my first youth to
convent of St. Nicolas at Furnes."
a tender religious scene was the d
of the young Duke Louis, husban
Elizabeth, from the monastery
hartsbrunn, when he set out for the
After assisting at Complins, he
himself at the door by the side
priest who gave the holy water,
each monk passed he embraced h
tionately: even the children of t
he took up in his arms and imp
paternal kiss on their innocent fo
What an affecting look back to one
houses of peace did the Sire de Co
when he was dying of melancholy
long captivity in Bithynia, havi
made prisoner at the siege of Nic
1397. Perceiving his end near,
his will, and demanded to be b
the convent of the Celestins of Vil
which he had founded, and his
to be employed in finishing the b

The generally-esteemed holy and i
character of these wars is proof t
were not found inconsistent with
of peace. John of Salisbury, spe
the Knights Templars, says, "wh
alone of all men carry on legitimate
Hence, in the very sanctuaries
their trophies were unfurled: as
abbey of St. Denis, where on a
Suger caused to be painted the
ploits of the first crusaders. Bu
hear how their enterprize is descr
contemporaries. Their proclama
war seem to be invitations to p
thus they speak to the warriors
them: "Heaven directs you on th
peace and safety, and you choose
dissension and death. All the wa
Lord are beautiful, and all his path
Beware, lest the words of the p
come applicable to you, 'Misery is
ways, and the way of peace they
known.' We seek meekness, and n
for the Lord will scatter the nati
delight in war, and direct the
safety. O how blessed is he who
'God, who hast girded me with
and made my way immaculate.'
unlike the sons of Adam, who fi
transitory kingdom, who, not cho
have peace with Christ by a just ju
cannot have peace with each other.

* Book i. † Lib. ix.
‡ Advertisements des Catholiques Anglois aux François, 40.
§ Tasso, ii. 87.

* Miræi Opp. Dipl. 563.
† De Nug. Cur. vii. 21.

ım in nationes.' Some, alas! are
d; but the light of thy countenance,
ord, is not signed in them. If they
signed they would mourn for their
but they can receive this sign of
only by the ministry of angels. O
He who is the form of beauty, the
: of glory, the seal of life, may seal
earts with the light of his countenance,
ıe our portion for ever. I speak not
: rich who cannot receive my words.
ı to the poor. Let the poor hasten,
eirs is the kingdom of heaven. The
s will receive them; yea, the Lord of
s. As yet His house is not filled.
o one be discouraged by the difficulty
s peregrination. It is a way of pen-
but only by violence can we take
n. Despicable is the possession of
y things to us whose portion is in
nd of the living. If the emperor of
omans and the king of France had
ded with a chosen few, in devout
ity, they would have abolished the
of the oppressor, and confirmed per-
peace upon earth. May He who
way, and the truth, and the life lead
rom error those who are signed, and
them to walk in his ways."*

ansuetudinem quærimus, et non

Such was the war-cry of our red-
d knights: can the pacific refuse to
ıise them as their brethren? Even
they began with the evil disposi-
denounced by St. Bernard in his
ıition to the Templars, with many
sult was a divine peace, reconciling
with God. "The holy war," says
ardinal Bona, "preached by St. Ber-
by the authority of the chief pontiff,
onfirmed by signs following, had,
heless, to the eye of men, an un-
end. Men proposed to themselves
covery of the kingdom of Jerusalem;
od intended the eternal salvation of
who were slain in that expedition
ıe faith and for the Church. St.
ard expressed the affliction of his soul
ne Eugene, but God consoled his ser-
hen men condemned him as a false
et: for John, the venerable abbot of
lmare, wrote thus to him: "I have
told that you are much afflicted at
sult of this expedition to Jerusalem,
se the Church of God has not re-
that glory from it which you de-
but it seems to me that Almighty

ar. Blesens. De Hierosolymitana Peregri-
.

God has caused much fruit to follow from this expedition, though not such as the pilgrims expected. Had they prosecuted it as became Christians, justly and religiously, God would have been with them to crown their efforts with success, but as they fell off to evil things, His providence converted their malice into an occasion of mercy; for he sent amongst them persecutions and afflictions, by which, being purged, they might attain to the kingdom. That I may open myself to you, as to my spiritual Father, in confession, from divine revelation, I say, that a multitude of angels have been restored out of the number of those who were slain." How many, in fact, are recorded to have fallen, exclaiming, like the marquis of Milan in the old romance, "I would rather die with my friends than renounce the faith."*

"Theodoric de Rulant, a powerful and rich noble, went to Jerusalem," says Cæsar of Heisterbach. "Prostrate before the holy sepulchre he prayed thus: 'O Lord Jesus Christ, who knowest all things, if I am not to amend my former vices, permit me not to return to my country, but grant that I may die here.' A knight overheard him, and said, 'My lord, you have not prayed well. To whom will you leave your wife and children?' 'It is better that I should desert them,' he replied, 'than lose my soul.' After a few days he died, and was joined to the citizens of the heavenly Jerusalem."† But if the spirit of the crusaders generally was thus pacific in the midst of war, that of the religious orders of knighthood in particular was most eminently and avowedly so; for the express object of their institution was to procure peace for the oppressed Christian people. The king of Jerusalem, we read, granted permission of dwelling near the temple to some poor noblemen, who were thence called Templars. Of these Pope Alexander III. says, in his letter to the archbishop of Rheims, "They are instituted for this end, that they should not fear to lay down their lives for their brethren."‡ In furtherance of this object, their whole intention and mind were to be at an infinite distance from any desire of renown. Their glory was wholly independent of the result of battles. "From the affection of the heart," says St. Bernard, addressing them, "not from the event of war, can we judge of the danger

* Livre de Baudoyn, Conte de Flandre.
† Illust. Mirac. et Hist. Memorab. Lib. xi. 24.
‡ Ap. Martene, Vet. Script. t. ii. 883.

or of the victory. If the cause of the combatant be good, the end of the battle cannot be evil; neither can the end be judged good where a right intention did not preside in a good cause."* Neither high birth alone nor royal interest could procure admission to the order of the Temple without the personal qualifications required, of which one was a spotless descent. Obedience was as strict as in a monastic order, and no instance of its violation ever occurred. King Alphonso I. of Arragon, dying in 1133 childless, left by will his kingdoms of Arragon and Navarre to the Templars and knights of St. John, who faithfully protected them from the Moors. Such confidence did this order inspire, that kings and great men used to deposit their treasures in the houses of the Templars. In France, and in England, the Templars were guardians of the state treasure. Hence the reports, as Hugbertus Monachus relates, that at their suppression secret orders were given to bury their riches either under their monasteries and castles, or in the woods and fields, in old sewers and wells. Certain it is, as St. Antoninus observed, that the Templars became odious to princes on account of their riches, of which they wished to rob them. It availed but little to allege their charity to the poor, to say that thrice each week alms were given to all comers at the gate of the Temple in Paris. Their crime was unpardonable. In such haste were men to spoil them, that while in custody in Paris they had to pay every time that their irons were put on and taken off for examination, and also for the boat in which they passed from prison to the tribunal. The solemn act which they presented was singularly bold. They asserted that the religion of the Temple is holy, pure, and immaculate before God. The regular institution and observance have been always and are still in vigour. All the brethren have but one profession of faith, which throughout the universe has been always observed by all from the foundation to the present day. "Et quicumque aliud dicit, vel aliter credit, errat totaliter, peccat mortaliter." One Templar had been tortured to make him confess the amount of the treasure brought from the Holy Land, as if a treasure was a crime. In many countries the decisions of councils were favourable to the Templars. They were declared innocent in 1310, at Ravenna, at Mayence, at Salamanca. The sacrilegious F le-bel evinced the consciousness throughout the whole of his pro against them. Aimeri de Villa declares, that after seeing the Templars led to the pile, his fea flames was such that he would h he had killed our Lord if they had him. John de Pollencourt, being raged and promised protection if h say the truth, declared that what confessed before through terror w and he said that he had been fession to a friar minor, who him to bear no more false witness in France were their persons t humanly treated. In England the punishment on their refusal to plea was to be confined in monasteri merely within their own gates. W council assembled at Vienne, the refused to condemn them without them. All the prelates of Italy, exception, all those of Spain, G Denmark, England, Scotland, and refused, as did also those of Fran the exception of the archbishops of Sens, and Rouen. The order, in f sacrificed without the judgment council. The execution of the gran at Paris without the knowledge judges was, as Michelet observes, assassination. It was a stroke to a personal insult—the revocation previous confession of his guilt. T tion suggested by the fate of this ill order of pacific warriors agitated th of men long afterwards. "Prot says Trithemius, "that we mean no calumny against the Holy Se cording what was done with con Pope Clement, I proceed to tran posterity the suppression of the T whether justly or unjustly extermi is not for us to say; but to th judgment, which cannot be decei commit the cause."* Gaspar Jo while admitting that all province not have been contaminated, the in of many houses being, indeed, unq able, pretends that the sense of ne men condemned them. The contr nearer to the fact. While those t tried before the pope's commissio Spain, Germany, and England, acquitted, the people in general, France, believed them to have be cent, which is a striking circu

* Exhort. ad Milit. Templi, prolog.

* Ad an. MCCCVIII.

ering the proneness of men to credit le charges against the powerful when

A chronicle in the fifteenth cen- ıfter describing the constancy of the s in maintaining their innocence, "in consequence the lower kinds of were led into great error." Many s collected their bones and honoured as those of martyrs. Trithemius "that God touched the hearts of some ad thirsted for their goods, who after- gave up to the poor what they had from them." Many who felt remorse d soon afterwards colleges and hos-

If the order was condemned by rrar, Platina, and Dupuy, it was ac- d by St. Antoninus,* Navelerus,† Sa- ıs,‡ Henry, Pentaleo, Papire Masson,§ r Jacques Dubreuil,‖ Herold¶ Villani, et Du Fresnoy, and a host of others. Touron the Dominican speaks, though cautiously, as if convinced of anything but their guilt.* Saint-Victor does not disguise his being partly confirmed in his unfavour- able opinion of them by observing the character of the men who have lately come forward in their defence :† but so grave a question ought not to be affected by such considerations; and from a calm exami- nation of the evidence collected by Michelet, who omits no observation that can incline men to credit the charges against them, the impression, I think, upon the whole, must be in favour of their innocence.‡ But we must not remain on this ground so often traversed. Let us proceed to con- sider the third class of wars sanctioned and waged by the pacific in the middle ages, which cost no just man a repenting tear.

CHAPTER XI.

THE wars which the pacific waged and sanctioned, having peace expressly for their imme- diate object, were of two classes, wars on the borders to repel lers, and internal wars to subdue the rbers of peace. Of the first I need peak further, than to observe that they de the expeditions of Charlemagne, h sophists of late years have taken pains to misrepresent. The anterior ry and the social state of the Saxons Frisons, prove the necessity which ex- for these wars.** The treaties of peace uded at the end of each of these cam- ıs, fully disprove their assertion, that rced the Saxons by arms to embrace Christian religion; but, as Fauriel ves, "his object was to secure peace and civilization by making war upon the barbarians beyond the Rhine, who were always disposed to pour upon Italy and Gaul, and so perpetuate the horrors of their first invasion. The war was provoked by the Saxons. It was," he says, "a struggle in which humanity was interested. It was the question whether the German tribes in the rear still pagan, beyond the Rhine and the Alps, were to force, at length, those two barriers, and take pos- session of Gaul and Italy, or whether the chiefs of the Christian monarchy were to succeed in restraining the Germans within the limits, which for three centuries they had been endeavouring to burst, and in placing them on the common road of European civilization," that is, compara- tively of peace.§

To the second class, therefore, we are to confine our view, and the subject unhappily

ar. iii. Hist. Tit. 21, chap. iii.
ar. ii. Chronograph. Generat. xliv. ad an.
‡ Lib. vii.
iv. iii. Annal. Franciæ.
ntiq. de Paris.
Lib. v. c. 13. Contin. Belli Sancti a G. Tirgo.
Mœller, Manuel d'Hist. du *Moyen Age*, i.

* Hist. des Hommes Illust. de l'Ord. S. D. i. liv. viii.
† Tableau de Paris, ii. 1097.
‡ Hist. de France, tom. iii.
§ *Hist.* de la Gaule Mérid. iii. 315.

will be ample enough to occupy an entire chapter. After the invasion of Gaul by the barbarians, in the fifth century, many powerful Roman Gauls, stript of their offices, retired to their estates, and found an analogy with their former conditions, while residing there at the head of their labouring clients. Many through fear of the barbarians withdrew into desolate places, where they concealed and fortified themselves. Long before, besides their superb villas in the most picturesque spots on the banks of a river or lake, or on a hill-side, crowned with pines and chestnuts, they possessed also places of security, like castles, on mountains, and in savage wilds, difficult of access; and some nobles had several. Some of these castles dated from an earlier time, when the barbarous chieftains of the Celtic population warred against each other. These became again of importance, and were restored when the Romans were obliged to yield to the barbarians in the fifth century. Others had been built as a protection to their villas, by the Roman proprietors before that epoch. The castles of the feudal lords of the tenth century, which abound in all the gorges of the south, are, therefore, of Gallic-Roman origin, and their existence in such savage places can only be explained by the necessity of those times of barbaric invasion.*

The author of the chronicle of Vulturno, speaking of the times of Louis-le-Débonnaire, says, "at this time castles were few in these regions, but towns and monasteries were multiplied. There was no fear or prospect of wars, since all men enjoyed profound peace until the times of the Sarassins. But when the Normans came into Italy, they began to build castles, to which they gave names." Many diplomas exist of different emperors to bishops, abbots, and abbesses, granting them permission to build castles: the occasion of which was the necessity of defending their churches and convents from the persecution of pagans, that is, of Hungarians or the Sarassins."† Ere we proceed, it may be well to return once more and take another glance at these ancient abodes, which we have so often visited with different impressions. It cannot but inspire pleasure when we figure to ourselves a castle in the majesty of a forest, of which the secular chestnuts rose as high as the battlements, and in which the stags would graze by night at the feet of the towers, till the daybreak, and the horn from the portal would chase them into the de wood. What hours of thought[f] of peaceful contemplation might t have enjoyed, when from the towers they used to sit and lis murmur of the forest rising th midnight air, interrupted only by t of wolves against the moon! art too how admirable! The towe built in 1052, was two hundred eight feet in height, three hund cumference, and its walls were feet thick. Mazarine blew up th shell, but the walls yielded o earth-quake, which split them fi bottom. After riding three leagu the forest from Compiegne, with ing a human form, so that I c understand the terror of young Ph wards Augustus, when he lost his while hunting a wild boar, as is the chronicle of St. Denis, the s pearance at an abrupt turning of of Pierrefonds, in all its terrible battlements and gigantic towers, startled me. How would it have Rieux had his hold there? No river passes near it: the aspect of announces feudal power: the seven towers, each of which is a and eight feet in height; the cor of the castle are rivetted with ir sealed with lead. Beneath th which it stands in grim majesty, ar vaults; in the floor of one tower the entrance to a dungeon, at sigh the boldest would turn pale. Wh chal Biron, under Henry IV., be castle, his eight hundred disc cannon produced no other effe whiten the walls. When its destr decreed in the time of Louis XI found impossible to demolish the roof was, therefore, removed to c interior to the weather.

One cannot remember without interest in the ancient castles, th their walls which witnessed the and the return of the crusaders, the and the joy which belonged to t events. When Philip Augustus his castle of Fontainebleau, on from Palestine, the poet Helir "that the horns sounded on all to announce the happy news." T towers have a charm when one r the illustrious and holy men who them. Albert the Great and St had left the castles of their noble for the shade of the cloisters of St.

* Fauriel, Hist. de la Gaule Mérid. i. 358.
† Ap. Mur. Antiq. It. [illegible]

he author of these books presume to at for him they have a personal in-; for the play of his childhood was the grey ruins of a castle on an d mount, which had belonged to his hers: the first flowers he culled were hose broken walls, and the first myste-iffections of his heart for history were ied by the discovery of certain aper-n the ground at some distance, which was assured, to chambers that had een trodden by an ancestor of still r renown through all that barony, portrait, showing a lady all in strange weeds, with finger on the text pro-g the resurrection of the body, seemed awfully upon him from the wainscot father's hall. His sisters, alas the lready slept at the foot of the green which the castle stood; his father mother were soon to follow them: ther, who loved all solemn and in-recollections so as to be guided by his choice of a dwelling, was after pace to die on the ancestral spot, close ruins; he felt himself as a plant of that was to flower and to fade upon and so ever since the solitary wall of castles in any land awakens recol-s in him beyond utterance of departed

But why lead my reader thus aside a private history? why thus revive yself? Sure he that made us, looking and after, gave us not that capability in any retrospects. Let us proceed hat never makes one sad, the con-tion of the divine government on —dark and often inexplicable, but still lmly fulfilling the eternal counsels. ards the close of the ninth century, castles which had been built in more t times by kings, to be a protection country, were taken possession of and ted by robbers, who laid waste the ourhood.* Moreover, the actien of dal nobility underwent a considerable e, so that it is against the proprietors se castles as disturbers of the public that the wars of which we are now to were principally directed. According helet, there are three ages to be dis-hed in the feudal system. In the saved France and Europe when the rs built castles and towers, stopped rmans and other invaders, and de-their vassals. In the ninth century dal lords were the protectors, not the oppressors of their vassals. "If a man of the country," say the ancient laws, "should be made prisoner, the Seigneur of Ohsen-stein must, though bare-foot, mount on horseback, even without waiting to have the saddle put on, if the horse should be un-saddled, and without waiting to put on his shoes, he must pursue the enemy until he shall have delivered the man. If one freeman or more should fly under the right arm of a Seigneur de Rieneck, there should be peace and safe-conduct. If a poor man should be emigrating with his little stock, and my gracious Prince Elector should be passing on horseback, two of his servants ought to alight and help the poor man by pushing the wheel behind; and if his grace should meet him thus entangled in the mud, he ought, if alone, to dismount himself, and help him out of it."* Among the feudal lords of this period, two families were most eminently distinguished by their defending the country against the Normans; and these were the Plantagenets, counts of Anjou, who afterwards ascended the throne of England, that illustrious house, in which the last spark of chivalry expired, and the Capetians, whose title dates from Robert-le-fort, who was slain fighting against them. In the second age, during the eleventh and twelfth centuries, the seigneurs having no longer to defend themselves, degenerated too often and became disturbers of peace, brutal and ferocious oppressors of the churches and of the poor, though still they levied no taxes on the people. During this period, it was the ecclesiastical power which saved the people, and procured peace by the sword of the king, who, of himself, could do but little.

In the third age, which comprises the four-teenth and fifteenth centuries, they demanded even money, and became so intolerable, that kings took advantage of their position to reduce their power. In his sombre picture of the castles of the middle age, Michelet says, "that in passing under the walls of Taillebourg, or Tancarville, or in the heart of the Ardennes, in the gorge of Montcornet, his heart shudders, and that there is no need of reading old histories, for that the souls of ancient generations still vibrate within us, and we feel the sufferings of those who so long languished at the feet of these towers."† The fact is not ex-aggerated. A terrific description of some castles built by Norman plunderers in Eng-land, is given in the Saxon chronicle. They

me. S. Angilberti II. ap. Mabillon, Acta S. n. iv. 1.

* Michelet, Origines du Droit.
† Hist. de France, iii. 402.

had dungeons full of adders and snakes. In many were things loathsome and grim, called sachenteges; and no one, it adds, "can tell all the wounds and pains which they inflicted on wretched men in this land. The bishops and learned men cursed them continually, but the effect thereof was nothing to them; for they were all accursed and forsworn, and abandoned."* Matthew Paris styles castles "very nests of devils and dens of thieves;" and William of Newbury says, "there were in England as many tyrants as lords of castles." The Abbot Suger, speaking of the garrison of one of the castles, says, "they were excommunicated men, and altogether diabolic."† There were often traditions of mystery attached to castles, which gave them a kind of infernal fame. The castle of Boves, which commanded the road to Amiens, was celebrated in the annals of chivalry, as having seen the birth of the magician Maugis. The war caused by the castle of Gisors, between the kings of France and England, was ascribed to the influence of the castle of Planches, a league distant from Gisors, at which place their parliament met to decide the question, when there were between them many words to sow discord, by the felons who are accustomed to foment quarrels between honourable men. This castle was said to be of bad adventure and evil fortune, for the old men of the country testify, say the chronicles of St. Denis, that none who ever assemble there can make peace unless it be by very great chance.‡ The author of the history of the monastery of St. Florentius in Saumer, shows what was thought of those who built castles, when, speaking of the excellent and pious Count Theobald, he says,

"Qui vivens turres altas construxit et ædes,
Multaque construxit, quæ non sine crimine fecit.
Verum conventum construxit, in hoc benedictus."§

Duke Louis, the husband of St. Elizabeth, on departing for the crusade, had one scruple after all his pains, to put his soul in good estate, and it arose from his not having destroyed the castle of Eyterburg, which had been built to the prejudice of the neighbouring convent, and he besought his brother Henry to demolish it.‖ Peter the Venerable relates a vision in a forest to a monk of Cluny,

* P. 367.
† Vit. Ludov. vi. ap. Duchesne, iv.
‡ Ad. an. 1109.
§ Hist. Mon. S. Flor. Salmar. ap. Martene, Vet. Script. t. v.
‖ Montalembert, Hist. de S. E.

in which the spectre of a wicked
named Bernard, who had been
in his last days, described its chie
as arising from the circumstanc
having built shortly before death,
which was a scourge upon the n
hood.* Finally, we may remark t
miniatures of Italian manuscripts,
trance of hell is generally represen
the form of the portals of a feud
In the ancient narratives whose aw
records the spirits whelmed in wo
presented with visions that reveal
of some who built and held such
'Væ qui congregat ut sit in excel
ejus, et liberari se putat de man
Many were the traditions to verify
pronounced by heaven. "In Ende
Bonn," says Cæsar of Heisterbach
a certain noble knight, Walter, a
our monastery. On occasion of a
being tempted of the devil, he repul
but he asked him, saying, 'Whe
soul of my lord, Count William, o
lately deceased?' 'You know th
bouring castles of Wolkenburg and
fels?' answered the demon. 'We
were iron, both castle and rock, an
where his soul now is, before you c
your brows together thus, they
melted.' 'Where is the soul of
count of Seynens?' asked Walter.
we have him,' said the demon, bu
not mention what was his punishme
where is my father?' asked again th
'We had him,' replied the dem
twenty-one years; but that one-e
and that bald pate, and that begg
him from us,' meaning his wife, w
for him till she lost an eye, and
Theodoric, who was a monk."† '
of Walter was similar. Leaving
of Niedeck, he went to Cologne,
insult offered to him, and on his way
was taken suddenly ill on the road
he cried, "I shall never again see C
The physician told him of his dan
advised him to take back his wife
refused. Then he besought him to
certain soldier, whom he kept inca
but he replied, "he shall never
while I am alive." "Then he wil
before to-morrow," answered the p
and his words came true, for Wal
and an abbot of our order saw
vision, in the place of torment
persons, it is said, walking on moun

* De Miracul. Lib. i. c. 40.
† Illust. Mirac. Lib. xii. c. 5.

a voice, "Prepare fire, a great fire for
oice one." "For whom?" answered
and they then heard, "For the duke
ingia;" and news came afterwards,
e duke, who was a great tyrant, had
at day and hour.*
a former occasion, when speaking of
dal manners, we only sought a chance
great to escape exclusion from the
r of the meek, and I think it was
roved that many were truly humble
nd devout sons of the holy Church.
ght, in this place, easily demonstrate,
not already shown it, that many of
vere also truly pacific. Pierrefonds,
grim towers we have described, had
ific lords: Nivelon I., therefore little
; Drogon I., his grandson, who so
ished it. What pacific virtues in
. de Pierrefonds, countess of Soissons,
scendant, in the twelfth century, of
eat house, which had also furnished
cellent bishops to the diocese!† It
en observed, by a recent editor of the
:les of St. Denis, that it is unjust to
p the tyrants we are about to see, as
ntatives of the ancient knights and
. If such had been the general
rs of castellans, Suger would not have
as he has done respecting the indig-
of Louis-le-gros against Hue de
nne, and the war which ensued.‡
will say," says Peter of Blois, writing
ertain count, "that such manners in
are hereditary; but iniquity lieth to
for that great count Theobald and
others of your progenitors, even before
od, shone with great virtue; and your
the archbishop of Rheims had the
of age from his youth, and began
he first to ascend to pefection."§ Still
inquestionable that the evil was of
ise extent and of continual occurrence.
a sight sometimes of the towers of
holy barons, adored by monks and by
oor—by the side of these young
le seigneurs, loved by women, loved
e Church, loved by poets, loved by
eople, the observed of all observers,
reckless and cruel enemies of peace,
—still more, had one more names
dness—men of such distorted wills
hey gloried in malice; who were
in iniquity, like those to whom
hurch alludes on the vigil of an
; who built for themselves solitudes,

as is said in Job; and who entrenched themselves there to carry dismay and desolation over the country around. These are spoken of in the histories of the middle ages as being of a cursed race. The family of Talvas, for instance, in the conqueror's time, was said to be cursed. "It nourishes crime," says Orderic Vitalis, "and prepares for it as if by an hereditary right. Hence, the horrible ends of these men, none of whom were seen to die in an ordinary way, as other mortals. This race possessed the castles of Bellême, Urson, Essai, Alençon, Domfront, Saint-Ceneri, La Motte d'Igé, and other places of great strength."* Suger, speaking of Count Odo of Corbeil, says, "a man not a man, because he was not rational—but an animal, son of Burchard, that most proud count."† The castle of Montagu, Monsacutus, in the country of Laon, came by marriage into the hands of Thomas de Coucy, Seigneur de Marle, a lost wretch, hateful to God and man, whose wolf-like ferocity increasing on his acquisition of this impregnable fortress, terrified all the surrounding country. His own father, Enguerrand de Bova, an honourable man, endeavoured to deprive him of it; but some time after, by the divine will, he lost by divorce the castle and his wife, the marriage being stained by the crime of incest.‡ Herbert, count of Maine, by his nocturnal incursions in Anjou, gained the surname Eveil-chiens, the Dog-wakener. Such men of brutal ferocity used to be often called Isengrin, which was the name of the wolf in old fables. Fulbert, bishop of Chartres, writing to Leuthric, styles Herbert, count of Mans, the precursor of Antichrist, because he will not suffer the bishop of Angers to remain at peace.§ A similar tyrant was the Count William of Chalons, who so persecuted the monastery of Cluny, and made slaughter of the monks.‖ In 1358, Radigois de Derry, an Irishman, master of the castle of Mauconseil, pillaged all the country round Noyon, and stood a regular siege.¶ The seigneur of the castle of La Roche Guy or Du Glin, on the Rhone, who used to stop and ransom travellers, was so audacious that when St. Louis, on his first crusade, after leaving Lyons, had arrived near it, some of the garrison sallied down and plundered the king's people, who had gone in advance to prepare lodging for the army. So late as the reign of Henry IV.

st. Mirac. Lib. xii.
it. de Soissons, ii. 44.
. iii. p. 242.
. Bles. Epist. xv.

* Lib. viii.
† Vit. Ludov. vi.
‡ Ibid.
§ Fulberti Epist. vii.
‖ Chroniques de St. Denis, ad an. 1163.
¶ Hist. de Soissons, ii.

the castle of Pierrefonds was the terror of the country. Rieux, and afterwards Villeneuve, who held it, used to rob the diligences on the high road, and carry off every thing. The castle of Montlhéry was built in the time of King Robert, by Thibaut File-étoupe, of the house of Montmorency. When this castle came by the marriage of his son Louis into the hands of King Philip I., all the people of the surrounding country rejoiced as if the beam had been taken out of their eyes, or as if one had unbarred the gates of a strong tower in which they had been in close prison. This castle had caused such pain to the king, that, according to his declaration, it had turned his hair white. "Guard well, my son, that tower," said he to Louis, "which has caused me such labour; in attacking which I am grown old, and by reason of which I could never have peace or health; for from the castle of Corbeil, which is half way from Montlhéry to Chasteaufort on the right, the country was wholly exposed; and such confusion was between Paris and Orleans, that inhabitants of the one could not pass to the lands of the other for merchandise or other business without the consent of these traitors, or unless with a great force of men."* In the twelfth century two families of feudal dynasty were above all violent and cruel, the Coucys and the Montforts. The famous Chatellain de Coucy was only an officer, who had charge of the castle, as the title indicates. No barons, in all feudality, were more ferocious than these; they used to cut off the feet and hands of their prisoners. The pitiless Thomas de Marle was son of Enguerrand de Coucy. On the first day of his campaign against the people of Amiens, he slew thirty men with his own hand, and burned many churches. The name of his castle of Crécy figured in many popular tales of horror. The Montforts were less cruel; yet it was a Montfort who, in revenge, advised a baron to mutilate the king of England's hostage, who was a child. In Italy and Spain many castles acquired a celebrity no less infamous. The Paduans trembled at those of Eccelino. One of the most famous was named Malta. Divine Providence punished the wretched architect, who desired as a favour that he might be permitted to build the dungeon in Padua. This man applied all his mind to the work: he used to fast many days, that he might accomplish what he had conceived; and he used to be constantly entering it to see lest any glimmering of light s able to pierce into it, for he wishe pitch dark, horrible, and deadl wretch, taken afterwards, was shut very prison he had thus contrived, to perish with stench and hunge wolf howling in the infernal plac catalogue of local tyrants in Spa reigns of Don John and Don Her was dismal enough. Then we re Castellan of Castronugno, Ferd Zenteno, the Captain Zapico, the of Villaba, the Mareschal Pietr Alphonso Trusillo, Lopez Cara Tamaio Mancino, and many ot must be remembered, also, that be turbing the public peace by their op of the Church and people, man feudal nobility were in habits of war against each other, and eve the king himself. "O how man and nobles of the empire," exc ancient writer, speaking of an in Austria in 1278, "are corrupt a abominable in their studies! Yet not the nation, but the princes of th sinned: but now a great battle was O miserable appetite between princes, between lords and vassals. detestable! Now in the shock o was easy to discern the brave from t for many who had nourished the discord, and who before the war ha the loudest of their desire to en battle, showed themselves the sac most timid. Here we may learn rience that plunderers and disturbe public peace, who rage against t and who like Bacchanals rave ag churches, in the time of need, w necessary to fight for the public s of little worth."† Formidable, were many such men, not only to th but to the royal authority. Th families encompassed the Isle of F the houses of Normandy and An that of Blois and Champagne. these the Coucys. Rocheforts, and D were always opposed to the king Paris one could only ride securely St. Denis. Beyond the abbey was and sombre forest of Montmorency, one could only ride with lance c Of the feudal families some, like th forts, being what Michelet terms c that is, resolute in resisting the inf

* Chroniques de St. Denis, ad an. 1104.

* Rolandini de Factis in Marchia Tar ap. Mur. Rer. It. Script. viii.

† Chronic. Salisburgense, ap. Pez. Sc Aust. i.

monarchy, resisted and perished; others being rapidly centralized, like the Montmorencys, were soon lost in royalty. Others, from being very eccentric in feudal, became very centralized in later times; and, like the Coucys, courtiers more kingly than the king. These last, in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries possessing Amiens and other towns, besides one hundred and fifty villages, were often formidable to the cities of Rheims and Laon. They shed their brightest lustre in the seventh Enguerrand, who perished in war against the Turks. From these causes Suger found the king of France a little prince; though he left the son of Louis-le-gros a mighty monarch, having by marriage obtained for him the greatest part of France. Against feudal oppressors the cry of the Church had long ascended, and the monastic line,

"Nobiscum Dominus, Dæmon procul atque Tyrannus,"*

shows how familiarized were minds with a sense of the danger resulting from them. The Mass against tyrants, published by Muratori, dates from the year 950. The prayers are as follows: "Hear, we beseech Thee, O Lord, Thy Church, not alone worn down by the persecutions of pagans, but also miserably afflicted by the depravity of evil Christians; and mercifully grant that they who refuse to be subject to earthly power may be cast down against their wills by the right hand of Thy Majesty, through our Lord Jesus Christ." "O God, the father of orphans and the judge of widows, behold with compassion the tears of Thy Church, and mercifully save her whom no earthly power defends." At the secret the words are, "Receive, O Lord, the prayers of Thy Church, with the oblations of hosts, and in defence of Thy faithful people work the ancient miracles of Thy arm, that the enemies of peace being overcome, Christian liberty may serve Thee in security." For the preface were these words: "Almighty and eternal God, look down propitiously on the countenance of Thy Church, which groans for the sufferings of her members. For it would be more tolerable if she were delivered over to the Gentile sword than to be destroyed by the incursion of wicked Christians. Lest eternal punishment, O Lord, be accumulated on the wicked, and that we should be burdened by their crimes, suffer not any longer their severity to prevail, through Christ our Lord." The post communions are these: "O God, who with wonderful sacraments dost continually refresh Thy Church, redeemed with an ineffable price, mercifully grant that what she laments from the external persecutions of the wicked may internally, without ceasing, by Thy consolations, be repaired. Repress, we beseech Thee, Almighty God, the laws of tyrants, and of those who are adverse to Thee, that they may know Thee to be the protector of Thy Church, redeemed with such precious blood."* In the monastery of St. Maximin, at Treves, at the end of a text of the Gospels, Dom Martene found a prayer entitled "Clamor adversus Persecutores." It is as follows: "In the spirit of humility, and with a contrite mind, O Lord Jesu Christ, we come before Thy altar, and Thy most sacred body and blood, and profess ourselves to be guilty before Thee of our sins, for which we are justly afflicted. Thy poor servants and handmaidens, the ministers and husbandmen, are constrained to live in grief and straits: our goods, on which we ought to support ourselves in Thy holy service, and which blessed souls left to this place for their salvation, are dispersed and violently carried away. This Thy Church, O Lord, which in former times Thou hast founded, and in honour of St. John the Evangelist, and of thy saints Maximinus, Agricius, and Nicetius, hast exalted, sits in sadness. There is no one who can console or deliver her, unless Thou our God. Arise, O Lord Jesu Christ, and come to our assistance, and judge our cause, and comfort and defend us. Fight those who fight against us; break their pride and their ferocity who afflict and desire to afflict this place and us. Justify them, O Lord, as Thou knowest how, and in Thy virtue cause them, we beseech Thee, O Lord, to recognize their evil deeds, and in the multitude of Thy mercies deliver us. Despise us not, O Lord, crying to Thee, but for Thy glory and the magnificence of Thy name, Almighty Father, visit us in peace and in Thy salvation, and save us from the present straits and from all the evils which they prepare against us; that all may know, loving Thee and invoking Thy holy name, that thou art God alone, who savest thy suppliants for sake of Thy great mercy. Cast down, we beseech Thee, O Lord, by Thy virtue, those who conspire against the firmament of the plenitude of Thy right arm, that iniquity may not prevail over justice, and that the falsehood of all the

* Hist. Monast. S. Florentii Salmar.

* Murat. Antiq. It. diss. liv.

reprobate may be ever subjected to truth, through Christ our Lord."*

Having invoked Heaven, the clergy then implored assistance from kings or from virtuous barons who could procure peace for the people and the churches. About the year 1020, Fulbert, bishop of Chartres, writes to King Robert to inform him of the evils caused by the Viscount Gaufrid de Châteaudun, who had rebuilt the castle of Galardon, that had been demolished by royal order: of which he observes, "I can say, 'Ecce ab oriente panditur malum!' Besides this he has presumed to build another at Isleras, of which I can truly say, 'En ab occidente malum!' Now then, we implore your assistance; for such is our grief at these acts that we are obliged to intermit our signs of gladness, and celebrate the divine office in our Church in miserable, depressed tones, and almost, in silence. We beseech you that Count Odo, by your authority, may order the destruction of the said machines of diabolic inspiration."†

On occasion of the wars between two nobles of the Rhine, Baldric and Wicmann, we read that the bishop of Utrecht, Adelbold, fearing lest by their temerity the people should be injured, convoked an assembly, and then declared his horror at these wicked contentions, by means of which the people are hurt, the lands depopulated, and declared that by the imperial power they should be constrained to live at peace.‡ Churches and monasteries had, indeed, their advocates or especial local protectors, who had a double office; for they were as agents to defend them by litigation, in which the monks were not themselves to engage, and they were as soldiers to protect them against violence by arms, and insure their tranquillity. Peace against ferocious neighbours was, in fact, sometimes purchased, when a baron, under the title of vidame, or patron of the monastery, bound himself to protect it: at others it was obtained by the voluntary good offices of a Christian noble. Thus Odo the Abbot, and all the monks of Ferrers, write in these terms to the illustrious man Lewis: "As often as we are shaken by any storm of perturbation or necessity we fly to the port of your benevolence, which repels no one who seeks refuge."§ Nevertheless, there was cause for the prescriptions of Louis-le-Débonnaire, that these advocates should be good men, not cruel, not greedy, but fearing God and loving justice.*

In the middle ages many orders or brotherhoods existed for the purpose of resisting the disturbers of peace. Early in the reign of Philip Augustus was formed a confraternity of peace; the members of which wore on their breasts the words, "Agnus Dei, qui tollis peccata mundi, dona nobis pacem." They were bound to oppose the enemies of peace, Routiers, Cottereau, and Brabançois. One of the motives assigned by Philippe-le-bon in founding the order of the Golden Fleece, was that the public tranquillity might be defended and maintained to the glory of our Creator and Redeemer.†

In the abbey of Feüillent Dom Martene found the rules of an ancient military order, under the name of the order of Faith and Peace, which was subject to the abbot of Feüillent. In the prologue we read, "If I had learned the style of Josephus and the language of Jeremiah I should not be capable of describing the scourges of fire, and sword, and persecution which have afflicted the province of Auch. But the ruins of castles, cities, towns, churches, and monasteries can bear witness. O grief, greater than any sorrow, that a land, once so rich and fertile, should be brought to such desolation by the sins of the inhabitants; when he is counted the most noble who boasts of the most ignoble deeds; where no one spares the orphan and widow; where youths and maidens, old men, and children, priests and bishops, are wounded, plundered, and slain. At length, in 1229, in order that in the church all might say, 'Gloria in excelsis Deo, et in terra pax hominibus bonæ voluntatis,' the clemency of God inspired the hearts of his servants Amaneus, archbishop of Auch, and of his suffragans, who resolved, after the example of the Templars and knights of St. John, to establish a new order to defend peace, by whose powerful arm, with the Divine assistance, peace might be preserved in this province. Which resolution being communicated to the noblemen, William de Monte Cathano, viscount of Bearn, that prince, being magnanimous, wise, and benign, praised it as holy, and liberally endowed the order with rents from certain of his castles: moved by whose example, other princes, barons, and knights of the province did the same, and

* Voyage Lit. de Deux Bénéd. 291.
† Fulbert. Carnot. Epist. iii.
‡ Alpertus de Diversitate Temporum, Lib. ii. c. 8.
§ Lupi Epist. xxiii.

* Murat. Antiq. It. Diss. lxi.
† Helyot. Hist. des Ord.

bound their posterity to assist the said order, from which, we trust there will result to the people justice and the abundance of peace."* The members of this order were also bound to pray for the peace of the Church and for the conversion of the enemies of peace.

Often, however, it was necessary to call in the assistance of the royal power, and we find that kings, acting as the advocates of abbeys, were not slow to bear the needful assistance. Thus Louis le gros defended St. Denis against Bouchard de Montmorency, the Church of Beauvais against the Seigneurs of Mouchy and Beauvais, that of Orleans against the lords of that city; and so elsewhere. The frequency of such occasions may be estimated from the words of Dionysius the Carthusian, that "the military office is very necessary for the repression of the cruelties of petty tyrants."†

Wars against such disturbers of peace were deemed a religious duty, insomuch that Louis IV., landgrave of Thuringia, waged them through a fear of losing his soul by suffering the oppressions of the poor by his nobles. His sieges of their castles were so many fruits of his conversion to God; for his resolution to humiliate them arose from his remorse at having so long suffered them to devour the poor. In the beginning of his career he had been one of their number, and more a monster than a man, being termed the iron landgrave, from his custom of always wearing armour. From being, however, a robber and a tyrant he became a devout man, and thenceforth employed his power in restraining other malefactors. But Cæsar of Heisterbach relates a vision, from which it would appear that the fate of his soul was doubtful. His son and successor, Louis V., was said to have been convinced of his perdition, so that he renounced the world, and became a monk in a Cistercian convent. An ancient chronicler, however, who relates his death in 1153, says that he was pious and benign, and, therefore, despised by his nobles, who esteemed him useless and effeminate. Being provoked by their acts, he made war upon them, captured them, but would not slay them: he only had them harnessed like horses to plough the fields, which caused him to be much dreaded.‡ After his death the nobles whom he had subdued were so changed that they feared to disobey his last orders, and, therefore, carried him on their shoulders, wrapped in the Cistercian habit, to Reinhartshorn, where he was interred.

In Italy, in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, the cities and communes, having established their liberty, made war upon the seigneurs of castles in the country, and subdued them utterly.* The nobles were even made to swear that they would have a house in the city, and inhabit it part of the year, which was constituting themselves citizens; and the forms of these oaths in the twelfth century still exist. Thus Gerard de Carpeneta swears that he will remain each year two months in Modena in time of peace, and three months in time of war; and Muratori gives many other similar charters.

The Emperor Otho III., being moved at the conduct of the Italian nobles who disturbed the public peace, came to Rome, and on the steps of the church prepared a great banquet, and ordered that when the guests were seated they should be surrounded by men secretly armed. Then he began to complain of the violators of peace, and commanded their names to be read aloud; after which, he ordered them to be decapitated on the spot, and the rest to feast on.† The Emperor Conrad II. spared no enemies of peace, so that Godefrid of Viterbo says of him,

"Conradus pro pace ducès deponit honore,
Et pacis sancita facit constare favore."‡

Count Lupold, who was one of them, fearing death, fled into a remote forest, and there lived in a hut with his wife. It happened that the emperor, while hunting, came to the spot and passed the night with them. That night the count's wife brought forth a son, and the emperor dreamt that the child then born would be his heir. As the same dream recurred thrice, he was greatly troubled, and next morning he commanded two of his servants to kill the child. They took it away, but, being moved to compassion by its smiles, they placed it under a tree, and brought back a hare's heart to the king. A certain duke, passing by soon after, found the child, and took it home to his wife and adopted it as his own. Long afterwards the emperor,

* Voyage Lit. de Deux Bèn.
† De Vita Militari.
‡ Chronic. terræ Misnensis, ap. Menckenii Script Rer. German. ii.

* Muratori Antiq. Ital. xlvii.
† Ricobaldi Ferrariensis Hist. Imperatorum, ap. Mur. Rer. It. Script. ix.
‡ Godef. Viterb. Pantheon, ap. id. tom. vii.

being with this duke, and hearing him relate, as a forest adventure, the history of this boy, who was then present, began to suspect that the victim had escaped. Being confirmed in this opinion, he took him into his service as a page, and then sent him with a letter to the queen, in which he charged her, on pain of his displeasure, to have the bearer put to death. The youth set out, and after travelling seven days came to a certain priest's house, who received him to hospitality as God commands. This priest was struck at his comely air and at his travelling so far alone; while he slept he looked at his letter, and discovered the horrible fate which awaited him: so, erasing the writing, he substituted for it these words, 'This is the youth whom I have chosen for the husband of our daughter. I charge you to give her to him quickly.' Next morning the lad awoke refreshed, and said, 'Adieu, dear host,' who replied, 'Remember me when you are king.' The boy only laughed, esteeming it a jest; so he departed. On arriving at Aix-la-Chapelle he delivered the letters; and so well did the stratagem succeed, that when the king wrote soon afterwards to ask if his orders had been obeyed, the queen assured him that the nuptials had been celebrated with great celerity, as he had desired. The Cæsar could not believe his eyes when he read her letter. Mounting his horse, he rode off immediately, and travelled with great speed to Aix-la-Chapelle. On his arrival the queen presented their daughter and son-in-law. For a long time the emperor seemed lost in astonishment, and uncertain what to do. At length nature prevailed, and he exclaimed, 'The will of God cannot be resisted.'

'Quod volui, jam non potui, Deus ipse negavit:
Quæ Deus instituit, nos patiemur, ait.'

Then he compelled the two squires to reveal what they had done, and the count to come from the Black Forest and receive back his son with peace from the emperor, who left him his heir, and who succeeded as Henry II. On the spot in the forest where the child was born was erected afterwards the noble monastery of Hirschau."*

In France the expeditions of the kings against the castles of these feudal tyrants were multiplied for a long period, and gave rise to most singular accidents. The chronicles of St. Denis and the work of Suger are full of examples. "Such," says the latter, "was the zeal of Philip I. against the Baron Ebalnus of Ruciac and his son Guischard, and other lords of their party who tyrannized over the clergy and people of Rheims, that while in that country he scarcely ever rested from arms, excepting on Fridays and Sundays. Thus did he besiege the castle of Lion, Seigneur de Meur, who devastated the country of Orleans. The castle was taken by storm, but Lion took refuge in the chapel of the castle, and tried to defend himself; but in vain: he and sixty persons were received on lances as they threw themselves from the burning tower, and thus," adds the chronicle, "did their souls descend to hell."*

At Rochefort, ten leagues from Paris towards Chartres, stood the castle of Gui le rouge, of which some remains are still left; at Chateaufort, five leagues from Paris, was another castle, of which two of the towers are still standing. The Prince Louis demolished all these castles when the Sire de Montlhéry and his lineage returned to their usual disloyalty.† The towers which remain have still a black and threatening aspect, though tottering to their fall. Hue de Pomponne held the castle of Gournay sur Marne, three leagues and a half from Paris. He took horses from some merchants on the king's highway, and led them to his castle, upon which Prince Louis besieged it, but did not take it till after much time and labour. In 1108, Louis-le-gros was urged by many to punish a certain knight, named Hombaus, who held the castle of St. Severe on the river Indre, three leagues from La Châtre, for the wrongs and outrages which he committed on the people of the land of Bourges. This castle was much renowned for its chivalry and its garrison, and from old times it had always good knights. On the approach of the royal troops Hombaus sallied forth against them, but was obliged to retreat. Then in great fear he rendered up the castle and his lands. Louis then led him away prisoner to the tower of Estampes.§

Louis-le-gros could not forget his custom to sustain the churches, and defend the poor people, and maintain peace if he could; but there were so many disturbers that he had much to do. Amongst other

* Godefridi Viterbiensis Pantheon, ap. id. vii.

* Chroniques de St. Denis ad an. 1104.
† Ad an. 1104. ‡ Ad an. 1107.
§ Ad an. 1108.

i le roux, and his son Hues de
young bachelor, and brave, but
e and malicious to do evil, to prey
and burn, and trouble the king-
ais Hues had strangled his cousin
Raoul de Beaugenci. Through
having lost the castle of Gournay,
ne more eager to assail the king,
ause his brother Odo, count of
gave him no aid in this quarrel,
him prisoner as he was hunting
guards, and put him into close
La Ferté-Baudoin at Aleps, four
rom Estampes; at which outrage
its of Corbeil were very indignant.
complaining to the king, he pro-
assist them. Then, with some
of the castle of La Ferté-Baudoin,
responded, who agreed to admit
retly. The king arrived by stealth
nall escort; and at the same hour
le of the castle were sitting round
and telling stories together, when
they heard the neigh of horses
sound of knights. Much they
l, and issued forth; and this was
per at bed-time, and the darkness
ght caused much embarrassment
sailants engaged in narrow ways.
he garrison succeeded in making
the king's seneschal and some
but on the arrival of the king in per-
e siege was laid to the castle: then
es de Crecy great fear of losing
is prisoners. After a vigorous de-
was taken, and the prisoners de-
Hues was deprived of his estates,
nd confined in a monastery. "On
s of the Seine," say the chronicles,
a castle altogether too strong and
l, and it is called La Roche Guyon,
m et ignobile castrum.' The sire
astle was Guy, a young bachelor,
t arms, who had laid aside all the
of his predecessors, a virtuous and
, who wished to live without in-
hers, as he would if he had lived
but he had a relation, a Norman,
William, one of the most disloyal
in the world, who pretended to be
l, till he surprised him by treachery
stle. It was on a Sunday evening
traitor entered the church, which
e same rock with the castle, along
er traitors, all armed secretly un-
cloaks, and made semblance of
God, though all the while he was
ing how he could penetrate into
the castle. At length, he discerned the door by which Guy used to pass into the church, through which, he and his troop suddenly rushed with drawn swords. Guy, not prepared to defend himself, was slain. His wife, seeing the treason, ran to him, without fear of death, and fell on him, and covered him against the strokes of swords, and cried out, as if mad, 'Kill me, me, disloyal murderer, and leave my lord.' Many of the blows dealt at him fell on her. The traitors seized her by the hair, dragged her from her husband, and then left her drenched in blood, and as if dead. Returning, they repeated their blows till he expired, and then slew also all the children whom they could find. Then did that poor lady raise her head, and when she recognised her lord's body, by force of love, all weakened and wounded as she was, she crawled towards him, began to kiss him as if he were alive, and then, with tearful chaunt, she sung his obsequies, and, while crying, fell as dead. Meanwhile the murderers examined the castle, and admired its strength. The chief, putting his head out of a window, called the natives, and promised them much good if they would do him homage; but no one would enter the castle. As soon as the intelligence spread, the barons and knights of the country assembled full of rage, and laid siege to the castle, and then the traitor made great offers to some of them if they would make peace with him, but they all refused, and vowed to revenge the treason. The castle being taken, he was hanged, and after some time his carrion thrown into the Seine."*

The proud Bouchart sire de Montmorency, count of Corbeil, was at this time chief of the disloyal and excommunicated. His son Eudes resembled him, at whose death the kingdom had peace, while he and his war descended to the pit of hell.† In 1114, Louis-le-gros marched into Burgundy right to the castle of Haymon, which was called Germegny, which surrendered at discretion. The Rocheforts on the Marne were incorrigible. Louis attacked and subdued them. "In the country of Leon," say the chronicles, "is a castle called Montagu, founded in very ancient times, and wondrously strong, for it is seated on a high round rock. This was held by Thomas de Marle, whom we have already mentioned, a man disloyal beyond measure, whom God and all the world

* Ad an. 1108. * Id. ad an. 1109. † Ad an. 1111.

hated for his great cruelty. So it came to pass that Enguerrand de Boves, sire de Coucy and count of Amiens, his father, desired to put him out of the castle, in justice to the complaints of all the country round. With this view, he and Eblon, count of Roucy, assembled a force, and besieged the castle, but the disloyal tyrant had great fear, and contrived to escape from it by night, and fled."* This Thomas de Marle, whom Suger terms "a lost wretch, disloyal, and mad, and traitor beyond measure," laid waste the countries of Noyon, Amiens, and Rheims, raging with a wolf-like fury, having no fear of the ecclesiastical vengeance, and showing no mercy to the people. From the abbey of St. John, at Laon, he seized two good towns, Crécy and Nogent, and fortified them with ditches and towers, as if they were his own, and made them a den of dragons, and a robber's nest. For his innumerable crimes, and cruelties, and extortions, he was struck by the sword of holy church, being by sentence of the council at Beauvais excommunicated. In revenge he stabbed the bishop of Laon in his own palace, upon which the king degraded him, and cited him to appear. The following year at the council of Soissons further measures were taken to repress his fury. At the prayers of the clergy the king gathered his forces and marched against him. His castle of Crécy was taken as easily as a peasant's granary, and his men destroyed without mercy for having shown no mercy. You would have seen that castle burning as if a prey to infernal fire. Then marched the king to Nogent, and took the castle, and spared only the innocent.†

In 1130, as the cries of the clergy and people still rose against the tyranny of Thomas de Marle, the king, bent on signal vengeance, marched against him, and resolved to destroy his castle of Coucy; and though his spies told him that the castle could only be besieged from a great distance, still he would persevere. The way was difficult and heavy, amidst forests and deserts, without a road, for the tracks were all cut off by the partizans of the tyrant, so that it was not till after much wandering here and there that they reached the castle. Thomas, being wounded in an attempt to escape, was led prisoner to the king, who took him to Laon. Though his wound was mortal, he could not be i deliver up the merchants and t had concealed in his dungeons; his wife approached him, he grieve more for this restitution required, than for the death wh near him. He pretended to re ever, and died before he could Lord's body.* "Lewis," says Suger, "as in youth, so in ceased from labouring to defend of the kingdom." One of his l his infirm state was to destroy Renart, four leagues from Mont to burn and demolish also the c Briçon-sur-Loire, the seigneur used to rob merchants and int roads.† I have given but a rap of his expeditions against castle them, however, presents such r incidents, that, while repeating iron wars, I shall be pardoned f it at length. The castle of P between Estampes and Orle countess of Chartres, speaking t gros, said, "This castle was built in the midst of the land of by Queen Constance, to be a the country." Far different was ter in the year 1110, when it w Hugues de Puiset, grandson of th who, in 1092, imprisoned his b de Chartres. This Hugues d surpassed his ancestors in tyr rage, fearing neither the king nor the King of all, and depop the territory of the countess of who, with her son Theobald, Blois, a handsome youth and knight, could never approach wi teen or twenty miles of his castle where he had imprisoned nobles bishops; for though few loved, force served him. This castle the terror of the whole country Paris, Chartres, and Orleans: used to conduct all his plund continual occupation was to r lands of his neighbours, and cattle, fruits, poultry, and wine nothing, neither sacred nor pr any one dared to resist, he w loaded with chains, and throw dungeon in the castle; then i affair finished, and no more was e of him. Evrard du Puiset, fat baron, had even obliged King raise the siege of his castle, wh

* Id. ad an. 1104.
† An. 1114.

* An. 1130. † An.

y, and made many prisoners. ıip of Toury, in consequence ; of Hugues, had ceased to be to the abbey of St. Denis. ppointed provost by the Abbot shameful to permit the con- uch disorder. The countess he archbishop of Sens, with ımerous other persons, having ention of Louis to the neces- ling a remedy, the king re- ing an end to it. Nevertheless, state determined to act with of justice. The accused was, t cited, and, on his turning a tried and condemned. Suger, of the king, returned to ed it, and prepared for the g, who received no other Hugues to his summons to an, "My castle shall be for take my sword." The siege rm, and a most curious ac- ı of the progress. Two regu- e made: the first commanded g count of Blois, son of the Chartres; the second by the . More than 100,000 arms) aid him besides those of his no sooner was it heard that going to execute justice on Puiset than all the world ran in his punishment—men, ren, monks, and priests, all assistance. The strength of sisted in a round tower and wood raised on an eminence, rampart, defended by a pali- itch with a parapet. Along ı was a great curtain flanked, with turrets. The troops to scale the mound, but a ows and the steepness of the ed their efforts, and after r they were obliged to retreat. ustic implements were then mixed with oil and fat, and to this mass, which the wind the castle, another assault t the flames prevented the m advancing, and a fall of nguished the fire. The be- shouts of joy, and the king ed to the mortifying necessity his enterprise. Among the ected from all sides was the neighbouring parish, whose on the king's triumphing. ect of a mine seemed to him much time. Bareheaded he mounted alone on a different side, gained the foot of the palisade, by his extraordinary force of arm burst through and signed to his companions to follow him. His parishioners, who loved him, ran with hatchets to his succour, and made a breach before the besieged were aware of their attempt. Then the troops rushed to the assault, and, in spite of the desperate resistance of the garrison, carried the place, and hoisted the standard of the count. The Seigneur du Puiset, with a few men, retired into the wooden dungeon, but being wounded at the entry surrendered his sword. The king spared his life, put up to sale by auction all his furniture, dismantled the castle, preserving only the principle tower, and conducted him prisoner to Chateau-Landon.* Suger adds, that the castle was razed to the ground as a place of Divine malediction.

Louis VII., who succeeded his father, had frequent occasion to wage similar wars for the sake of peace. Thus he razed the castle of Monceaux, belonging to the count of Montmorency, and at the entreaty of the abbots of the province marched an army against the count of Claremont, in Auvergne, and his nephew, William, Count of Puy, and against the Viscount de Polignac, who by the instinct of the devil were accustomed to pass their lives in plundering the churches, capturing travellers and pilgrims, oppressing the poor, and depopulating the country.† These men he captured, and kept in prison until they swore to renounce their habits. Some time after, William, count of Challon, following their diabolic footsteps, with the aid of the bands vulgarly called the Brabantins, ravaged the country, and mercilessly, slew the monks of Cluny with a number of the people who came out processionally to meet them without weapons, but only armed with their sacred vestments, and crosses, and reliquaries. At the fame of this barbarity, the king marched against him, and took possession of his castle, and divided his lands between the duke of Burgundy and the count of Nevers.‡

The remonstrances of the clergy were not, however, always effective, nor was it sufficient to have aid from a distance where the disturbers of peace were multiplied and active. In the year 1020, Bouchart à la Barbe held a castle in an island of the

* Dom. Gervaise, Hist. de Suger, Liv. ii.
† Hist. Ludovic VII. ap. Ducheme, tom. iv. p. 417. ‡ Id.

Seine, from which he greatly injured the abbey of St. Denis and its people. The Abbot Vivien complained to King Robert, who admonished that lord to cease, and on his continuing, the king demolished the castle. Then for the sake of peace, and by consent of the abbot, he permitted the erection of a fortress three miles from St. Denis, at Montmorency, near the fountain St. Walery, on condition that he should do homage for it to the abbot. This was the feudal castle of the abbey, called Montjoie, which became the war-cry of the kings of France. The church, therefore, scrupled not to use force in defence of the people, and to procure peace, and hence arose the custom of bishops and abbots having castles, which our antiquarians, like Grose, have noticed, without explaining the cause. From the fifth century we have seen that some castles were erected for the maintenance of security and peace. Such was the origin of many that date from the middle ages. Speaking of Leopold, duke of Austria, surnamed Glorious, and also father of the clergy and of his country, the celebrated Thomas Ebendorfferus de Haselbach says, that he was so much a prince of peace, that even beyond the limits of his own dominions he erected, with consent of Lewis, son of Otho, duke of Bavaria, the castle of Scheneding, and efficaciously delivered monasteries and other places dedicated to God from divers oppressions.* Similarly the reason why Guillaume de Roches, seneschal of Anjou, built the castle of La Roche-au-Moine, on the Loire, was in order to protect the road from Angers to Nantes; for before it was built robbers used to issue from a very strong castle standing on the other side, named Rochefort, belonging to Paien de Rochefort, a knight of great valour, but addicted to rapine, and to take from his neighbours, and the labourers, and merchants, and others who travelled that way.† The building of castles was, therefore, not necessarily unbecoming in pacific men, and accordingly we find castles in the hands of churchmen, who built or held them for the sake of obtaining peace. They had first tried all gentle methods of protection: they had legislated, for no plunderer or usurer could make a testament;‡ and the oblations of those who oppressed the poor could not be received.* The c Paris made a distinction in favo plunderer's wife, which is most re "Let her live sparingly," says th "of the things which her husba ters to her from his spoils; no can give them to her, since the his own, but because she is the a those that have been plundered, t orate their cause, softening the her husband, and inducing him condign restitution: but if she heart of her husband impenitent corrigible, and that she cannot p him to make restitution, she is the to seek separation of board from h to beg from friends or others for h tenance, rather than partake of suc profit; and if she come to sickne crepitude, or to such destitution one would give her bread in the death, then in that necessity she n food from her husband, not with a tion, like his, of rapine, but with tention of restoring it when Go her opportunity." The clergy h appealed to their advocates, or to t Invested as they were, with se power, it only remained for the all these means were insufficient, vide by such forcible measures authorized by law personally for t rity and peace of the people, so as the prediction that the Lord wo leave them without assistance in of the proud.

The laws of the last Roman empe given bishops an absolute power municipalities, which, on the ru empire, subsided into a feudal se the inhabitants, in order to esc tributes and service required by th bouring counts and barons, a placing themselves under the crosi prelates which Thierry designates as nal despotism,† and Fauriel, "a ment eminently popular, resultin necessity; the bishops by the things, becoming the chief temporal trates of cities."‡ Extraordinary stances had also established in G a number of ecclesiastical sovere the gentle and pacific character of may be estimated from the old proverb, "Unterm Krummstabe wohnen." We may remark by t

* Thom. Eb. Hasel. Chronic. Austriacum, ap. Pez. Rer. Aust. Script. ii.
† Chroniques de St. Denis, an 1214.
‡ Concil. Parisiense, an. MCCXII. ap. Martene, Vet. Script. vii.

* Statuta Canonica, ap. Canisii Lect.
† Lettres, xv.
‡ Hist. de la Gaule Mérid. i. 385.

ever in these pacific governments a question to pass capital sen- against the spiritual enemies of wer which reigned. Against the ers of peace, they were, however, ic; and these were of two kinds. the communes were forming in the century, the bishops were often in- to resist the proposed innovation; is brought on grievous altercations mbats. In the south of France, it the bishops were generally disposed ir and protect the communes,* but in th they opposed them in many places, Cambrai, Laon, where the Bishop was more a soldier of fortune than te, and where his Archdeacon An- mpathised with his fellow citizens; Rheims, where, however, Guillaume mpagne restored the privileges of izens. Yet in the insurrection of ai, in 1024, the Bishop Gerard, we ad great compassion on his subjects, sired to exercise towards them mercy t justice.† After a later attempt, in the Bishop Gaucher interceded for olted subjects before the Emperor V. At Noyon, in 1098, Baudri de inville, the bishop, had no aversion institution of communes, but on trary preferred complying with the of the citizens.‡ At Amiens, in the Bishop Geoffrey, whom the honours as a saint, yielded without and gratuitously, to the wish of the s, and concurred with them in the n of a municipal government.§ On er hand, the atrocious and impious r in which these insurrections were as at Mans, Laon, Rheims, and may explain the conduct of other s, as also the language of St. Ber- guibert de Nogent, and the chroni- f St. Denis, were unable to perceive stice or expediency of measures had such advocates. The contests n the bishops and citizens of Liege, ne thirteenth till the eighteenth cen- ndicate more the existence of tur- spirits among the latter, than the of the former, who made common with the citizens against the nobles heir demands became exorbitant. the duke of Burgundy first attacked he appealed to the fact of their im- nd cruel conduct, whereas the bene- ficent and liberal acts of such bishops as John of Walenrode, John of Hinsberg, Erard de la Marck, and Louis de Bourbon, could not be denied by their enemies. Where the fault was on the side of the prelate, the case has been contemplated and accounted for from the earliest times of the Church, as when St. Augustin said: "All who desire earthly things, and prefer earthly felicity to God, and all who seek their own and not the things of Jesus Christ, pertain to that state which is mystically called Babylon, and has a diabolic king; and all whose affections are set on things above, and who meditate on celestial things, who are mild, and holy, and good, pertain to the spiritual Jerusalem, whose king is Christ. These two states are for the present mixed together, so that sometimes those who belong to the Babylonian state administer the things which pertain to Jerusalem; while, again, those pertaining to Jerusalem administer sometimes the things which belong to Babylon."* The protection of peace was an object of episcopal solicitude in early times. In the annals of the monastery of Nuys, on the Rhine, a house seven leagues from Cologne, we read of Adelwin, archbishop of Cologne, in 690, that "he deserved praise for being studious to preserve peace and public tranquillity."†

The feudal tyrants, in later times, formed another class of disturbers of peace against which the power of the bishops and abbots might be exercised without compromising their pacific character. Let us hear the old chronicles. Baldwin de Lutzelinburg, on being elected archbishop of Treves, came as an angel of peace to heal the troubles and discords of the diocese. His first act was to give strict orders to all officers that not by tyrannical rigour, but by striking salutary fear, they should compel all persons to live at peace. Then, on the holy day of Pentecost, in all the sweetness of peace and concord, he made his solemn entry into Treves while the clergy and people sung "cives apostolorum pacem portaverunt, patriamque illuminantes hodie advenerunt." His love of peace and justice was, indeed, memorable. He built many castles near those of the robbers, by means of which he kept them constantly besieged, and thus compelled them to leave the people in peace. Every where he was

uriel, Hist. de la Gaulé Méridionelle.
ipt. Rer. Franc. tom. xiii. 476.
erry, lett. xv. ‡ Id. xix.

* In Ps. 61.
† Annales Novesienses, ap. Martene, Vet. Script. iv.

extolled as the defender of merchants and the enemy of the unjust, sparing not even his own brother when he was convicted of a crime. Thus he lived, ever defending the cause of the poor, appeasing discords among his subjects, and quickly terminating every process. As another Solomon, he deserved the title of "Sapiens et pacificus." The splendour of his court is then described; but what is remarkable, we find that on his tomb was commemorated, among his other merits, the number of castles he had built, and of robbers' castles which he destroyed.

"Gelsbergh damnavit, Ruflnberch ædificavit,
Heynselbach stravit, Helekrus Sasztoch nichilavit;
Pacis et erector, rector, jubar utile turbis
More beatorum construxit claustra bonorum.
Atque tyrannorum destruxit castra malorum."*

Speaking of Bruno, archbishop of Cologne, an old writer says: "As soon as this son of peace entered to be guardian of the churches, it would be impossible to describe the despair of all who in the kingdom were the enemies of peace." "Under his government," says another, "such peace and justice prevailed, that it seemed to be a return of the golden age. When he was at leisure, no one seemed to be more occupied; and when he was occupied, he seemed to be at leisure." On his tomb was this line:

"Bruno pacificus vir bonus atque pius."†

A similar testimony was on that of Otho, archbishop of Milan, of the Visconti family:

"Intrepidus pastor, quem moles nulla laborum
Ardua devicit, populo latura quietem."‡

A monk, after describing the horrible devastations and sacrileges committed by the Lord de Salmis, and the firmness and goodness of James, archbishop of Metz, through whom they fully expected deliverance, adds: "Nevertheless, since the time of having mercy upon us had not yet arrived, and that it might be more clearly shown to us, 'quia melius est confidere in Domino, quam confidere in homine: et quia maledictus est qui ponit carnem brachium suum,' the assistance of Bishop James is immediately withdrawn from us; and because we too much trusted in that bishop, we were made to experience that 'bonum est sperare in Domino, quam sperare in principibus.' For when we hoped to be delivered from the hands of the Lord de Salmis by that bishop, he took to his bed and died of an internal inflammation."*

Muratori says, that there was no bishop who had not, at least, some one castle, and many had several. There were few monasteries of great name which had not also castles under them, which were either the gifts of kings or the offerings of contrite nobles, or the fruit of purchase. Some also were built by abbots.† The tower of Garigliano was built in the ninth century, by the monks of Monte-Cassino, to be an asylum in the event of an invasion from the Sarassins. In the tenth century, when the Huns or Tartars came into Germany, aided by the domestic feuds of the nobles, and carried devastation before them, Engelbert, abbot of St. Gall, by the advice of the holy Wiborad, built two castles, one at Sittern, on a hill in the forest, about two hours distant from St. Gall; and the other on the island of Wasserburg, in the lake of Constance, which he furnished with arms and provisions, and materials for making shields and arrows: he sent the books to the island of Reichenau, the oldest and youngest monks into the castle of Wasserburg, with the injunction as far as possible to keep open the communication by the lake with boats, while he placed himself, with some of his boldest men, in the castle of Sittern, where the peasants and all the inhabitants of the abbey took refuge. None remained but the virgins, enclosed at St. Maugis, rather than leave whose beloved walls they chose to die; and Heibald, a monk of noble origin, but weak in intellect, who refused to depart with the rest, on the ground that the treasurer had given him no leather for shoes. The Huns arrived on the 1st of May, 925, their advance being foreshown by the smoke of burning houses, to which they set fire on their way. At St. Gall they hunted for concealed treasure, burned two of their company for having thrown down from the tower the gilt image of St. Gall, raised it up again, and took their

* Gesta ejus, ap. Baluze, Miscell. i. Gesta Trevirens. Arch. ap. Martene, Vet. Script. iv.
† Vita ejus à Ruotgers. ap. Leibnitz, Script. Brunsvic. Illust.
‡ Chronic. Francis Pepini, ap. Mur. Rer. It. Script. ix.

* Chronic. Senoniensis, Lib. v. cap. 8. ap. Dacher. Spicileg. iii.
† Mur. Antiq. It. diss. lxxi.

repast sitting on the grass. Then they commenced a martial game; and having a priest in their company as interpreter, they forced him to cut off his tonsured crown with his own hands in a ludicrous manner; after which they were about to behead him, when they suddenly received intelligence that there was a castle near full of armed men, upon which they set off for Constance. On their departure, Abbot Engelbert sallied out, intercepted their road, attacked and routed them, and made one prisoner, who had been wounded. The nuns and Heribald meanwhile had fled to the nearest mountain. The Huns joined the main body of their army on the Rhine, and descended upon Alsace and Burgundy, but were finally annihilated. When the abbot was assured of their departure, he returned to the abbey, had the church and abbey again blessed by Noting, bishop of Constance, and the Hungarian prisoner instructed in the Christian religion by the monks, who, with Heribald, had come into the castle baptized and placed him in a condition to marry and leave posterity.* The abbots of Lobbes built at Thuin a castle, in order to protect their abbey of Alne. James de Basoche, a holy and charitable bishop of Soissons in the thirteenth century, rebuilt the castle of Sept-Mons, forming a mass of towers of different dimensions, commanded by a lofty dungeon.† John, archbishop of Treves, acquired many castles from different noblemen, and built others, in order to secure peace and defend the people from the robbers' castles. This was the prelate who, during the troubles of succession which ensued on the death of the Emperor Frederic, governed with such admirable prudence and religious circumspection, that the peace of his diocese was preserved. Perplexed between law and king, he walked so cautiously between Innocent and Philip, that he neither wounded the one nor could be injured by the other; and at his death chose to be buried, not in his cathedral, but in a convent of monks; not in their church, but in the chapter; not in pontificals, but in the habit of the poor.‡ His successor in 1212, Theodoric, a pacific man of great prudence, built the noble castle beyond the Rhine, against the powerful tyrants of that region, which he called Mount Thabor. His close ally and friend, Engelbert, archbishop of Cologne—that column of the Church and consolidator of the kingdom—acquired for the church of Cologne the castle of Thúrun. This Engelbert valiantly defended the country from tyrants till Frederic, count of Ysemberg, his nephew, in 1225, assassinated him with demoniac cruelty on the vigil of St. Willibord, near the town of Suvelme, whither he was going to consecrate a church on the next day.* That nothing but the pacific end in view could have justified such demonstrations of power in the clergy, was well understood in the middle ages. "Some bishops," says Peter of Blois, "abusively call baronies and regalia the alms of ancient kings, and reduce themselves to the most shameful servitude by adopting the title of barons. I fear lest the Lord may say of them, 'ipsi regnaverunt, et non ex me.' You have the office of a pastor, not of a baron."† Ratherius, bishop of Verona, whose description of the episcopal duties will show what perfection was then required, speaks of certain men who are Maccabees, rather than bishops, and proves the necessity of studying the mystic sense of parts of the Old Testament, adding, "What mean these brave and victorious Maccabees, but the battles which you must sustain with the arms of daily prayer against your visible and invisible enemies."‡ Muratori§ produces many passages from writers of the twelfth century, which show with what perspicuity and eloquence the general duty of the pacific orders was explained and enforced; but one may regret that he does not allude to the causes which often existed to justify such acquisitions of the clergy. The complaints of some might remind one of Æsop's wolf, who told the sheep that their having dogs and shepherds was contrary to the gentleness of which they made profession. Still it is not to be denied that abuses followed. But let us observe how well, and with what effect, these were exposed at the time. "Attend, I pray you, pontiffs of our age," says an abbot, "to the memory which you will leave behind—memory of the construction, not of churches but of castles, which you build on lofty precipitous mountains, with the sweat of the poor and the mite of widows: to what purpose, unless that men,

* Eckehard in Cas.
† Hist. de Soissons, ii. 133.
‡ Gesta Trevirensium Arch. ap. Martene, Vet. Script. iv.

* Gesta Trevirensium Arch. ap. Martene, Vet. Script. iv.
† De Institut. Episcopi.
‡ Prolog. ap. Marteno, Vet. Script. ix.
§ Antiq. It. lxxi.

not demons may be kept off; that the bound may groan there in prison, and faint in punishment; that there sinners may be, not converted, but punished; and punished, not to the pardon of sins, but to the satisfaction of your revenge. O ye holy lords, ministers of our God, of whom we now speak, with a wiser counsel, did you construct monasteries with the oblations of the faithful and the property of the churches! Thence were driven away demons, and there the poor man was received, the sinner converted, and the religion of holy simplicity and of blessed poverty preserved, while day and night the name of the Lord was without ceasing praised."* The remonstrances of such men were not in vain. During the quarrel between Albert count of Namur, and Godfrey, duke of Bouillon, uncle to the celebrated Godfrey, the former intending to take possession of the castle of Mirvold, Henry, bishop of Liege, to prevent him, purchased it from the Countess de Monte, and put it in repair, leaving soldiers in it, with intention to defend the province. These, however, used to plunder the country and spare neither the poor nor the monks of St. Hubert, to which abbey it was very near. Theodoric, the abbot, therefore, perceiving that this would render vain all his labours, and expose posterity to many dangers, besought Henry, the bishop, to remove the source of so much disquietude; and he, fearing to offend such a holy man, gave up to him the legal possession of the castle, placing monks of that abbey in the church of St. Michael within its walls, and appointing the abbot to take charge of the fortress: but he for a while refused, saying that he knew how to keep a cloister, not a castle. At length, however, he was persuaded to undertake it, lest he should offend a powerful personage. Henry, the bishop, spent the next Christmas in the abbey of St. Hubert; and the abbot, after many solicitations, followed him on his departure to Liege, and arrived there in the Paschal week. The bishop received him with the customary words: "Surrexit Dominus vere;" to whom the abbot, instead of making the usual response, said, "Et appareat Henrico hodie;" a solemn admonition, not lost upon the bishop, who benignly conversed with him, and then leading him into the chapel, sat down. After remaining some time silent, he said, with tears in his eyes, and looking up to heaven, "I know what you seek, dearest father; I know what you desire, and how you fear for the future, from the malice of the present time; of which, lest I should give occasion, I give you permission to destroy the castle as you have so long wished." The abbot wept for joy, and fell at his feet. Then he wrote instantly to Lambert, who had charge of the castle, and commanded him to pull down that altitude of Satan. On the receipt of his letter, Lambert mounted his horse, and went about the neighbourhood, requiring all persons to come to the castle, as if some great danger was expected. The rustics being assembled, and a great number of carpenters, at noon Lambert returned to the castle, and mounting up to the tower, said he would not taste food till he saw the pinnacle thrown down. The rustics, excited by his example, rushed on as if against the public enemy of the province, and climbing upon the roof and towers, began to tear up beams and cast down battlements, and the work of so much time and expense was soon demolished. The next day, when the abbot was returning from the bishop, being arrived at the spot whence formerly the tower was visible, and seeing it no longer, he alighted from his horse and kissed the ground, and devoutly sung Te Deum laudamus; and when he reached the spot and saw the ruins, raising up his hand against them he said, "Dissolvat te virtus omnipotentis Dei, qui nutu suo muros Jericho corruere fecit;" nor did he cease till he procured other labourers to raze the walls to the ground, and level even the soil, leaving standing on the mount only the church of St. Michael, in which were placed brethren to serve it, as in a desert.*

Let us now witness the feudal power of the bishops employed, like that of the kings, in resisting and subduing the tyrants who disturbed peace. "I have often asked for peace both with prayers and with offers of money, and I could never obtain it from this child of perdition." Such were the words of the abbot of Vezelay in 1158, speaking of the count of Nevers.† Against such men the soldiers of the Church were called to act. Fulbert, bishop of Chartres, who died in 1028, is styled, "Desolatorum consolator, prædonum et latronum refrenator."‡ Yet how repugnant were such actions to his nature, may be collected

* Ruperti Abbatis in Vitam Altmanni Episcop. Pataviensis, ap. Pez. Script. Rer. Aust. i.

* Hist. Andaganensis Monast. ap. Martene, Vet. Script. iv.

† Chronique de Hugues de Poitiers.

‡ Fulberti Carnotens. op.

from his expression on one occasion, when he desired Count Odo to destroy the robber-castles of which we have already spoken. "If Count Odo dissembles," he says, "it will remain for me to ask assistance from the king; and if he, too, should neglect to give it, what else is left for me but to dismiss these things and serve Christ more secretly."* Nor was he singular in shrinking from such employment. Franco bishop of Liege, having taken up arms in defence of the people when the Normans, under Cruel Godefrid, mounted the Rhine and the Meuse, devastating the country; and having delivered it from these invaders, nevertheless, in consideration of the blood which had of necessity been shed, abdicated the office of the altar.† Others, however, conceived a similar idea of their obligations, and had less scruples after acting with energy. Frederic, patriarch of Aquileia in the time of the Emperor Charles III., repressed the invasion of the Hungarians when that cruel horde first came to the borders; in allusion to which, we read upon his tomb, in Aquileia, these lines:—

"Pannoniæ rabiem magno moderamine pressit,
Et pacem afflictæ contulit Italiæ."‡

Leodoinus, bishop of Modena, fortified that city, and an inscription was placed on the walls to commemorate his having done so, which ended thus:—

"Non contra Dominos erectus corda serenos,
Sed cives proprios cupiens defendere tectos."§

But it was against the feudal tyrants that the temporal power of the clergy was chiefly exerted. When Arnold was archbishop of Treves, one tyrant above all the rest was notorious, like another Nero. This was Conno Marschalcus, to whom was committed the castle of Thurun, belonging to the duke of Bavaria. The details of his cruelties are horrible. The archbishop, roused like a lion, having convoked his friends, besieged this castle, all the people of the country assisting him, through hatred of the inhuman lord. After two years it was taken, though the duke had endeavoured to raise the siege and remove the archbishop. The garrison being reduced by famine, surrendered the castle to the archbishop of Cologne, because one tower was within the jurisdiction of that church, and he had united his forces with the troops of the other archbishop. The latter, through gratitude to God for such a triumph, built in memory of it the chapel in Bisidenberg. This was the archbishop, who fortified with walls the cities of Treves and Coblentz, and who built many castles. Having finished his days in peace and concord with all men, he was buried in one corner of the choir, Theodoric being entombed in the other; and this, not without a mystic meaning, as being the two luminaries of the church of Treves who preserved the peace of their people, by building and acquiring the castles of Monthabor, Kilburg, Thurun, Stolztinvels, Hardinvels, and fortifying their cities. To the good they showed themselves benign and tractable pastors in all things with fervent affection, while with all their force they resisted the wicked. May their memory remain with us men for evermore, and their souls rest with God in peace. Amen.* In 1016, the castle of Skiva, belonging to the tyrant Adalbert, was a great scourge to the territory of Treves, when Poppo governed that see, for the troops of this castellan used to sally forth and carry devastation even into the archbishop's court. After many complaints and counsels a certain soldier, named Siko, proposed to make an attempt to win the castle. So one day he went to the gate, knocked, and begged a cup of wine, urging great distress. It was quickly brought to him; and after drinking he said to the butler, "Tell your lord that I feel most grateful, and that before long I hope to repay him for his kindness." After some time he prepared thirty hogsheads, in each of which he concealed a soldier, and an extra sword; and choosing sixty others, whom he dressed as peasants, to carry them, he arrived with all his merchandise at the gate of the castle. On knocking and being asked from within who he was, and what he wanted, he replied, "Tell your lord, that out of gratitude for the drink he gave me I have brought him a present of wine, as I promised." The servant having taken back this message, returned with orders to admit the men. The hogsheads, then, being placed before Adalbert, the porters, at a signal given, opened them all at the same moment. Then seizing the extra sword within each, while the soldier leaped

* Fulberti Carnotens. op. Epist. lxx.
† Gesta Episc. Leodiensium, ap. id. iv.
‡ Vitæ Patriarch. Aquil. ap. Mur. Rer. It. Script. tom. i.
§ Antiq. It. tom. i. Præfat.

* Gesta Trevirens. Arch. ap. Martene, Vet. Script. iv.

out ready armed, they began to strike on all sides. Adalbert was the first to fall, his companions were slain without mercy, and thus the castle was reduced to solitude. Many other similar dens were taken by force or stratagem during the government of Poppo.*

Boemund, archbishop of Treves, was a man of profound wisdom, in exterior pomp glorious among all the princes of Germany, without its ever infecting his blood with joy, or swelling his thoughts to any strain of pride; for he walked in the footsteps of that blessed Anno, archbishop of Cologne, who said to the brethren of the monastery of Sigeberg, "Although I appear pompous to my soldiers, yet amidst them, in the sight of the eternal Judge, I walk trembling, and more dejected than can be revealed to any human eye."†

In 1290, Boemund besieged and razed to the ground the castle of Swarzenberg, lest it should be a nest of plunderers; this reverend father and lord governed the diocese of Treves in the utmost peace all his days: he was an appeaser of discords, and a peace maker. Every day after mass and the canonical hours, the doors of his palace were thrown open to all comers, and then he endured the noise and tumult of hearing every one's complaint, and administered justice and made peace. He repaired and improved all the castles of his diocese, and built many new ones. This great archbishop chose his sepulture in the Cistercian monastery of Hymmenroit, which he had always loved and venerated, visiting it annually on Palm Sunday.‡ In 1353, Boemund II., a man of all wisdom and prudence, was elected archbishop by the chapter of Treves. Men believed that he would govern in peace, the territory being wholly given to contemplation. Several soldiers and nobles, however, though bound by oath to the church of Treves, yet seeing the old age of the prelate, rebelled in arms, and seized what they had sold to his predecessor. The count of Starckenburg, above all, opposed him, and devastated the whole province with fire and sword. The holy archbishop resisted force by force; but feeling his own inability through age, he chose Cano de Falkensteyn for his coadjutor, whose first step was to rush like a roaring lion against a certain captain, called the archpriest, who depopulated the country. He routed him, and delivered it from his ravages. Similarly he defeated Philip de Ysemburg, and razed his castle to the ground, leading him away prisoner. Boemund was grateful to God for having given him such a defender, and he desired that he should be elected archbishop in his place, which was done and confirmed by Pope Innocent, after due inquiries respecting his qualifications. Cuno humbly obeyed Boemund in all things, to his death, which occurred a few years later, and then alone he preserved peace, and benignly presided over clergy and people. The province of Cologne being then greatly troubled, its archbishop, Ludolphus de Marco, with his chapter, made him coadjutor of their church. He then attacked and conquered all the surrounding dukes, counts, and other nobles, who had ravaged the territory. The chapter of Cologne and Mayence both sought to have him for archbishop, but he constantly refused, and only agreed to defend the people of their territories. Thanks to his protection, the province of Treves was preserved from all insult: he defended it especially against the captain named Silvester and against a Lord Colsinus, who if he had not been resisted with an armed force, would have devastated the whole province. Finally, to provide for its tranquillity after his death, he procured confirmation from Rome, of the election of his nephew Werner de Falkensteyn to succeed him, as one who could most promote the utility of the church, and the peace of the whole country, to whom Cuno resigned the see, in a rich and prosperous state, in great peace and tranquillity. The Werner de Falkensteyn, archbishop of Treves, says, "that he passes nights without sleep, providing for the utility of his subjects, and for the advantage of religious men, by whose prayers, rather than by military arms, the public good receives increase." "For these," he adds, "we undertake voluntary labours, desiring to extirpate all disquietudes and scandals, that while we alleviate their burdens, they may praise the author of peace in greater peace than we can enjoy, so that at the last, in consequence of their tranquillity we may be able to rest, and to render an account to the Author of peace." When Otho of Tzegenhayn, archbishop of Treves, went secretly through devotion, to visit the holy sepulchre, he committed the defence of the territory to a few counts of the diocese, who governed it in great peace, till his return. This holy and venerable man governed

* Gesta Trevirens. Arch. ap. Martene, Vet. Script. iv. † Id. iv. 343. ‡ Id.

nobles and plebeians humbly, and yet, when occasions required, vigorously. He used to fast frequently on bread and water, and pass whole nights in prayer, when he used to be seen kissing the ground. He marched with an army against the two brothers De Gymmenich, and defeated them: he took the castle of Kempenich, and gave it to the church, and completed the building of the castle of Wytelich.*

The archbishops of Cologne, in the thirteenth century, had many contests with the citizens, and lost much of their temporal power in the battle of Woringen in 1290; yet it was wielded by pacific men, with a view to peace. Of Walram, in 1334, we read that he governed the church strenuously and pacifically in both states. He built the castle of Lechnich, to protect the diocese against his brother, the count of Juliers. Herman, elected archbishop in 1480, was surnamed Pacificus. He was ever studious of the public peace, and he reconciled many princes who were hostile to each other. In 1584, when the troubles of heretics began, Ernest, the archbishop, in ordering supplications through the diocese, for obtaining peace, spoke as follows: "From the time that it pleased Divine Providence to call us to preside over the church of Cologne, amidst so many disorders, there was nothing which we more desired than to fulfil our duty, if possible, in public peace and tranquillity, yet being obliged to resist, we consider it the contest of God."† Wickmann, archbishop of Magdeburg in the twelfth century, is described as a man victorious, yet especially studying to promote the peace of his times.‡ Nocherus, in 1008, bishop of Liege, mild to the weak, and terrible to the strong, esteemed it the essential part of his office, if he could deliver the faithful of his diocese from the oppressions of violent men. A certain potent noble demanded a piece of ground which commanded the whole city, saying, "that he wished to build a fortress, by means of which he could defend the bishop and citizens against all hostile attacks." The holy man, who knew his deceit, contrived to gain time, putting off the affair, and meanwhile by secret advice, he had laid on the spot the foundations of a church, in honour of the victorious Cross, "by virtue of which," he said, "more than by the arms of all mortal men, himself and all that were his, would be preserved in safety." When the impious nobleman discovered what had been done, he became furious, but the prelate sent for the founders of the new church, and having heard their statement, gave his sentence, that he could not permit ground once destined for a church to be applied to any other purpose.* Reginhard was another bishop of Liege, mild to the poor, and severe to the wicked rich. In that diocese the ravages of war were brought on by Godefrid in the time of the holy Bishop Wazo: armed with a cross alone he penetrated into the camps of dukes and counts, and when advised in letters by distant friends to fly from Liege, and take refuge in the castle of Huy, "Heaven forbid," he replied, "that I should desert the Lord's flock, and think myself safe in any place without them, from whom, under God, I derive all that I have of honour, in war or peace. Having had pleasure in happy times with them, I must now endure danger along with them." The misery of the weak and the groans of the poor sometimes obliged him to abandon his own peaceful life; for he was convinced that no work would be more acceptable to God, than that of restraining the fury of plunderers from the oppression of the innocent vulgar. Most of these robbers lived amidst marshes and mountains in secure citadels, whence they used to sally forth and lay waste the country round, and this especially in war time. So he resolved to destroy these places utterly, and in the spirit of an Elias and a Samuel, he used to proceed with a few troops, and besiege castle after castle, and with great labour take them, paying his troops daily, and showing himself a strict observer of justice towards all. As a bishop he could be compared to Gregory, as a soldier to Maccabee, as a wise man to Solomon, as a dialectitian to Augustin, as poor in spirit to an anchorite: through necessity he took part in these things, that he might avoid displeasing his Creator. In this war, the wife of the count of Monte Castro sent a message to tell him to come with soldiers to a certain spot at a given time, and promising that he might then take her husband prisoner, to give him up to the emperor; and this she did, not from any love for the juster cause, but through instability of mind. The holy bishop, abhorring such a novel

* Gesta Trevirens. Arch. ap. Martene, Vet. Script. iv.

† Annales Novesienses, ap. id. iv.

‡ Chronic. Montis Sereni ap. Menckenii Script. Rer. Ger. ii.

* Chronic. Montis Sereni ap. Menckenii Script. Rer. Ger. ii.

crime, said, "I have never heard or read that a woman either in truth or pretence, has betrayed her husband; for it is pernicious even to feign what would be alien from the human condition." Thus the man of God invented a palliation for the wickedness of the tempter. In fine, no duke or marquis did more for the security of the country than he. The French being resolved to make war in Lorraine, he, after the manner of Paul, by epistles appeased them, and recalled them to peace, terrifying their king by describing the judgments of God on all who invaded the possessions of others, which he said in kings was the same as common robbery, with whatever title men might seek to conceal its turpitude. Speaking of his contemporary, the archbishop of Cologne, he said, "Thank God, I can speak from personal observation. Remote from all sublimity of domination, on the sea of riches he steers himself with the rudder of humility."* Notger, who had been abbot of St. Gall, before he was bishop of Liege, rendered such services to that city that a contemporary poet says of him,

"Notgerum Christo, Notgero cætera debeo."

This great bishop providing for peace in present and future times, and perceiving that danger and mischief must result from the presence of the great castle of Cybremont, or Chievremont, or Caput Mundi, so called, because it had been the seat of empire before Charlemagne removed it to Aix-la-Chapelle, with great cunning and labour took and destroyed it, removing the relics of saints which were in the three churches on the top of the mount, into monasteries recently erected. This castle was built by the kings of France of the first race. It stood on an inaccessible rock, two leagues from Liege. In the tenth century it was held by a Lord Idriel, who desolated the country. On the birth of a son, this seigneur sent for the bishop to baptize him. He summoned his archdeacons and other friends, and told them to prepare for a great enterprize, and wear arms under their hoods. Then when all were assembled in the church, the bishop rose up and said, "in the name of the living God, in the name of the visible head of the Church, of the emperor, and of the Church of Liege, I Notger take possession of this castle." The men of arms threw of their disguises, quelled resistance, and thrust out all whom they found within. Then the fortifications w molished, so that it could never agai asylum for plunderers.* Other a say, "that Idriel and his daughte themselves from the walls. A simple is now on the site of the castle." Thi to procure baptism for the heir of these grim towers, seems as unacco as the circumstance of there being a within it. The bonds which connec robber knights and feudal tyrant religion, were slight enough, and of biguous kind. The castle, indeed, chapel, but Agobard tells us, "th chaplains were servile, ignorant m that no good priest would dishonour h and life, by remaining with them." read that one of these castellans ca morning to the Franciscan convent at and said to the brother who was a say mass: "I pray you let me have a l mass." To whom the friar, who p his meaning, answered, "Sir, you s have a knight's mass but a king's and then solemnly celebrated the hol fice as usual, with great devotion. lords of castles used often, like l potentates at the present day, to esp cause of bad priests, and make use against the just, as was seen in 113 Thomas, prior of St. Victor, was and murdered, while passing near th of Gournay, by the Sire de Gourn his satellites, at the instigation of th deacon Thibaut, who had been repr the holy man for his misconduct. these men professed to disdain the s of excommunication, with which th struck, there were not wanting awful ir of its power upon the most obdurate death of Nantin, count of Angoulesn had been excommunicated by Era bishop, was in consequence truly "Harolas! harolas!" he cried with voice, "how the Bishop Eracle, tortu He flails me, and makes all my bod with his fire, alas! I desire death rat endure any longer such pains," a these words he finished his wretche It is but justice to observe, howev sometimes these wicked lords of castl converted to a sense of religion, and worshippers of that peace which they long disturbed. Guy de Roye relat a knight who held a castle near t

* Chronic. Montis Sereni ap. Menckenii Script. Rer. Ger. ii.

* Chronic. Montis Sereni ap. Menckeni Rer. Ger. ii.

† Agobard. de Privilegio Sacerdotii.

‡ Guy de Roye, Le Doctrinal de Sapi

§ Chroniques de St. Denis, iii. xi.

road, and used to rob as many travellers as he could, espying one day a poor monk who passed along, sent his satellites to seize him. The monk begged them to lead him to their lord, as he had somewhat to say to him. On being led to the castle, he said that he wished to preach before them. Attracted by the novelty of the proposal, the castellan called his people scornfully together, but the monk said that there was one of them yet wanting, and that he must be sent for; in fact, the chamberlain had not arrived. On being called he came, and no sooner saw the monk, than his face turned black, his eye-balls started out, staring full ghastly like a strangled man. The monk then said aloud, "I conjure you by the name of God, to declare for what purpose you are in the castle." Whereupon this wretch cried out, while struggling as one that grasped for life, "Ay, by the foul terrors of dark-seated hell, these thirteen years I have stuck to that lord as one that loved him, and always reckoned that he would abandon the last custom he retained of his first youth, which was daily to salute God's mother; but still he persevered: poison be his drink to night, or I should have had full power to damn him as I wished for ever." The knight became of like semblance at the words so cursed and horrible, fell on his knees, implored mercy, and from that hour changed his life to follow peace with all men.* "Ludolphus of Saxony," says Cæsar of Heisterbach, "was a knight in name, but a tyrant in deeds. One day as he was riding, clad in a new suit of scarlet, a rustic with a cart met him, and by the wheels the mud was splashed over it. In a fury he drew his sword, and cut off the man's foot. Afterwards, by the mercy of God, he was led to mourn for his sins, and he became a monk of our order in a monastery called Porta. Falling sick, he was inconsolable, remembering chiefly the cutting off the rustic's foot. The head of the infirmary trying to console him, he replied, 'Unless I see the sign of Job on my body, I cannot be comforted.' After a few days, lo! a scar, like a red thread, appeared round his foot in the same place where he had cut off that of the peasant: it mortified, and worms came from it. Then he was filled with joy, and said, 'Now I hope for pardon;' and so with great contrition of heart and thanksgiving he gave up the ghost. This was told me by the abbot of Livonia, a son of the very house in which it happened."†

* Le Doctrinal de Sapience.
† Illust. Mirac. et Hist. Mem. Lib. xi. c. 18.

"In the reign of Lewis, son of Philip, there was a nobleman in the country of Chalons-sur-Saone, by name Pontius de Larazio, whose castle was impregnable. According to the dignity of the world he was illustrious, rich, and powerful, and conspicuous in all kinds of human glory; but great were his crimes: for he was a tyrant, and an oppressor of the neighbourhood. Some he circumvented by cunning, others he openly outraged by force of arms, so that he was an object of dread and hatred. But the pious Lord, who wisheth not the death of a sinner, but that he should be converted and live, changed his heart; so that, returning to himself, he began to consider what evils he had committed, and what judgment was in store for him. In fine, his remorse and contrition were profound; he was dissolved in tears, and all moulded to penance. With these sentiments he resolved to renounce the world, and endeavour to atone for his past life. His friends and acquaintances, meanwhile, were astonished at the change wrought in him, and at a loss to conjecture what he intended to do. On coming to converse with him, however, he removed the mystery, speaking so forcibly on the judgment of God, the punishment of sinners, and the joys of the blessed, that many were moved to true penance, of whom were Raymund de Pireto, who became a monk, Gurardus, a priest, Peter Alzarra, a knight, Guillaume de Rota, Hugo Magnus, and Guillaume Desparron. He now employed officers to proclaim that all his possessions were for sale, upon which multitudes of persons of all degrees flocked to the castle, and procured what they pleased. With the money thus obtained he purchased cattle of all kinds, oxen, cows, sheep, goats, mules, and horses. Then sending messengers through the province to towns, villages, and castles, and to all markets and fairs, he gave notice that he wished every person who had been injured by him to repair to the town of Peguerole on the Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday after Palm Sunday. On that day, after the procession, the Passion having been chaunted, while the bishop and clergy were standing on the steps about to address the people assembled in the square, Pontius de Larazio came forward barefooted and with a rope round his neck, which was held by a man who inflicted stripes by his own orders, as if he were a malefactor: then, kneeling before the bishop, he begged that the paper in his hand, containing the list of his crimes, should be publicly read. The bishop, for a long

time refusing, at length consented. Then was this public act read aloud while the penitent wept, and by his weeping moved all the people to tears. This confession was useful, not only to himself, but to many others, who were now induced by so great an example to lay open their sins which they had long concealed through shame: then the solemnities of the day were resumed in the church.

"On the following day the injured persons began to assemble, according to the notice given, and he heard the complaints of each, sitting as judge, and often accuser of himself. Of every one in turn he begged forgiveness on his knees, and then restored to them in kind whatever had been taken from them, so that each seemed only to recover exactly what he had lost. Seeing one peasant standing near and urging no claim, he asked him why he remained silent. 'It is,' he replied, 'my lord, that I have no charge against you; for, on the contrary, you have often done me great service.' 'Nay,' answered Pontius, 'I have injured you; for do you not remember such a night having lost some of your flocks?' 'Yes, my lord, but I never discovered who took them.' 'It was I, Pontius de Larasio,' he replied, 'by my satellites and accomplices.' Then he implored his pardon, and restored the cattle. Thus, having sold all that he had, he dispersed and gave to the poor. On Maunday Thursday he gave dinner to thirteen poor persons, and washed their feet. The same evening, after sun-set, in darkness and silence, he left his castle and his country, his relations and his father's house, that, by imitating Christ in his passion, he might be a participator of his glory. He went barefooted, and the way was rough and difficult, even for horsemen. A thunder-storm came on, and the horrors of that night were terrible. The next day, having kissed the cross at a spot where multitudes of knights and of all orders had assembled to adore it, he proceed way to St. James, a poor, unknown After accomplishing his vow, by the prelate of Compostella, he re France, and commenced a monas a deep forest in the diocese of N His huts became an abbey in 1: such was the origin of the mon Salvania, where he lived to his d lay brother. Thither many mei military order came on their con God, laying down their material t spiritual arms; turning their swo ploughshares and their lances into hooks; drawing no more the swor the nations, nor going forth again but fulfilling, in themselves, that p 'Habitabit lupus cum agno, et pa hædo accubabit: lupus et agnus simul, leo et bos comedent paleas.'

It only remains to state the end castles, which so long disturbed of peace. In England they were by the enemies of monarchy; in I its friends. What Cromwell exe the former and in Ireland, Richi Mazarine accomplished in the la the mountains of Auvergne bris feudal castles: the cardinal razed them. Louis XIV. finished their tion. The most celebrated of th geons, now in ruins, was that of A where was taken James, duke of I who was beheaded by Louis X enough of sallies and retires, of fortins, parapets; it is time that to scenes more congenial to the Hitherto we have seen them desi joying, or struggling for peace; it to consider them in their character makers, dispensing it by peaceful others.

* Tractat. de Conversione Pontii d et exordii Monast. Salvaniensis vera Na Baluze, Miscel. tom. i.

CHAPTER XII.

ALL ages of the world have known some who preferred tranquillity to war. Those of faith alone beheld men, from a conviction peace-makers, knowing that they d not burn, for themselves, since, if irtues did not go forth of us, it were ike as if we had them not. To spirits ying this stage of our course approach- Dante perceived near him, as it were, aving of a wing, that fanned his face, hispered, "Blessed they, the peace- rs; they know not evil wrath."* From station in the distempered mortal life hey pass to the peace of heaven? thrones and feudal towers, from camps ottages, from episcopal palaces and red cells. In each let us behold them ering, and first from thrones. "If it idable to allay discord in one family, ' exclaims the angel of the school, . be the merit of a king who causes a country to enjoy peace?"† In the e ages such merit was not rare. Hear peaks an emperor, who was in his first faithful. Henry VII., at this time, ing mention of the parties of Gibel- nd Guelph, remarkable, even in a us age, for his love of the offices of hurch, at which he used to assist even e night, was employed in pacifying "I call God to witness," he exclaims, rench and German companions, fellow- rs, brothers, relations, my own flesh lood, that no glory of the world and fections of worldly cupidity have led o these actions. If I look up I see structor, God; if below, Clement the By these guides I am led; and who ainst me? Has God, the supreme e and teacher of equity, desired any more sacred than that I should love neighbour as myself? Is there any ction or difference between Christians? is my neighbour? A German, a , a Vandal, a Suabian, a Lombard, or a Tuscan; can any one add, a Gibelline? O iniquity! for what purpose have I come? Is it that as an impious successor I should follow the errors of my predecessors? Hath Clement, in the seat of God, moved us to this journey that I should subject Guelph to Gibelline, or contrariwise? These are the men who, instigated by that Lucifer who fell, assume the invidious names of the empire and of the Church. The messenger of Pope Clement, shall I come to attack or betray the one or the other? Not so. Rather will I die first. And if there be any here otherwise inclined (looking at his brethren) let them begone, and seek slaughter, but it shall not be with me as their general and their prince."*

"In 1310, when Henry, count of Luxemburg, on being elected emperor, came to Asti, Matthew Visconti, then exiled from Milan, repaired to him, and kissed his feet, saying, that they were the feet of one who brought peace. There were many nobles of Lombardy, both Guelphs and Gibellines, to meet the king: the former of whom rejected the advances of Matthew, whom the Gibellines were ravished to behold. Antonio de Fixirago, a Guelph, said to him, 'Matthew, Matthew, you were the cause of all the evils of Italy; for while you reigned, your work was to sow war and discord: you have disturbed the world, and have suffered no one to have rest.' But he humbly replied, 'It is for the Lord King to give peace, and put an end to the evils of our time.' Henry smiled, and said, 'Peace is already half made between you.' In fact, this king was then labouring to bring peace to all Christians."†

"In 1311, when the Emperor Henry received the iron crown at Milan, a deputation came to him from the Guelphs of Modena, who committed their city to his arbitration. He accordingly sent them a viceroy, Guidalosta de Verzelensi of Pistoia, who soon put an end to the discords of the

urg. xvii. † De Regim. Prin. i. 9.

* Albertini Mussati Hist. Augusta, Lib. i. 13. ii. 5. ap. Mur. Rer. It. Script. x.

† Gualvanei de la Flamma Opusc. de Rer. Gest. ab Azone, ap. id. xii.

nobles, and procured peace. Then all who had been banished were admitted back to the city, and others who had been imprisoned in chains, Bernardino Padella, Ugolino, Pella de Savignani, and other nobles, as also some of the people were delivered. Thus peace was made to the great joy of all men, and all were made friends. Many other cities accepted viceroys from the emperor, who came with the same intention, and, with the exception of Padua, there was no free city or principality which did not admit back the chiefs of the people of the adverse party who had been ejected."*

"In 1331, when John, king of Bohemia, came into Italy, on occasion of his son becoming duke of Carinthia and count of the Tyrol, the Brescians did him homage as their king; and he coming there made peace in the city, for which reason he was adored by all the people; and when his fame was spread as a pacific king, Bergamo, Como, Pavia, Novarra, Vercelli, Cremona, Parma, Modena, and Lucca made him their lord."†

Hear another historian. "In 1290, Rodolf, king of the Romans, was in Erfurt, with a great attendance of princes, making peace on all sides. Again, in 1170, the Emperor Frederic had a council there, in which he pacified many princes."‡

Rupert, king of the Romans, of whom it is said soon after his election that his sole object was the amelioration of the state of the Holy Church of the sacred empire and of all Christendom, began his reign by labouring to make peace between the Landgrave of Hesse and the archbishop of Mayence. On his return from Italy, finding that, after all his efforts, hostilities still continued between them, he wrote to the landgrave, expressing his affliction to see them persist in enmity, and that the people of their territories should be thus exposed to injury. In all the negotiations which ensued he stated his chief concern to be the restoration of peace for the sake of the people. Similarly he endeavoured to heal all feuds between Prince Ernest, count Palatine of the Rhine, and the duke of Bavaria. To Charles, duke of Lorraine, he writes, desiring him to make peace between the counts of Nassau and of Salm, and forbidding him to take any part in their quarrel.§

* Chronic. Mutinense, ap. id. xi.

† Gualvanei de la Flamma Hist. Mediolanens. 313. ap. id. xi.

‡ Erphurdianus Antiquitat. Varilog. ap. Menekenii Script. Rer. Germ. ii.

§ Martene, Vet. Script. iv. 49.

In the thirteenth century, Albert, named Contractus, and the wise, du Austria, though he had his feet and l contracted during thirty years, yet was heard all that time to utter an imp word. "When a grievous dissension between the lords of Rosenberg and W and other borderers of Bohemia and Au this prudent prince treated with Ch then marquis of Moravia, and cond these differences to a peaceful end. I other quarrels he prevented and app by the arm of power, the persuasio patience, and the means of moderatio all his paths were pacific." Similarly H hard, count of the Tyrol, as neighbo both, appeased the difference between H duke of Bavaria, and Albert, duke of Au and this he accomplished by his fac address and prudence."*

Azo, the Lord Marquis of Este, an Lord Eccelino II. had come to an rupture with bitter words in presence of IV. Henry Calandrini drew his swor a crowd of Germans, and imposed s on the factious company. The king manded that no battle should ensu both parties retired. The next day king was riding, having the marquis right hand, and Eccelino on his left, h to the latter in French, "Sire Ycelin tem li Marches: "on which that lord covering his head, said to him, "D Marchio Deus salvet vos." The m remaining covered, said, "Deus salvet Then said the king to the marquis, Marches salutem Ycelin." When he remaining covered, said to Eccelino, " vos salvet," then the other a second uncovering, answered, "Sic salvet ipse Thus riding they came to a bank, whe way was so narrow, that two could sca pass abreast. So the king riding firs them to follow. Then the marquis s Eccelino, "Go you before," and Ec said the same to him. Then both together and began to speak amicably all who saw them wondered. Thus rode for two miles in close conversatio on arriving at the hospice, the king a ing, called Eccelino aside and said, me the truth, what has been the subj your conversation with the marquis?" were speaking," he replied, "of our a friendship." "And did you not spe me?" asked the king. "Yes," replie celino, "we did." "What did you

* Thom. Ebendorff. Haselbach. Chronic ap. Pez. Script. Rer. Aust. ii.

Lord Eccelino?" "We said," he an-
ed, "that when you choose, you are
s all men, placid and benign, and vir-
s; and that when you choose, you can
erocious and terrible; and this is all
we said of you." Then, taking the
uis aside, he addressed him a similar
tion, and received a similar answer.
s they rode in company to Imola, and
, in the king's presence, they both
e to keep peace with each other. Then
nt the marquis to the marshes of An-
, but Eccelino accompanied him to
e, whither he went to receive the im-
l crown.*

1294, when the Venetians and Genoese
at war, and resolved to fight wher-
they could meet, when all Christen-
was grieving at the animosity between
, which neither the pope nor the king
ance, could appease Matthew Visconti,
of Milan, by his great prudence
ght them to peace, and thenceforth was
lered as the father of the two cities.† relating the particulars of another war
en Genoa and Venice, and lamenting
tedly, that there was not as much
ncy in charity as in enmity, the
cellor of Venice, Raphayni Caresini,
—"I shall now pass with a more joyful
from hatred to friendship, from warlike
o the serenity of peace." Our wisest
with his deep council, after the custom
r reverend ancestors, never contra-
the sentence of the prophet, "Inquire
, et persequere eam." Some princes
world had benevolently wished to in-
e, and stop the discord so hurtful to
atholic faith, and to the whole world;
e Divine will reserved the effects for
ous and Christian prince, the Lord
ee, count of Savoy. At the earnest
sion of this prince, emanating from
le movement of most sincere charity,
rties sent ambassadors to Turin, who,
great wisdom, after solemn and mature
rations, with the constant, amicable,
and efficacious exhortations, and bene-
persuasions of the count of Savoy,
ernal King of kings aiding them, a
true, and permanent peace was happily
ded on Thursday, about the hour of
n, to the praise and glory of the Divine
ty, and the honour of the count of
."‡

nardi Maurisii Hist. ap. Mur. Rer. It. Script

nales Mediolanenses, 66. ap. id. xvi.
phagni Caresini contin. Chron. And. Dand.
xii.

In a letter addressed to St. Thomas of Canterbury, we find an allusion to the pacific labours of Louis VII. in these terms: "The discords which had arisen between Henry the Pisan, and John of Naples, and William of Pavia, each of whom was vexed with the same spirit, have been composed by the intervention of the king of the French, who has made peace also between some others, so that many said of him, 'Homo iste venit pacem mittere, non gladium.'"* "Some of the council," says Joinville, "used to reprove the king St. Louis, for taking such pains to make peace between foreign princes, but he always answered, 'If foreign princes should remark that I look on with indifference, they will imagine that I wish them to quarrel for my own profit, and they will hate me, and take an occasion to injure my kingdom. Moreover, I should kindle against myself the wrath of God.'" Even the disputes of religious men were sometimes terminated by kings. Hildebold, bishop of Soissons, in the ninth century, had a quarrel with Eudes, bishop of Beauvais, which Charles-le-chauve put a stop to in a manner singularly impressive. The two bishops contended for the church of Bethisy, and finding no other means of settling the question, the king ordered it to be demolished.† Peter, the deacon, relates a more interesting example, when writing to the Empress Richenza, he describes the visit of her husband Lothaire to Monte-Cassino. "Who would not admire his gravity," saith he, "when in order to appease the dissensions of the brethren, which had arisen respecting the election of an abbot, he remained in the chapter-room without food or drink from the first hour of the day till vespers?" Thus was it seen that crowns did not dispense their wearers from the duty of advising peace, nor move them from the roll of common men. In feudal castles too, where we have already seen successively the meek and the ferocious, we shall find also the blessed peace-makers. The approved character of nobility was after all pacific, so that its guides declared, that "noble persons above all others had need of great patience and great meekness, as having more obstacles than other men, which they could not surmount if they gave way to anger, or the desire of revenge, or to impatience."‡ Their duty, as that of all obedient to the Church, was plainly indicated in the Confiteor of the

* Epist. S. Thom. xli.
† Hist. de Soissons, i.
‡ Dionys. Carthus. Directorium Vitæ Nobilium, xxxi.

ancient German ritual; in which, after the words to be repeated by all, "I confess to Almighty God, and to all the saints of God," came an enumeration of sins, of which one was thus specified, "duos non conciliavi."* The soldier's duty in this respect differed not from that of the priest, nor do we find the least trace of a contrary opinion in the middle ages, excepting when offered as an insult to the world.

Don Antonio de Guevara, writing to Don Alphonso Pimetel, respecting the ancient chivalrous order of the band founded by the King Don Alphonso, son of Ferdinand and Constantia, informs him, that by one of their rules, if two of the knights should quarrel, the others were bound to reconcile them to each other. "To the military profession," says one of its old instructors, "belongs in a more especial manner the pacification of discords and the reconciliation of enemies,"† a doctrine, it is to be feared, more at variance with modern than even with the Gentile views; for Ischomachus proves his right to the title of a gentleman, when Socrates asked on what ground he so calls himself, by saying, that whenever there was a difference or dispute, he always endeavoured to convince both parties that it was more for their advantage to be friends than enemies.‡ The general execration with which was regarded the memory of such men as Don Lopez de Haro, who caused the rupture between King Don Sancho the Strong, and the queen, and the courtiers of Queen Catherine, mother of Don John II., who caused that between her and the infant Don Fernando, and Don Alvarez de Lava, who endeavoured to excite the King Don Henriquez against Queen Berenger, and Don Alvar de Luna, who hindered peace between King Don John of Navarre, and his son the Prince Don Carlos of Viane, and the men who sowed discord between the infant Don Sancho and the King Don Alonzo his father, supplied a good commentary on this text. In fact, the mediation of the high and powerful seignior was often exercised to put a stop to the feuds and quarrels of society; and frequently the champions who had entered the deadly lists, were separated and made friends, by the interposition of the respected barons.§ Will you hear fable illustrative of ancient manners? When Tri Leonnois and Palamades were eng mortal combat, a strange knight, who to be Brandelix, came riding up w squires, and seeing the fury and w of the combatants, he had great p said, "Sir Knights, I pray you tell you are and the cause of your h Neither of them answered a word, at each other with redoubled fury; ar Brandelix saw that they would pe fight, he rode in between them. Knight," cried Tristan, "yours is s ous action, to stop our battle agai will; we pray you let us bring it to a But Brandelix entreated them so fe and said so many things, and did s that at last he brought them to "Then," he said, "Sir Knights," know the cause of your hatred, in or I may make peace between you? the same romance, Gyron le C similarly makes peace between two knights;† and in more recent pic the same age, when, in Branksor amidst the pomp and feasting, whil ran hot and high, Conrad, Lord of stein, strikes the bold Hunthill for formerly driven away some horses f band, we read that—

"Then Howard, Horne, and Douglas
The kindling discord to compose."

In what light duels in the moder of the term were regarded in the ages, has been shown by many write rare occurrence, they inspired hor remorse. In 1244, two youths brec court of Frederic, duke of Austria, fought and wounded each other dange the duke, we read, with great humil with tears, besought all spiritual me duchy to pray to God to spare the promising among other things, that h render justice in future to all men, store to their lawful owners all that unjustly seized at his father's death recovery of the young men was in quence regarded as a miracle.‡ In o imagined worth holds in men's blo swollen and hot discourse, that Co tives, who only merit that good name every abuse" be understood, take pa those who openly profess destructive with a pride that quarrels at self

* Ap. Goldast. Alemannicar. Antiquit. tom. ii. p. 11.
† Dionys. Carthus. de Vita Militari, vii.
‡ Xen. Œconom. xii.
§ Hardouin de la Jaille, Traité des Duels et du Champ de Bataille.

* L'Hystoire de Gyron le Courtois, f.
† Id. ccxxvi.
‡ Anon. Leobiens. Chron. Lib. i. Script. Rer. Aust. i.

but to themselves, to keep man-
r in form, and quarrelling upon the
ralour. The latter are consistent,
ormer impose only on the ignorant.
t poet disproves the title they would
their code of honour from knightly
; for he expressly says, that such
tten valour came into the world
cts and factions were but newly
that is, when the churlish traitors
om, alas! many of them must de-
y their becoming heretics, effaced
udgment of universal knighthood
orial bearings, and all the titles of
bility. Their heroic laymen, who
ed duelling in later times, whose
one could question, have viewed it
old Catholic elevation, and shown
l how they would make their wrongs
side, wear them like their raiment
, and ne'er prefer their injuries to
rt to bring it into danger. This is
d from which, for instance, Claude
n, who was a soldier as well as a
his work entitled, "Le Cavalier
which is a versified manual of in-
for the great, attacks the doctrine
nt of honour and its consequences.† already seen that the trial by bat-
rohibited by the Church, but we
mark here that many of the reasons
ced to show its perversity, would
ied with still greater force, if urged
uelling in its later forms. Thus
in his book "against the damnable
f those who think that the truth of
udgment can be revealed by the
f arms," lays much less stress upon
titious character than upon its in-
cy with the duty of the pacific.
sitions from Scripture, "De pace
dandis cordis affectibus," are all
with a view to show this incompa-
"When two stand," he says, "pre-
kill each other, they have not a
, and, therefore, the angels of peace
present offering to them eternal
th the ancient people homicides,
new secret anger, and an injurious
forbidden. Therefore, he who does
e his mind from fury nor restrain
from slaughter, is subject neither
ancients to the law, nor with the
ie gospel. The gate of the celestial
is narrow, which admits little
but excludes the gigantic. He,
, who stands prepared to kill, not
being humble with the simplicity of a child, but wishing to seem terrible with the ostentation of a giant, is altogether repulsed from such an entry. As pulse without salt is useless, so all virtue, even faith is useless to the salvation of man without peace—"Sic omnis virtus, etiam ipsa fides non valet ad salutem hominis sine pace." We are told, that each one should please his neighbour in good for edification; but you do not wish to please him against whom you vibrate a sword, and deal blows that menace death. "Save them," we read, "who are led to death:" so that not alone you are not to lead them to death, but those who are led you are to deliver, "If you do not wish that God should render to you according to your works."

Now, in point of fact, we find that considerations of this nature, all strange as they may seem at present, could overcome formerly every motive that might induce men to engage in duelling, even in this mitigated and legal form. In 1369, at Frankford, two knights, Zierkinus de Vola and Adulphus Hanch, whose wives were sisters, not being able to agree about a division of property, challenged each other to battle. The governor of the city agreed and fixed a day. Meanwhile, their wives, devout women, never ceased praying God to soften their husbands' hearts, and inspire them with thoughts of peace. The morning arrived; the champions entered the lists, when lo! their hearts being touched by God, to the astonishment of all beholders, they alighted from their horses, and embraced with tears, each exclaiming, "Brother, I confess myself conquered." The governor being indignant, declared that the law of duel prohibited a separation without wounds, and that whoever declared himself conquered must suffer capital punishment. He then swore to the God of heaven that he would never taste food until one or other of them had died. Zierkin then said, "I am conquered, I ought to die." But Adulphus said, "Nay, it is I who have been overcome. I am ready to suffer death." While thus disputing, the vengeance of God overtook the blood-thirsty and unjust governor, for he suddenly dropped down and expired. The knights then retired in peace, wondering at the works of God manifested that day.* But let us attend to the ordinary action of the pacific spirit directing laymen to interfere as peace-makers. "What Ætius could not

n of Athens, iii.
et, Bib. Franc. xiii. 384.

* Chronic. Cornelii Zantfliet, 293, ap. Martene, Vet. Script. v.

have done by a battle," says Sidonius Apollinaris, "Ferreol accomplished at a dinner by the gravity, sweetness, and penetrating charm of his words."* This was an allusion to the conference in which Ferreol persuaded Thorismund, that young and fierce barbarian, to retire and leave Arles, which he had besieged, at peace. Rodolph, count of Habsburg, acted in the same manner, for having many wars, and amongst others one with the abbot of St. Gall, who was a potent prince, he came uninvited, and to the astonishment of all present sat down as a guest at his table; when he spoke with such effect during dinner, that the result was friendship and a lasting peace.† Of Richard, duke of Normandy, we read, in the chronicle of St. Denis, "So much did he love peace, that all those who were at variance he brought to concord either by himself or by his messengers."‡ Thus did he reconcile Arnoul de Flandre to Hugues Capet. William of Jumiège says, "that whenever he heard of men being disunited, he used to establish peace between them, according to the words of Scripture, 'Blessed are the feet of those who bring peace.' His other works were of the same character, for he nourished monks, protected clerks, disdained the proud, loved the humble, fed the poor, defended orphans and widows, and redeemed captives."§ Odo III., duke of Burgundy, going on the expedition against the Albigenses, accompanied by many prelates of his state, passed through Lyons, where, finding all the city in trouble, he would not proceed further without endeavouring to pacify the state of such a noble city, thinking that he ought not to take arms against the enemies of the faith until he saw the state in a Catholic city reduced to concord. Happily, by means of the exhortations of the prelates in his company, he made peace between Robert de la Tour, archbishop, with the church on one side, and the citizens of Lyons on the other, and this peace was proclaimed in an instrument which is now in the archives of the community.‖ The heroic Herman von Salza, master of the Teutonic order, appears as a peace-maker in reconciling the emperor and the pope. The day when these two heads of the Christian world were made friends by his intervention was certainly, as Voigt observes, the most honourable in

The Italian chronicles abound
stances. Thus in 1299, by the
of Lord Maffæus Visconti, of M
Lord Canis de la Scala, of Ver
was made between the Guelphs o
who at that time had the ascend
the Gibellines, who had been
many of whom then returned.†
Lord Lanfranc Rangonus, a Gu
in the city of Bologna through
tion as a peace-maker; for he us
often secretly by night and by da
de Gerlo for the sake of recor
Savignanis and the Boschetis
been for a long time at enmity.
was tacitly concluded between the
of Ferrara, the minor friar, as
death of Leonellus of Este, in 14
forty-third year, and the ninth of
to his over-exertion and cares i
peace, to which he devoted him
siduous vigils and great labour.
a worshipper of peace; and en
to extirpate the seeds of discor
Astorgius de Manfredio and T
nephew, as also between the reg
and the Venetian senate. Leone
rather to imitate Cæsar in his le
ters, than in his ambitious and
exploits."§

In 1337, when there was wa
Florence and Venice on the one
the Lords Albert and Mastinus d
on the other, the Marquis Obic
a benign and pacific lord, ende
make peace between them.‖ I
great discord arose between the L
delisio, de Gozadini and Lord
i Pepoli, because it was publicly
the former wished to give the c
logna to the Lords de la Scala: b
acted very wisely, for he went t
Lord Brandelisio, and so peace
between them; and if there was
evil against the state, Taddeo too
saving always the honour and fa
Brandelisio. A few months a
when a strife began between the
Brandelisio and Tuniolo de Lo
the mediation of Taddeo it was a
When Jannottius Manetti wa
magistrate of Piscia he spared n

* Epist. vii. 12.
† Schoockii Tract. de Pace, vii.
‡ Ad an. 996. § Liv.
‖ Paradin, Hist. de Lyon, Liv.

* Geschichte Preussens.
† Annal. Vet. Mutinensium, ap. M
Script. xi. ‡ Id.
§ Annales Estenses, ap. id. tom. xx
‖ Chronic. Estense, ap. id. xv.
¶ Mat. de Griffonibus Memor. Hi
ap. id. xviii.

make peace everywhere, and eradicate all roots of discord, and make all the people live in perfect unanimity.* We find it recorded on the tomb of Rubens, in the church of St. James, at Antwerp, that he had happily laid the foundation of peace between princes. So that even in that country of artists his glory as a painter did not eclipse that to which he was entitled as a peace-maker. What an impressive scene was witnessed at Fontainebleau when the Duc de Mayenne was closing his career by endeavouring to appease and moderate the princes who were there present after the death of Henry IV. When his confessor, Pierre Moreau, who from a lawyer had become a Minim, announced to him his approaching death, "It is no news for me," he replied, "to hear that I am to die. I used formerly to seek death with arms in my hands, but I am more pleased to find it now, at last, on my bed for the salvation of my soul, than if I had met with it in battles for worldly glory."

The establishment of peace in ages of faith was sometimes due to the efforts of obscure men, who were raised up, as if miraculously, by heaven, to show how poor an instrument may do a noble deed,—and at others to the general desire of the people irresistibly manifested. Raimon de Saint-Gille, count of Toulouse, and the king of Arragon were thus brought to peace, in 1183, by a miracle, as old historians say. The narrative is introduced in the chronicles of St. Denis, with the remark, that in consequence of their dissensions "the poor people of the country were much injured; but that our Lord, who hears the cry of His poor, sent them a saviour, not an emperor, king, prince, or prelate, but a poor carpenter, named Durandus, to whom in the town of our Lady of Puy, our Lord is said to have appeared, and given a schedule, with the words, 'Lamb of God, who takest away the sins of the world, grant us peace.' The princes and people being assembled there as usual at the feast of the Assumption, the bishop ordered this poor man to stand forth and declare his vision; and then he came forward and related it, and commanded them all to make peace: then showing the schedule, all present began with tears and sobs to praise the piety and mercy of our Lord; and the two great princes, who were before so irreconcilable that no one could stop their wars, swore on the text of the gospels, and promised sincerely to keep peace with each other ever afterwards: in token of which peace they caused the image of the schedule to be made in tin, with the figure of our Lady, and this they wore stitched on white hoods like scapulars. It was a great marvel that all who wore these marks were so secure, that if any of them met the brother of one whom he had slain, the other would forget the injury and receive him with open arms, and give him the kiss of peace and charity with tears, and would give him to eat and drink in his house. This peace lasted a very long time."* Of peace due to the general desire, an instance occurred in 1335, when it was, we are told, miraculously made between the chiefs of the country of Liege, who had desolated the land during thirty-eight years; for by consent of all the states it was decreed that whoever killed a man should suffer death; which law making each one fear for himself, twelve good men were chosen, six to be on each side, who, by God's assistance, arranged a firm peace, which was, therefore, called the peace of the twelve. They ordained certain pains, either of pilgrimage or of fines, for such offences in words or deeds as could be committed, the injured persons being enjoined to bring their cause before them or their successors. Then, to take away all desire of revenge for those slain in the wars, and for the remission of sins of those slain on both sides, to obviate the necessity of many journeys, which, according to the laws of the land, would otherwise have been obligatory on those who had committed excesses, many of whom might die on the way, and thus, perhaps, give occasion for future litigations, they decreed to erect a chapel with twelve altars, in honour of the apostles, and then the princes signed the treaty of peace, that is, the duke of Brabant, Adulph, lord of Liege, and the chapter, the count of Lutzemburg, and the counts of Hanno and Namur, the lord of Falcomont, and others; which was confirmed by Charles IV., king of the Romans, whose words are remarkable: "Although the sublimity of the royal dignity ought to attend to all things which relate to the welfare of the republic, yet with a more special favour should it regard those which are designed to strengthen peace, and to exclude and repel rancours and enmities."†

* Vita ejus, ap. id. xx.

* Ad an. 1184.

† Chronic. Cornel. Zantfliet, ap. Martene, Vet. Scrip. v.

It must be remembered, also, that in the middle ages among the laity many orders existed whose object was to make peace. In Italy, the Knights Gaudenti, instituted by the friar Guittone, of Arezzo, founder of the monastery of the Angeli at Florence, were bound by their rule to endeavour to pacify enemies, and restore friendship in the cities which were divided by factions, and to constitute a chivalry which was to abhor the punctilios of false honour. "There is a lay brotherhood in Pavia," says a writer in 1330, "the members of which, on certain days and nights, go in procession, and hear sermons, and sing devout hymns. They have a rule and a hospice for the poor without the palatine gate. They have often a sermon in some church by which many wolves are turned into lambs, mortal enemies reconciled, and many induced to make restitution."* At Palermo there was a confraternity under the invocation of the seven angels, in whose name grace and peace are given in the commencement of the Apocalypse. In the rule of the third order of St. Francis we see what minute and admirable directions were given to all the brethren and sisters to reconcile enemies and promote peace.† In fact, not only such orders, but all the confraternities named Gilda in capitularies of Charlemagne, from a Saxon word, signifying to pay, as the members contributed to the funds for pious uses, were institutions of peace; and Muratori traces those of Italy to the missionaries who, in the time of Frederic II., went about endeavouring to appease discords and make peace.‡ To enter the confraternity of builders, which some suppose was first formed at Chartres, it was required as an essential condition that the candidate should have been to confession and reconciled to his enemies.§ In our days the brotherhood of the Sacconi exists at Rome, the office of which, is to reconcile enemies. "One night," says an Italian writer, "when thunder murmured over the hills of Albano, and heavy drops had begun to fall, I fled for refuge to a house at the foot of the capitol. Some peasants were carousing, while a man at the door was vowing vengeance against some absent person, regardless of his daughter's supplications. At that moment there advanced towards him, like a phantom, a veiled form, covered from head to foot with a black robe. It fell on its knees before him, but spoke not. The humble attitude, however, sufficiently expressed its thought. The exasperated peasant was affected, and a religious impression came over all present. The Saccone rose, and, without uttering a word, left the house to which he had brought peace."

The importance of the part played by women in feudal life was so immense, and the fruit of love, wherever Catholic manners reigned, so full of all sweetness, that we cannot pass on without first adducing some examples of their pacific ministry. They were not left in ignorance of their duty. "Noble women," says Denis the Carthusian, "ought to excite their husbands, brethren, and relations, to love mercy and peace, to dissuade them from oppressing with exactions or services those subject to them, and from afflicting the impotent and poor."* It is not strange that holy priests should have frequently invoked the influence of women, when we find them entertaining so high a notion of their affinity to the Prince of Peace; for the treatise of Dionysius, "De Vita et Regimine Principissæ," is a dialogue between a princess and Christ. In effect from Him their eyes derived that heavenly rhetoric, that prone and speechless dialect against which the world could not hold argument, so well they could persuade. Some daughters of the Catholic Church, with minds of unruffled softness, as in Shakspeare's women, are constantly found, during the scenes of violence which afflicted the middle ages, kneeling for peace. Thus, in the twelfth century, we read that the warlike Guignes IV., count of Albon, was frequently induced by his wife, Marguerite de Bourgogne, to be reconciled, and to keep peace. A contest having arisen between him and Hugues II., bishop of Grenoble, the matter, at her entreaty, was referred to arbitration, and when one article could not be arranged, they agreed to abide by the decision of his mother Matilda; for which purpose they repaired to her castle of Vizille, where she pronounced against her son, and he submitted to her sentence.† St. Thomas of Canterbury, writing to the Empress Matilda, says that although her prodigious alms ma-

* Anon. Ticinens. de Laudibus Papiæ c. xiv. ap. Mur. Rer. It. Script. t. xi.

† La Règle du Tiers Ord. chap. x.

‡ Antiq. Ital. lxxv.

§ Manuel des Connaissances sur divers Objets d'Art, Lyon.

* Directorium Vitæ Nobilium.

† Vie de [illegible]

please God, yet no less dear to Him must be her solicitude to maintain the peace and liberty of the Church, which is so great, that she can truly say with the apostle, "Quis infirmatur, et ego non infirmor?"* How many tempests in the palaces of the middle ages have been appeased by women's eyes. How oft the unkind threatening brow has been unknit before the sweet reflections of a lovely face! Who can tell how much bitterness one look has at times converted into most sweet sorrow! When King Charles of France returned to Provence, he embarked at Marseilles, and landed at Naples, three days after the capture of his son and the defeat of his projects to recover Sicily. When he heard the event, he was overwhelmed with rage and humiliation. That night he was lodged in his palace of Capuana On entering his chamber, he dismissed his attendants, saying, "Leave me alone in darkness, and suffer me to swallow my sorrows." Then the old man walked about, murmuring like a lion. Then the noble queen came to him, and said, in a soft and delicate tone that could ravish savage ears, and plant in tyrants mild humility, "Remember, lord, that when the Almighty created you, and gave you the breath of life, He gave you the form of man before that of king. If you believe yourself then to be a son of men, know that God determines for you all earthly things. Do you suppose that mundane power can surpass the divine laws? Return to your conscience, lest you offend God. Is it not permitted Him to give and take away what He can, when the princes of the world give and take away what they cannot? What you suffer is no novelty. Remember how many princes of the world have endured worse things. This loss is to be endured then, for it is He who gave you glory who now for your sins gives you tears."† History proclaims the immense service rendered by women in different ages to the cause of peace. Jane de Valois, sister of Philip, king of France, never ceased labouring to make peace between France and England, and often fell at her brother's feet to appease him. In 1340, she succeeded in having a treaty concluded. At the siege of Orleans, by the duke of Guise, on the day previous to the intended assault, the duchess, his wife, came to the camp, with a view to prevent carnage as far as she could, and it was while going to meet her that he was assassinated. What an angel of peace was Hedwige, the young queen of Poland, who accepted a husband that was contrary to her inclination, in order to promote the peace of Christians, which motive alone could have induced her to make such a sacrifice. "All Hungary rejoices in this child," said a Hungarian monk, speaking to Duke Hermann of the young Princess Elizabeth; "for she has brought peace with her;" alluding to the cessation of wars and dissensions which marked the period of her birth; and all her life was a service to promote peace. While the Emperor Otho was at Rome, Matilda, daughter of the great Otho, and abbess of Quedlingburg, governed the kingdom. "She rendered so submissive and peaceable the hardened necks of the barbarous princes," says the historian, "that she may be said to have laid the foundations of this peace which the holy Church of God now in part enjoys after so many ravages of provinces; and this she did, not by any force or array of arms, though she was most fit for conducting them, but by vigils, and fasting, and prayers."*

When Madame de Chantal, who founded the order of the Visitation, was on a journey, the only honours she would accept from the persons of rank who used to contend with each other for the pleasure of entertaining her, was to be permitted to make peace, wherever there had been any division in the family. To ascertain whether such existed, was her first inquiry on entering a house. Thus having visited Madame d'Haracourt, in her castle, she did not depart till she had put an end to a process which had been for a long time existing between that lady and her brother. These were the honours with which she was entertained.† Of St. Catherine of Sienna the church reads in her office that she extinguished many hatreds, and appeased mortal enmities; and that to obtain peace for the Florentines, who were placed under an interdict, she went to Avignon, to Pope Gregory XI. Elizabeth, of Portugal, who was of the third order of St. Francis, merited from the universal church, the glorious title of Pacis et Patriæ Mater. When the two armies of the king, and her son Alphonso were already engaged in

* Epist. S. Thom. Cant. xix.
† Bartol. de Neocastro, Hist. Siciliæ, 78, ap. Mur. Rer. It. Script. t. xiii.

* Annalista Saxo, ad an. 999. ap. Eccardii Corp. Hist. Medii Ævi, i.
† Marsollier, Vie de Madame de Chant. ii. 73.

battle, she mounted her horse and rode between them, to conjure them to suspend their blows and make peace. She re-established peace between Ferdinand IV. king of Castille, and Alphonso de la Cerda, his cousin, who disputed the crown; as also between James II. king of Arragon, his brother, and the king of Castille. After the death of the king, her husband, she extinguished the flames of war between Alphonso IV. surnamed the Brave, king of Portugal, and Alphonso XI. king of Castille. In this work of peace-making she laboured all her life, and suffered immense hardships, so that her zeal and success in this respect are celebrated in the prayer of the universal church on her festivity, in which she is styled "the blessed Queen Elizabeth, whom the most merciful God, amongst other excellent gifts adorned with the prerogative of appeasing warlike fury." Finally, we may remark, that many ancient sepulchres were made to attest the pacific ministry of women.

In Milan, on the tomb of Beatrix, wife of the Lord Barnabas Visconti, who died in 1383, were these lines,

"Laurea virtutum, flos morum, pacis origo,
Nobilibus requies civibus, alma quies."*

And in the convent of Haius, on the tomb of Margaret of Burgundy, daughter of count Stephen of Burgundy, in the twelfth century, was this beautiful line,

"Pax, patientia, lux, moderantia fulsit in ipsa."†

But the power of innocence and noble love might find natures not to be so penetrated. It pleased Heaven, therefore, that peace should have still more efficient ministers than any we have as yet seen. In a former book we had occasion to investigate the action of the clergy in relation to justice: we must now consider it briefly with reference to the extension of peace.

When the leuds of Charles Martel, the companions of his wars, acquired ecclesiastical dignities with the lands of the church, there was a temporary and partial interruption to the godlike ministry of those who from the time of the apostles, until the invasion of the barbarians, had always loved and promoted peace. How new the spirit was that then appeared in some who wore ecclesiastical titles, and how incompatible it was known to be with them, may be learned from the celebrated vision of Charles the Bald, recorded in the chronicles of St. Denis. The king declared, "that he saw some bishops and prelates, who were of the times of his father and grandfather, and that he asked in great terror, why they suffered such grievous torments?" and that they replied, "we were bishops in the time of your predecessors, and when we ought to have advised peace and concord between princes and people, we sowed and diffused wars and discord, and were the causes and movers of woes unnumbered; and for this reason we burn in these pains of hell, with all those who loved homicide and rapine! O Charles, it is because we loved to kill men and to make war through earthly avarice in the time of thy father, and of thy brethren, that we are in these boiling streams, punished by the torments of molten metals."* The evil, indeed, had been enormous. Savaric thus made bishop of Auxerre, seriously attempted to transform by force of arms his bishopric into a kingdom, and perished, struck by lightning as if by the hand of God, in the midst of his conquests. Nothing, however, can be more affecting than the lamentations of contemporary authors, when they describe the intestine wars and troubles which followed from the loss of the ministers of peace.† Still, in the worst moments of the sixth and seventh centuries, when after the invasion of the barbarians, the ecclesiastical benefices were given to laics and warriors, Fauriel doubts not that many of the clergy of the Franks were men of study, of grave and pacific manners.‡ How alive the Church was to the enormous evil introduced, may be witnessed in the decrees of councils. That of Tribur, in 895, decreed that a clerk who should have committed homicide even by constraint, should be deposed. The canons of numerous councils to this effect were cited by Gerhus, in his book on the corrupt state of the Church, addressed to Pope Eugene III. These are explained by the complaints of Paulinus, bishop of Aquileia to Charlemagne, who besought the emperor that priests and clerks might not be compelled to take part in war, but might be left, according to the evangelic and apostolic

* Annal. Mediolanens. 145. ap. Mur. Rer. It. Script. xvi.
† Vit. B. Hugonis de Lacerta, ap. Marteine, Vet. Script. vi.

* Les Grandes Chroniques de St. Denis, an. 877. † Gesta Episcop. Trevirens.
‡ Hist. de la Gaule Mérid. iii. 460.

ıs, to militate solely with spiritual
in the Lord's camp.* In effect,
ı, Charlemagne, and his pious son,
ı, endeavoured to co-operate with these
, and to root out the warlike seeds
ı had been forcibly infused into the
'. However, as a learned French
ian says, "it was neither from the
ingians, nor from the Franc clergy,
leas of effective reform could come.
ı too much degraded to reform itself.
was in the world but one sole power,
pal, interested in saving the spirit
ctrines of Christianity, and capable
mpting something for the moral and
ıs restoration of the Gallic clergy.
ower had never been idle in Gaul;
always found much to do there since
asion of the barbarians, but under
ıs of Charles Martel, it attained to
expected development. There the
l assemblies of the Franks were
rmed into ecclesiastical synods un-
e presidence of a legate, dictating
r the express purpose of restoring
religion, and of ensuring the spiri-
elfare of the people."† The evil,
re, was resisted, though for a long
t left traces, as when nature found
ant fortune through the fault of
ho, as Dante says, "perversely to
ı strained him who was born to gird
ord,";‡ and as when prelates looked
ur to the thrones of warlike kings,
of keeping their eyes fixed upon
m majesty of the popedom; like
ı England, in the time of her wars
e French, whom Gerson blames for
ving exerted themselves to make
etween the two countries, as they
und to do by their office.§ However,
exceptions only proved the rule.
hen kings sought to revive the bar-
abuse, their efforts were in vain.
ıoux, abbot of St. Medard, of Sois-
ı 1078, chose to abdicate his office,
than go to the wars when the king
to oblige him at the suggestion of
who knew that he would resign
han do so.‖ Excepting, therefore,
this calamitous epoch, and after it at
ervals, history can only bear wit-
the zeal and success of ecclesias-
discharging their original pacific
y. Once more free to exercise it,

Baluze, Miscell. ii.
riel, Hist. de la Gaule Mérid. tom. iii.
‡ Par. 8.
og. inter Francum et Anglum, op. iv.
gueval, Hist. d'Eglise Gal. vii. 450.

their labour was unintermitting, and their courage indomitable; and scarcely were they themselves escaped from the danger, when their voice was heard raised in behalf of others. Thus in 858 the bishops of France address a disturber of the public peace in these words: "We all that are patient have waited for peace, and it comes not. We beseech you, lord, to have before the eyes of your mind, the hour of your exit hence, when those will laugh who now laugh at the misfortunes of your opponents, and will seek some other protector. Think of that day when, with all men, you shall appear before the face of the eternal Judge; when our words which we write to you, shall not then be despised by those who now despise them, since without doubt they will be cited in testimony in that tremendous judgment. Then will those who have committed these cruelties, pass to everlasting fire, and those who have suffered them, to life eternal."* In 859 they sent a deputation to king Lewis, and addressed their legates in these terms, styling them embassadors of divine peace. "In consequence of the discord which is between our King Lewis and Charles, by the faction of certain seditious men, things are committed in this kingdom, which are horrible to hear, and we know what deadly result is to be expected if this pestilent dissension should continue by the artifice of the ancient enemy of the human race. We, therefore, discharge our legation for Christ, calling upon them to be reconciled to God. We have ordained you then, dearest brethren, as legates of God, legates of beloved peace, to repair with episcopal authority to our Princes Charles and Lothaire, and to the King, Lord Lewis. As our Saviour says, 'into whatever house you enter, say first, Peace to this house; and if the son of peace be there, your peace will rest upon them.' Then if this king be penitent, and should make a pure confession, let him be absolved, if he promise to return with his whole heart to peace and concord with our Princes Charles and Lothaire; and let them also promise to forgive him his trespasses against them, and to have peace with him, for the Scripture saith, 'Follow peace with all men, and holiness, without which, no one shall see God.' For such is the evil of discord, that, unless it be entirely extinguished, no good can follow. And it is charity which covereth the multitude of sins, without which

* Ap. Baronius, an. 858.

no alms can save us from the judgment of damnation. They must promise also that while as kings, ministers of the Lord, they forgive those who trespass against themselves, so they will exercise vengeance on those depopulators of Christianity, sinning against God, and the Church, who disturb the public peace. They must promise, in short, to be co-operators with God, to the utmost of their power, that the churches in their kingdom may be defended, and that the people may have justice and peace."*

In 889, the council of Pavia passed many decrees to restore the tranquillity of the kingdom, after what the fathers term "the horrible wars and infamous slaughters which had desolated that province." They require that the plebeian men, and all the children of the Church, may freely use their own laws, that nothing further may be required from them, that they may not be violently oppressed, that the count of each place may give them justice, that the king's officers should serve pacifically, and be content with their stipends, and that the king should extirpate rapine and establish peace.† The fathers of the synod of Teudo, under Drogo, bishop of Metz, addressed the three imperial brothers, Lothaire, Lewis, and Charles, in these terms: "The vessel of the holy church, from the beginning, often shaken by various tempests can never sink under the guidance of Christ, excited by the prayers of the faithful. We return immense praise to our Lord God, who has inspired your hearts with the intention of walking in the footsteps of your progenitors, and of assisting it, so that by a temporal you may attain to an eternal kingdom. Since then, it is certain, most noble lords, to say it without offence to you, that this holy Church, redeemed by the blood of Christ, and with much labour of your predecessors, restored and consolidated, has been rent and disturbed, and afflicted by your discords, it seems to us, who are unworthy, whom you here wish to consult, according to the Lord's precept, that if you desire at present to reign happily, and hereafter to be saved, and to remove the pestilence from this same Church, for whose condition you will have to render an account in the day of judgment to the King of kings, you must study to nourish between yourselves, from a clean heart and a good conscience, and a faith not feigned, that charity which the apostle taught, and so manifest y to the faithful and to infidels, may see your purity as the Lo saying, 'in this shall all men k you are my disciples, if you hav to the other,' love not alone in in tongue, but such as every secr nation of injuring being removed impugnation, alien from charity, each ready to lend assistance to according to his need. And so a people committed to you, who so long afflicted with discord by disseminate that peace which Chri ing to heaven, left as the great faithful, saying, 'Pacem relinq pacem meam do vobis;' without one shall see the Lord." Finally this admonition: "We seek that siastical order, according to it custom, may receive its vigour, generality of the people, justice; one, in every state and order, n strained from rapine, and from else causes discord. For past every one seek reconciliation, w easily be obtained, if instead of d plant charity, which covereth a of sins.*" Finally, and to cite more instance, the chief object of t assembled at Cologne in 965, is to their express declaration, to pr pax sit in terra hominibus bon tatis."† As the collective, so the ministry of the clergy was acti cause of peace, union, and tra such were the ends ever in th "Let the concord of holy pe amongst you," says Alcuin to the of Salzburg, "and the God of pea with you." To those of the chu Liudger, he says, "have peace for nothing without peace pleas Again, speaking of his order in he says, "we are of the numbe those who bring a sword, but to whom it is said, 'My peac to you, my peace I leave to y capitulary in the time of Charlem scends to the most minute detail scribing a pacific manner to "When invited to a banquet by a faithful, it says that priests sho no contentions with each other matter, and no words but only charity pleasing to God."§ In t

* Ap. Baronius, an. 859.
† Murat. Antiq. It. Dissert. iii.

* Ap. Heumann, de Re Diplomat. i
† Ap. Martene, Vet. Script. tom. vi
‡ Alcuini Epist. 22. 32.
§ Capit. Carol. M. ap. Martene, Vet.

ral instructions of St. Edmund of Canterbury, rectors are strictly commanded to teach their flocks that they are to be one body in Christ in the unity of faith and the bond of peace, to foment friendships and to appease all rising discords, not permitting that the sun should set upon the anger of their parishioners.* They had to contend, indeed, for the freedom of the Church and the security of the people, but still a soul thus touched, could never cease whoever threatens war, to speak of peace; and, hence, fierce martial barons, and some in later times, who ignorantly re-echoed their complaints, accused the clergy of loving effeminate princes. Thus Gloucester says to the bishop of Winchester,

"None do you like but an effeminate prince,
Whom, like a school-boy, you may overawe."

Alas! the English clergy, in defending the cause of justice and peace, had not such docile scholars in their kings. They admonish them, it is true, like Peter of Blois, who, addressing Henry II., says, that he returns thanks to the King of kings for having made him zealous to procure peace for the people committed to him, and exhorts him to persevere in almsgiving, that by them he may raise with his own hands a ladder to that mansion of the supernal citizens, in which is eternal peace and immutable rest.† But that there was little chance of overawing such men may be concluded from his significant allusion at the end of a letter to Walter, bishop of Rochester: "I am going to the king, after my fatiguing journey, and expect any thing but rest from him."‡ "I learned from an abbot, who had been in England," says Cæsar of Heisterbach, "that a certain bishop of the Præmonstratensian order in that kingdom, who lately died, was recommended, in his last hours, to confess. 'My lord,' said the clerks, 'you are very weak, why do you not confess?' To whom he replied, 'It is not necessary.' On their urging him again, he said, 'You foolish men; do you think that I have deferred confession to this moment?' They replied, 'But you were always occupied in the king's council.' 'If so,' he answered, 'I was not otherwise before the king than Christ before Pilate.' This holy bishop, in fact, was in the habit of confessing daily."§

* Lyndwood, Constitutiones Angliæ, 71.
† Compend. in Job. ‡ Ep. lvi.
§ Illust. Mirac. et Hist. Mem. Lib. iii. c. 22.

Men of power might have often heard addressed to them words like these of Peter of Blois on another occasion: "When I met you lately, I was not able to extort from you one little word of meekness or love. Whatever humility or modesty could suggest to the human heart I proposed, that I might elicit some word of meekness and humility, but all in vain."* We have seen how the clergy legislated in the interest of peace. The sentence of the canons was that all obligations contrary to peace should be considered null and void. It was decreed also that "the oblations of discordant brethren were not to be received,"† a measure that must have been more effective in ages of faith than men would now believe possible.

We find the clergy eager to seize every occasion to impress on the minds of men the duty of loving peace. "Studeamus dissidentium paci," as the Church says, citing St. Leo, on the third Sunday of Advent, was the advice given to all who prepared to celebrate any of her festivals. Did a calamity occur? The clergy hastened to press upon the people the necessity of appeasing enmities. Thus in 1308, when the church of St. John Lateran was consumed by fire, there was great lamentation in Rome, and all men feared that the judgments of God would fall on their own heads. On which account, says a chronicle, the clergy and people made processions with litanies, and peace was ordained between those who were at variance.‡

These litanies, these pacific processions of the clergy, might be disdained by men of Gloucester's feeling, which dictates the remark in the romance of the Rose, that merchants and mechanics, illuminators of images, or of enamel, with clerks, great copiers of hours, make a poor figure under their banner of the Virgin, by the side of a forest of lances, horses barded with iron, and pendants glittering with the blazon of a high lineage. Yet, in ages of faith, it was the banner that conquered; it was the triumphant march of the pacific on some solemn day which won the hearts of men and women, so as to render pale in comparison, during a moment, at least, all the glory of this world: what was the tournament itself after the procession on any great festival, in which the Church and

* Illust. Mirac. et Hist. Mem. Lib. xxi.
† Helitgarii Episcop. Camer. de Judicio Pœnit. Laicorum, iv. c. 31. ap. Canisii Lect. Antiq. i.
‡ Cornel. Zantfliet, Chronic. ap. Martene, Vet. Script. v.

people rejoiced together? The efficacy of the ecclesiastical interference, to suppress the usage of tournaments, must be remarked as a striking instance of a successful pacific ministry.

"Let no one receive into his house," say the fathers of a council of Rheims, in the twelfth century, "those who are going to tournaments, or returning from them, those works of detestable and diabolic malice."* As the world was profaning the holiest things of peace, and calling the preparatory trials of skill, "les vespres des tournoyement;"† so the Church was using the things that disturbed peace to point a moral, as when Huon de Mery, a monk of St. Germain in 1228, entitled his work "Le Tournay de l'Antichrist." "There is no question," says Cæsar of Heisterbach, "but that those who die in tournaments go to the infernal regions, unless assisted by the benefit of contrition."‡ Some German prelates attempted to defend the practice of jousting, in opposition to the pacific views of the popes. Thus, in the fifteenth century, the archbishop of Mayence wrote to Pope Sixtus, saying, "that tournaments were laudable, since by excluding from them all knights whose reputation was stained, they became the auxiliaries of virtue." But with such sophisms the Church was never appeased, and her horror of bloodshed had been evinced in the sentence of excommunication passed upon Henry I., count of Champagne, called the Liberal, one of the companions of Louis VII., in his crusade, in consequence of his regulation respecting tournaments, which rendered them more dangerous. Subsequent decrees showed how deeply the clergy felt this evil. Pope Alexander III., in reply to Henry, archbishop of Rheims, who, moved by the prayers of the archbishop of Canterbury, had implored him to grant the rites of burial to a knight "slain in a tournament," says: "though in all things, as far as is compatible with what we owe to God, we would gladly grant your petitions, yet having been often affectionately entreated for a similar matter by kings, princes, and barons, to whose prayers we never yielded, lest that evil custom might gain increase, let it not grieve you, if we refuse to hear your present petitions."§

In 1175, Count Conrad, son of the Marquis Tideric, was slain in a tournament. "That pestiferous amusement," s chronicle, "has passed to such an that in one year sixteen soldiers pe in it. Therefore, Wichmann, arch of Magdeburg, declared that all p present at tournaments would be municated. On this occasion, the bishop being absent in Austria, and h of Conrad's death, sent orders th should be deprived of ecclesiastical Some time after, when the archbish present with his clergy assembled church of Hall, the father of the said and his brother Otho, marquis of B Dedo, count of Groiz, Henry, Count Frederic, count of Brene, and many nobles with their attendants, threw selves at his feet with great lamen and weeping, to pray that he would communion to the slain, and assertin before death the count had been pe and absolved, and had received the munion of our Lord's body; for as on the ground wounded, a certain was passing by, and at the entreaty o present, he came up to the wounded and acceding to his prayer, heard h fession and absolved him from the of excommunication, on his promisin if he should recover, he would never incur such censure, but serve God fully, and, as a penance, assume the to militate for God. The priest no present to confirm this testimony. archbishop then required these prin swear that they would never assist other tournament, nor permit one t place on their domains; and on thei pliance he granted sepulture to the but with a saving the authority of the See. This occasioned further dela body all the while remaining unb but, in fine, Werner, a friend of t ceased, departed for Rome, and on turn the funeral took place. The cou then buried in the abbey of Monte S before the western entrance of the church, where, some time afterwards ner was laid at his side."* The s of the Church against every thing th dangered life or peace, may be con from the case that was laid before ander III., which the pontiff th lates:—"A man hath come to us s that when his son, ten years old, wa ing with other boys, with bows and a the nephew of Haideric was slain, a

* Ap. Martene, Vet. Script. vii. 74.
† Gyron le Courtois, f. xx. and xxiii.
‡ Illust. Mirac. xii. 15.
§ Ap. Martene, Vet. Script. ii. 674.

* Chronicon Montis Sereni ap. Menckenii Rerum German. tom. ii.

son is said to have shot the arrow, though it is not certain. For this offence the father was summoned before the bishop of the diocese. But, as in boys, things are left unpunished, which would be severely corrected in men, there seems to be no cause for further persecution."* From all this it is easy to collect how the Church would have acted in later times, if she could have exercised her authority with respect to what Petrarch terms "the infamous spectacle of popular combats, evincing more than barbaric savageness." Where her authority is rejected, the amusements of men become like those of the suitors in the Odyssey; and whenever a combat is proposed, or any act of contention and violence, some word very like the exclamation of Antinous, is sure to be heard. O, friends, what a delight has God prepared for us! the stranger and the beggar are about to come to blows.†

From the first moment of the establishment of the Christian republic in the west, during the pontificate of St. Gregory the great, Europe, with rare exceptions, possessed a zealous and effective peacemaker in each of his successors, whose services in this respect can never be adequately appreciated, for no length of historical research can ever disclose their whole extent, "Holding the place of Him on earth, although unworthy, who detests discord," as Pope Innocent III. said.‡ "Elected to that see, which," as Pope Nicholas I., in 861, reminded the German bishops, "is known to be a lover of justice, and benignity, and peace,"§ the labours of the sovereign pontiffs, to appease dissensions and prevent wars, and unite Christendom in concord, render all attempt to praise them superfluous, for they attest a glory which is as far beyond that which the world can bestow, as it is independent of its suffrage. "The father of the world to come," says Pope Martin IV. to the king of Sicily, "the Prince of peace, who by his inscrutable condescension, has granted the vicarial office to our humility, has inspired us with the desire that from the beginning of this vocation, we should diffuse with all our strength amongst the children of the Church, our holy mother, the good of peace."‖ Such was the office of the popedom, such the end for which its power has been employed, whether consisting in positive strength, as in the middle ages, or as at the present day only in the benedictions and the faith which render it sacred to countless millions of men; and if pure intellectual delight can ever result from the study of history, it will be when that study has been especially directed to investigations that demonstrate its exercise. One may defy a man unprejudiced to read the epistles of Christ's vicars, ministering to peace, without feeling that he has himself derived benefit from them. Centuries may have elapsed since they were written; the occasion which called for them may be without a parallel in the present times; he may have taken them up merely through curiosity; the result regarding himself is no less positive; they have left in his mind a pacific impression, a sense of sweetness, as if he had heard the language of Heaven.

When Pope Gregory IV. came into France, in 833, during the troubles between Louis-le-Débonnaire and his sons, he addressed the emperor in these impressive words: "Know that I am come only to procure that peace which the Saviour has so recommended to his disciples." Some time later, Pope Adrian writes in these terms to all the counts, and others of the faithful in the kingdoms of Charles and of Lothaire:—"It has come to our ears, that King Charles, transcending the fury even of savage animals, rages against his own entrails, that is, against Carolomann his son, depriving him not only of his paternal favour, but banishing him from the kingdom, and gathering an army to direct you all against him. And since, by a contention of this kind, it often happens that there is shedding of blood, we judge it right to provide, lest such a wickedness should arrive in our times. Therefore, wishing peace and not war, for the Psalmist says to the Lord, 'Dissipa gentes quæ bella volunt;' do you if possible make peace between the father and son; but if you cannot, at least, refrain from war, dissipate battles; otherwise if any of you move against Carolomann, and by your means there should follow a shedding of the blood of the faithful, let him know that not only shall he be bound with the ties of excommunication, but also consigned to associate with Satan in the chains of anathema."* At the council of Rheims, the French protected Amauri against the Normans, who sided with Audin; who mutually accused each other of having caused the burning

* Ap. Martene, Vet. Script. ii. 821.
† Od. xviii. ‡ Epist. Lib. xvi. 226.
§ Ap. Martene, Vet. Script. i. 150.
‖ Ibid. ii. p. 1284.

* Ap. Baronius.

of churches. Words ran high, and, at length, silence having been obtained, he who was to confirm the brethren spoke as follows:—"My dearest brothers, dispute not thus, multiplying words, but, as true children of God, seek peace with all your strength. Did not the Son of God descend from heaven to give us peace? In his clemency He took a human body in the immaculate womb of the Virgin Mary, in order to calm with goodness the mortal war which arose from the crimes of our first parents, in order to be the mediator of this peace between the Creator and man, and to reconcile together the angelic and human nature. All of us who are his vicars amongst the people, should imitate Him in all things. Let us then use every effort to procure peace to his members, since we are the ministers and dispensers of the orders of God. The Christian people are the members of Christ, whom He has ransomed with his blood. Amidst the troubles of the world and the tumult of wars, who can worthily contemplate spiritual things, or meditate suitably on the divine law? We ought then in all things to embrace with fervour this peace, which can alone protect good men, and enable them to worship God. We ought to recommend it to all to preach it, as well by word as by example. The Christ, in the moment of his passion, left it with his disciples, saying, 'My peace I leave you; my peace I give to you.' When He rose from the dead, He recalled it to them, saying, 'Peace be unto you!' Peace is the general good of all reasonable creatures. This is what I must endeavour unceasingly to propagate with all my efforts in the whole Church. I prescribe the observance of the truce of God, as Pope Urban, of holy memory, established it in the council of Clermont. The emperor of the Germans has invited me to Pont-à-Mousson, to make peace with him. I go thither for the sake of peace. I command all who do not accompany me, to wait here until our return. Pray for us, that our Lord God may turn our efforts to the peace and utility of the whole Church. On my return I will carefully examine your respective complaints, and determine, with as much justice as I can, that you may all return to your homes in peace and joy. I will then repair to the king of England, my spiritual son and cousin; and I will engage him, as also Count Thibaud his nephew, to render justice to every one for the love of God, and to put an end to the tumult of wars, that they may rejoice in the security of repose with the people, who are subject to them. Then after threatening with excommunication all who should persist in these disorders, the assembly was dissolved, and the pope departed for Pont-à-Mousson."*

Pope Gregory the Great, in his letter to Agilulf, king of the Longobards, thanking him for having consented to peace, observes, "that his joy chiefly arises from the consideration that the king, by showing his love for peace, has shown his love for God;" and then he adds, "what would have been the consequences of war, excepting that to the guilt and danger of both parties, the blood of the unhappy rustics, whose labour is profitable to both, would have been shed."† Hear another pontiff of that glorious name: "Gregory constituted, though unworthy, vicar of Him, who, to reconcile the servant to his Lord, being God, deigned to become man, willingly meditates councils of peace to those who are near, and to those who are far off, knowing the evangelic sentence, that 'Blessed are the peace-makers.' Moreover, the affection of especial love constrains us to endeavour to reconcile our dearest sons in Christ, the kings of France and England, and their kingdoms, which we embrace in the bowels of the charity of Jesus Christ. Seeing and deploring that from the dissensions of war, besides that without peace of times, peace of the breast can scarcely be obtained, there necessarily arises irreparable danger to the bodies and to the souls of men."‡ "The Lord knoweth who is the investigator of the reins and of the heart," says Pope Innocent III., while mediating between Parma and Placentia in 1199, "that to this matter we have proceeded with purity of intention, not that we should please one side to the detriment of the other, but that, fulfilling the duty of our office, we should either appease dissension by concord, or terminate it by a judgment."§ In his charge to all the faithful of the patrimony of St. Peter, he beseeches them to live together in true peace. "Do not," he says, "give offence to each other. Let not a community offend a community, or a person a person, nor let a community offend a person except it be a robber or malefactor; and if any one be offended let him not immediately offend in his turn, but let him rather give advice, that the offence may be corrected. And if a dispute should arise between any, let it be arranged

* Orderic Vit. xii.
† De Gestis Longobard. Pauli Diac. Lib. iv. 10.
‡ Ap. Baluze, Miscell. iii. Mansi Append.
§ Epist. Lib. ii. 39.

ges, saving always an appeal to the of the Apostolic patrimony."*

Alexander III. writes to Louis, France, in these terms—"Messen- ving come to us from our venerable , the archbishop of Rheims, and from ble count Henry, we have heard that vous contention has arisen between which is so much the more afflicting as we desire that all the nobles of ngdom might enjoy peace. Wishing, re, to appease, as we are bound, ontentions, we have attended to their ive petitions, and committed the ter- n of the cause to the archbishop of and to another bishop, as to prudent cquainted with the circumstances; the said count appears to have lately certain castles to the great detriment archbishop, whereby the root of dis- has fresh nourishment, we, being ed and solicitous for their peace, ask rise the royal greatness to interpose n them efficaciously, to take away matter of quarrel, and to decide the either judicially, or, what we more amicably, because it is better to n time when there is a rising malady, wait till it has acquired force; and very expedient to you and to your m, that peace and concord should be blished as soon as possible, between reat and potent men."†

another occasion the same pontiff to the king, "to urge him to attend tly to restore peace between the same shop and the canons of his church, as ld be disgraceful to hear of a differ- etween those who ought to be of one "‡ No cause of dispute is too insig- t to excite his solicitude. He writes archbishop of Rheims to settle a cause en Odo of St. Denis, and Paganus us and his wife, concerning a certain w which looks over the great bridge. bstacles seem too great for his inter- n. Labouring to reconcile Henry II., f England, and Lewis VII. of France, g for that purpose into France two als, and writing to Henry, the arch- of Rheims and bishop of Soissons, to hem to use all their efforts with the e says to them, "Although you should ulsed once or twice, yet you must not but persevere."§ A long letter from the archbishop, desiring him to be a pacificator between England and France, concludes with these words. "You can do nothing that will gain for you more honour and glory, and a more copious fruit of eternal recompense, than if you labour to reestablish peace between these kings."* To the same prelate he gives this general instruction: "The dignity of the pontifical office, which by Divine grace you have obtained, ought to induce you to show yourself meek and gentle to your subjects; and if any cause of indignation should arise, it does not become your discretion to be moved suddenly against them; but if they should commit an offence, which can with a safe conscience be remitted without punishment, you ought mercifully to pardon the delinquents, or if correction be required, to administer it with such humanity that you should not seem severe."† Similarly, Pope Clement IV., in his bull in 1268, reproves the king of France, St. Louis, for having passed too severe laws against blasphemers, and prays him to soften them: and in another of the same year, he says to the king of Navarre, that he ought not to imitate the king of France in making such rigorous laws. On the rebellion of Saucius and Emanuel against their father, Alphonso, king of Castille and Leon, Pope Martin IV. writes to all the prelates and grand masters of the military orders of Spain; and after an eloquent statement of the horrors of such a war, he concludes in these terms: "Since then, brethren and sons, it is necessary to apply a speedy remedy to such evils, and provide, above all, against the peril of souls, we resolved instantly to have recourse to the Most High, who rules over the kingdoms of men, and with humble supplications to entreat that He would look down benignly on that kingdom and all inhabiting it, on that father and on these sons, to remove dissensions from them, to reconcile all hearts in the unity of concord, to grant them tranquillity, to consolidate and confirm them in that state, to restore the royal throne, that he may preside so as to benefit; so govern his state that he may direct his subjects to perpetual safety, quiet, and peace. You too we admonish to join with us in supplicating to this end the pacific King, whose peace surpasseth all understanding."‡ Pope Benedict XI. writes, in these terms, to Robert, count of Nevers, son of Guido, count of Flanders, who was at war, with Philippe-le-bel: "The affection of intense

ist. Lib. x. 132.
. Martene, Vet. Script. ii. 935.
. ii. 935. § Id. ii. præf. 4.

* Martene, Vet. Script. ii. 990.
† Id. ii. 1007. ‡ Ap. id. ii. p. 1292.

charity and the fervour of love which make us provide generally for the pacific state of the whole world, induce us more especially to seek the peace and tranquillity of the kingdom of France, and of all its members, and of our beloved son the noble count of Flanders, your father, and of you, his son, and of all the people of Flanders. Often have we admonished your father, and entreated him to acquiesce in our counsels. We deem it superfluous to repeat to you what has been urged before by the council of our brethren the cardinals, and our venerable brethren the patriarchs and other prelates. Let him consider his own advanced age, his days verging now nearer to their setting. Let him reflect on the slaughter of bodies, on the perils of souls, and the waste of treasure which arise from wars. Let him consider how alien such things ought to be from him who should offer to God an evening sacrifice, not of the slaughter of men, or the spoliation of property, but of good actions; and that, above all things, he should desire most fervently, and labour most intensely, to leave his sons and his subjects after the day of his own passage in peace. Since, therefore, the common opinion reports that you have favour in his eyes, we ask, admonish and require your nobility, enjoining it on you, for the remission of your sins, that you endeavour, by good counsels and opportune admonitions, to induce the said count to consider these things deeply, to meditate on the infinite danger attending war, that he should not place his hope in its uncertain issue, uncertain even when between equals; that he should consider the multifarious good arising from peace, and that you, with the said count, your father, would embrace it. You should study to pass the flower of your youth in the good discipline of tranquillity and peace as far as you can, avoiding, not provoking war: and know assuredly that if you accede to our desires, we shall visit you with ample favours: otherwise, the disobedience of your father will be deemed by all to proceed from the sole root of pride, and we shall not be able with a safe conscience to fail the king in the prosecution of justice."* Pope Sixtus IV. writes in these terms to a certain warrior, named Bartholomew of Angers: "We have heard that you prepare for an expedition, and are about to march forth at the head of troops, with what object we know not; but we deem it part of our pastoral office to admonish you paternally to do nothing wh can prejudice the public utility; for th should be no movement of troops at t time, when it is proposed to make a sta for the common safety. He who sho cause any disturbance would expose hims to great infamy, and would sin agai Almighty God. Therefore, we exhort yo nobility with charity, and admonish y with apostolic authority to remain at re and not to blacken your fame for ever, a offend the Divine majesty, exposing yo soul to eternal perdition."* The sa pontiff writes to Angelo Ursino in the terms: "We understand, dear son, that the are daily incursions between you and c dear son Cichus de Nardinis, and that y have both taken up arms, injuriously to t repose of our people: therefore, since w cannot endure that the peace of our subje should be disturbed, we wish and we co mand you, under pain of incurring our i dignation and the guilt of rebellion, that receiving these presents you lay down yo arms, and cease from all acts of violenc and that within six days you, and al Cichus, whom we have similarly cite should present yourselves before us, that w may be able to put an end to the strife th is between you."† Clement VI. sent lette to all the abbots in the general Cisterci chapter in 1345, desiring that they woul offer up their united prayers in that assembl to Him who alone is powerful, that of H ineffable goodness He would appease th troubled sea of this world, and still th tempestuous waves of war and dissensio —that the faithful in the beauty of peac and resting in tabernacles of confidenc may worship the Author of peace mo devoutly, and the fear of evils being r moved, may apply more intensely to work of piety.‡ Independently of these solem acts, we should remark the eminently pacif character which generally belonged to th sovereign pontiffs. Their love of peace ha long been tried before their election. Nicho las V., while cardinal at Arras, by h discourses and exhortations had softened th minds of the kings of France and Englan and of the duke of Burgundy, and ha secretly directed them to peace.§ Benedi XI., of the Dominican order, had been martyr of peace before his election. I 1297, when general of his order, he wa sent into France by Boniface VIII. t

* *Ap. Martene, Vet. Script. ii. p. 1305.*

* Ap. Martene, Vet. Script. ii. p. 1493.
† Id. ii. 1514. ‡ Ap. id. i. p. 1455
§ Id. v. p. 457.

peace between that kingdom and Eng-
In 1301 he passed into Hungary as
à latere, to eradicate the discords
had desolated that country. Upon
ath of Gelasius II., Conon, cardinal
lestrina, was immediately elected his
sor in the monastery of Cluny, where
te pope had died; but he refused the
because as it was he who had fulmi-
the excommunication against the
or, Henry V., he knew that he could
hope to make peace with him, and,
ore, the troubles of the church could
terminated: therefore, he resolutely
d, and generously consulted only the
sts of peace. The pacific heart of the
roke forth in the readiness of Paschal
terminate the dissension between the
h and empire, by resigning the lands
gave a title to the emperor to claim
iture. The bishops happily refused
terms, for, had they been conceded,
ruin of all civilization would have
the inevitable consequence. The
ion caused by wars to these pacific
ffs is often described in an affecting
er. On one occasion the Colonnas and
is having taken up arms, while King
laus of Hungary secretly excited the
ans against Pope Innocent, Leonardus
nus, who was hastening to rejoin his
ls at Rome, describes in these terms
he saw: "On the bridge of Adrien I
l an armed force occupying it. How-
I passed undiscovered, and on reaching
riends the first spectacle was the heap
ain upon the road. I stood horror-
k, and wept. Then I proceeded to the
e of the pope, who, with wondrous
, inquired what had occurred, for all had
d unknown to him,—a man pacific and
, from whose gentleness nothing could
ore abhorrent than slaughter and the
ion of human blood: sad and oppressed,
eplored himself and his fortune, raising
mes his eyes to heaven, as if invoking
to witness that he was innocent towards
Roman people. Through affliction he
ed not to know what ought to be done.
ngth, it was determined he should fly
terbo, whence soon after he was recalled
ie Roman people with astonishing ap-
e and joy."*

) the personal influence of the sovereign
ffs many memorable treaties of peace
be ascribed. When Rachis, king of
Longobards, made war upon the exarch
of Ravenna, the pope's exhortations as a mediator made so profound an impression on the king, that he gave up his conquests, abdicated, and entered into the convent of Monte-Cassino, where Caroloman, brother of Pepin had retired. Benedict XI., whose whole life was spent in making peace, employed his first efforts after his election in appeasing the civil dissensions fomented by the Colonnas, which disturbed the public peace. He pacified Denmark and other northern kingdoms, and put an end to the troubles which agitated the State and Church of France. By his intervention Venice was reconciled to Padua without bloodshed.

It was, however, chiefly by the instrumentality of legates, that the pacific desires of the Holy See were furthered or accomplished, and the labours of these men in making peace, though passed over in silence by modern historians, can never be remembered without admiration and gratitude. Alluding to the part played by the sovereign pontiffs and their legates during the wars of the English in France, a great French writer observes, "how affecting it is to see these men of mercy following every where the men of blood, endeavouring to make them lay down their arms, imploring before the battle, weeping after it, always rejected, never weary, doves of peace, wandering from battle-field to battle-field with vultures."* Thus in 1356, the Cardinal de Périgord was sent by the pope to make peace between the two kingdoms, when he made such heroic, but fruitless exertions to stop the battle of Poitiers. After the battle of Cressi, it was by the mediation of the pope that a truce was made. Similarly the Cardinal d'Estouteville was commissioned by the Holy See to make peace between them in the time of Charles VII.; and the cardinal of Ursini, in 1418, had the same mission. The character of these legates too, in general, agreed well with their office. The Cardinal Bishop Octavius, of Ostia, whom Innocent III. sent to Philip, of France, is thus described by the bishop of Paris, "in his actions and words, urbanity tempers justice, and nothing can surpass his sweetness and benignity." At an earlier period it was at the solicitation of the Cardinal Melior, legate of the Holy See and of the abbot of Citeaux, that Philippe Auguste and Richard I. agreed to forget their quarrels. Hear Orderic Vitalis. King William, at the head of 60,000 horse, marched against the Angevins and Bretons, who had passed

eonardi Aretini Commentarius, ap. Muratori
tal. Script. tom. xix.

* Chateaub. Discours. Hist. iv. 60.

the Loire, and destroyed the boats which had transported them, to show their resolution to conquer or die. While the two armies prepared for action, and that the greatest part were reflecting upon death, and the woes which follow the death of the reprobate, a certain cardinal priest of the Roman church, and some religious monks, were there by the permission of God, and being divinely inspired, they went to the chiefs of the two armies to implore and reprimand them. They positively forbade them on the part of God to engage in battle, and, in fine, persuaded them to make peace. William of Evreux, Roger, some other counts, and great men, joined their efforts to theirs; the excessive ferocity of the ambitious was appeased before the messengers of Christ, who cast the seeds of peace; and the pale countenances of the terrified by degrees were changed. On this occasion, the count of Anjou yielded his rights on Maine to Robert, the king's son.* The language of the sovereign pontiffs in sending their pacific ministers, is characteristic of their faith. Pope Urban IV. writes to Cardinal Simon de Bria in these terms. "Though all Christian regions deserve the apostolic favour of the holy see, yet to the kingdom of France we look with especial delight, as to the garden of our recreation, for there rules a devout king in a court full of faith and devotion, and attachment to the holy see. There dwell many excellent barons and nobles of admirable probity, and there is found a people that always evinces favour and constancy of faith. Therefore, when the enemy of the human race, envious of peace, and a sower of weeds, excites troubles and scandals in that kingdom, endeavouring to infuse bitterness into the sweet delights of that terrestrial paradise, we feel deep and cruel wounds in our heart. Not without immense grief do we then reflect on the miserable condition of that kingdom, and on the enormities perpetrated in it: we are occupied in profound meditations and laborious vigils, that we may seek counsel from God to meet such a necessity. O that I could repair thither in person, consistently with the honour of God and the interests of the church, and of the faithful! but since this is impossible in consequence of the variety of our affairs, we commit to you the office of legate—to re-establish peace in spirituals and temporals by the authority of these presents."† Pope Gregory X. writes to the bishop of Senlis and to the abbot of St. Denis, committing to them the task of making peace between the king of Sicily and the queens of France and England, and concludes thus: "you will recollect that in assuming this pious labour, it is not as who love the same king and queens with such paternal affection, that you will serve, but the Author of peace."‡

It would be long to specify the occasions on which legates à latere were sent to appease wars and discord. How many ministers of peace were sent during the pontificate of Innocent III. alone! It was then that the legate Gregory, cardinal of St. Mary made peace between Ainric, king of Hungary, and his brother Andrew, whose war had desolated all that kingdom: that Martin prior of Camaldoli, after a labour of six months, made peace between the Milanese and the citizens of Pavia: that the abbot of Casemare made peace between Philip, king of France, and John, king of England. At mention of that name, there are many who now re-echo the complaint of some feudal lords who said, "quod ancilla regnum quod invenit liberum:" but they ought to consider the situation in which England then was placed, exposed at once to civil war, and to a foreign invasion from which she was delivered by the intervention of the Holy See; and they ought to study the contemporary writings which bear such testimony to the noble and disinterested intention of Innocent, and his messengers of peace.‡ When the Scots, in their distress, after a terrible war, applied to Pope Boniface VIII. who in consequence required King Edward to release his prisoners and send agents to Rome, where "the cause between the two nations should be heard and decided, without spilling any more blood," the reservations of that king, and the refusal of his nobility, only proved that their martial spirit obscured their knowledge of the universal recognised law of all Catholic nations, which sanctioned such an appeal to the Common Father, not as derogatory to their rights, but as conducive to the peace of Christendom.

In Italy alone, on how many memorable occasions was the pacific ministry of the sovereign pontiffs exercised? When Boniface VIII. heard that the Venetians and Genoese were making preparations for attacking each other, he sent solemn legates to both cities, requiring them to send embas-

* Lib. iv. † Martene, tom. ii. p. 1262.

* Martene, tom. ii. p. 1272.
† Gesta. tom. iii. 88.
‡ Epist. Inn. III. Lib. xvi. 79, 80.

to him, and to make a truce on pain
ommunication, which embassadors
cordingly sent to treat on a final ar-
ient.* Innocent V. made peace be-
Genoa and King Charles of France.
as III. who was of the great Guelf
of the Ursini, sent, in 1278, brother
ce of the Dominican order, to Bo-
where the Guelfs were then dominant,
r to make peace between the Jere-
, who were Guelfs, and the Lamber-
ho were Gibellines, and at that time
.† Gregory X. in 1272, with pious
sion moved, sent his legate to make
etween the citizens of Brescia, who
l him with great joy.‡ Innocent
1133, speaking of the discord and
ich had been caused between Genoa
a by the enemy of the human race,
had ensued the slaughter of innu-
e men, the captivity of Christians,
truction of churches, expresses the
f the Holy See, providing for the
n of soul, that so detestable a quarrel
be set at rest.§ But it would be
to mention all instances of the paci-
on of the Holy See. Let us leave
hat Petrarch terms the quiet halls of
man pontiffs, and proceed to observe
ll the great prelates of the universal
co-operated with them in maintain-
restoring peace.

have already seen how, under extra-
y circumstances, their temporal power
ployed for this end; it will be a
leasing task to witness them in the
y exercise of their spiritual authority,
cribed by St. Jerome, making the
on of their diocese, mounted on their
mule, knowing themselves to be
, not lords, preferring nothing to quiet
t, establishing and diffusing peace.‖
bishop of Paderborn, in a diploma
6, begins by saying, "that since he
his office undertaken to provide for
ce and tranquillity of the churches,
ound to watch with anxiety, and to
ate wherever there is known to be
tter of disturbance."¶ We find them
ployed in the earliest times. Clovis,
a pagan warrior, being in relation
t. Remy, heard his advice, and ab-

ob. de Voragine, Chron. Januense, ap.
r. It. Script. ix.
al. Vet. Mutinens. ap. id. xi.
b. Malvecii Chron. Brixian. Dist. viii.
d.
le Annales Genuenses, Lib. i. c. 5. ap.

t. xxxix.
Marteme, Vet. Script. i. 970.

stained from many acts of wickedness to please him.* St. Epiphanius, bishop of Pavia, deserved in 406 to be called the pacificator of Italy.† To reconcile differences between high and low, is described as one of the constant occupations of St. Dunstan. When Duke Robert of Normandy was preparing to send a fleet to ravage Brittany with fire and sword, Robert the archbishop, at the prayer of Alain, count of Brittany, and in his company, went to Mount St. Michael, and presented himself as a mediator before the duke, and "by the protection of Christ," says William of Jumiège, "succeeded in soothing his anger, so that counter orders were sent to the fleet, and Brittany was spared."‡ In Irish history we read, that the quarrels between the King Tordelvach and O'Melachlin, king of Meath, were settled by the interposition of Archbishop Gelasius and other prelates, who pledged them to a reconciliation on the altar of St. Kieran. In the midst of the constant storm of warfare in Ireland in those early times, the churchmen often succeeded in obtaining a truce or a peace. In the year 1099, when the two armies of Murkertach and the Hy Niell were waiting front to front, for the signal to engage, the primate of Armagh interposing between them, succeeded by his remonstrance in preventing the battle. In the reign of Richard I. the archbishop of Canterbury writes to the chapter of London, to announce "that it is impossible for him to proceed to his archiepiscopal see, because he is occupied in making peace between the kings of France and England." Similarly, Fulbert, bishop of Chartres, excuses his absence on one occasion by saying, "that he is engaged in making peace with difficulty."§ Writing to Ebalus, archbishop of Rheims, he says, "I suggest to you, though you do not want to be so admonished, that you should apply all your mind to the procuring of peace for the poor, whom kings and princes vehemently afflict."‖ And such importance does he attach to this duty, that he gives his opinion, that Guido may be suddenly raised from a layman to be a bishop, because he is a lover of peace, and duly elected by clergy and people.¶ In 1151, Arnold, archbishop of Cologne, writing to Wibald, abbot of Corby, says, "the clergy, fearing lest this

* Hincmar. in Vit. Remigii.
† Italia Sacra, i.
‡ Lib. vi. c. xi.
§ Fulb. Carnot, Episcop. xviii.
‖ Id. liii.
¶ *Epist.* xxxviii.

peace, as yet new and tender, might be easily disturbed by our absence, have persuaded us with great urgency of prayers, to postpone our journey to the lord pope, until the peace shall be fully consolidated, so as to be secure from interruption even after our departure."* Peter of Blois describes the successor of St. Thomas in the see of Canterbury, Richard, who had been prior of Dover, as "a man of consummate prudence and wisdom, who was in the habit of overcoming immense difficulties in making peace and appeasing quarrels."† Alluding to him in a letter to the prior and convent of Evesham, he says, "I wonder that my lord of Canterbury has not found a remedy for this trouble; for he is in habits of composing desperate litigations, and of appeasing inexorable discords among the great."‡ Writing to Walter, archbishop of Rouen, a mediator of peace, he says, "you have come bearing peace, and illuminating the country, and I wish that peace may be in your days; that is, true peace, the peace of God, which no one can give."§ Addressing another bishop, he says, "if you will only imitate the life of your uncle, the archbishop of Rouen, you will be meek and affable, mild with froward, and pacific with those who hate peace."‖ Gerbert, previous to becoming sovereign pontiff, evinced also wondrous solicitude after the death of Lewis, to make peace and preserve order: magnanimous when in exile in Germany and Italy, and at Rheims full of benignity towards his enemies. St. Hugues of Lincoln, died in London, in the midst of his labours to reconcile England and France, and procure peace for the people of the two countries. When Philip Augustus and the Comte de Hainault were about to renew their battles, and had parted with threats, the bishop of Arras intervened, calmed the irritation of sovereign and vassal, and led them to sign a treaty. The archbishop of Canterbury appears at Runemede as a pacificator, by whose intervention peace was made between the king and the barons.¶ Hubert Walter, archbishop of Canterbury, in king Richard's days, is styled "a bridle unto the king, and obstacle of tyranny, the peace and comfort of his people."**

* Ap. Martene, Vet. Script. ii. 493.
† Pet. Bles. Ep. 142. ‡ Ep. cxlii.
§ Epist. cxxxviii.
‖ Petr. Blos. de Institutione Episcopi.
¶ Radulfi Coggeshali Libellus de Motibus Anglican. ap. Martene, Vet. Script. v.
** *Godwin* in Vit.

The king of Ireland had offend
Plantagenet: Laurence, archbisho
lin, hastened to London to effec
ciliation. Henry rejected his m
and embarked for Normandy.
prelate delayed not to follow hin
his prayers succeeded in appeas
His mission of peace was accor
On his return he was seized with
illness: seeing a castle and town
asked the name from a sheph
heard that it was Eu. It was o
of November, 1181, that he arriv
convent of canons regular of our
the skirts of that town, where h
his bed, died, and left his bones.
sufferings could daunt these pa
lates. Gerard, in the eleventh
bishop of Séez, though at the
pressed with sickness, repaired to
of Courcy, belonging to Gilbert d
which Robert de Bellême was b
his object was to reconcile these t
but Bellême received him ill, and
his page Richard de Gasprée, u
tence that this young clerk was a
part of a spy, while riding on h
through the camp The bisho
claimed him; and such was hi
that it is said to have hastened h
He was a most holy man. All t
be decyphered on his tomb in the
were these words,

"Apud Deum et homines laudabi

The great Ives de Chartres was
far his labours in making peace.
conciled Raoul de Beaugeney and
IV. count of Blois, and many othe
has to bless the memory of a mul
bishops who made peace in cities
been torn with the feuds of G
Gibelline.† What labours did th
of Acierno endure in appeasing
mities of that people, who were
for the violence of their passions
otherwise virtuous.‡ But let us
chronicles. In 1288, peace was
Modena between the Grasulfis and
without, and the Aigones within
by the bishop of Modena.§ I
Albert de Regio, bishop of Bres
peace in that city between the n
the people; being a man venerate

* De Maurcy d'Orville, Recherche
la Ville et le Diocese de Séez.
† Italia Sacra, ii. 573. ‡ Id.
§ An. Vet. Mutinens ap. Mur. Rer.
xi.

th.* Francis Soderino, bishop of
ra, happening to be in Florence in
t sedition, went out in public, clad
pontifical vestments, and by his
ity and eloquence appeased the
who were about to devour each
The speech of Gerard, bishop of
, to Eccelino de Romana, when the
was about to make war against the
of Campo St. Pietro, was memorable.
ishop went to both armies, and like
er Orpheus, by the sweetness of his
appeased these tigers. Calling Ec-
first, he said, "Qui timet Deum
bona. We know and we read in
and profane history, that they who
God acquire honour, while tyrants
ng in their malice, after a miserable
inish it in tribulation and shame.
e is now Pharaoh, or Goliah, or
l, or Nero? Their memory has
ed with a sound, and they are blotted
f the book of the living. Therefore,
hort you in the Lord, to have God
ur Lord Jesus Christ always before
eyes, and not to make this war, lest
be destroyed, provisions scattered,
rs, orphans, and the poor reduced to
ry, hospitals and holy churches over-
n: but take up the arms of justice,
e the soldiers of God and of faith.
lesire you then to disband your forces,
to leave this question to be decided
e council of Padua." Then turning
e Lords Gerard and Tiso, of the
of St. Peter, and the Lord Marquis
commencing with the words, "Mise-
lia et veritas obviaverunt sibi," he
e to the same effect and prevailed.
e forces being dismissed, the bishop
ned to Padua, and the marshes re-
ed for some years in happy peace.†
brandini, bishop of Orvieto, in the
eenth century received Gregory X.
rvieto. When the pope was leaving
his holiness desired him to ask some
ır with confidence for himself or for
hurch. He replied, "I have no other
ır to ask, holy father, but to implore
to put an end to the troubles of
ence, my beloved unhappy country. I
e nothing so ardently as to see peace
red to a people so dear to me; but
it is absolutely impossible there
ld ever be a solid peace as long as a
spirit reigns there, I pray your holi-

acob. Malvecii. Chron. Brixian. vii. c. 92.
xiv.
olandini de Factis in Marchia Tarvis. Lib.
ap. id. tom. viii.

ness to proscribe even the name of the two factions, Guelf and Gibelline, in order that all the citizens reunited in common interests, may henceforth form but one people in the charity of Jesus Christ, who has left us his peace, as the mark that we are his children, and the pledge of the felicity which we hope for in the future life."*

James de Voragine, archbishop of Genoa in the thirteenth century, was another of these glorious pontiffs who procured peace for men. One of his maxims, at least, may be permitted to pass for golden. "Though too great mercy be fatuity," he says, "and too great justice cruelty, it is better to have to render account to God for the former than for the latter."† He died as he had lived, and was buried in the church of St. Dominic, to whose order he belonged. His love for the poor was unbounded. But it was as pacificator, composing the feuds between Guelf and Gibelline, which had long divided Genoa, that we must now speak of him. In 1292, he composed many of these dissensions;‡ and, in 1295, he restored love and harmony to the whole city, ratifying a general peace between all the citizens.§ In relating this great event, the humble bishop omits all mention of his own labours, and puts a strange face on his own perfection. "In 1295, there was made," saith he, "a general peace in Genoa between the Gibellines and Guelfs, whose perilous dissensions had endured sixty years, and would have lasted longer, but by the grace of our Saviour all were this year, in the month of January, brought to concord; so that they became now one society, one fraternity, one body. This caused such transports that the whole city was full of jubilation and immense joy. We also, in the parliament, when the peace was declared, sung aloud with our clergy the 'Te Deum laudamus,' having with us four mitred persons, bishops and abbots. Then after dinner, all the troops following us, we, clothed in our pontificals, on a horse covered with trappings, rode joyfully through the whole city, giving the benediction of God to all the people, and returning thanks to God. But, alas! as pure goods are in heaven, and pure evils

* Touron, Hist. des Hommes Illst. de l'Ord. de S. Dom. passim.
† Jacob. de Vorag. Chronic. Januense, P. x. c. 20. ap. Mur. Rer. It. Script. ix.
‡ Italia Sacra, iv. 888.
§ Touron, Hist. des Hommes Illust. de l'Ord. S. Dom. i. Liv. 6.

in hell; and here both good and evil are mixed; we had soon to deplore troubles caused by the envious enemy of human peace, which, however, were finally appeased by the creation of two captains, Conrad Spinula and Conrad Doria: and so the city had rest from battles."* In later times we find the scholars of Italy, notwithstanding their admiration for pagan examples, capable of appreciating the sublime majesty of such men as these. Thus one of them describes John of Selva, archbishop of Milan, pacifying that republic like a deity, and conciliating by his piety and moderation the respect and love of all men.† Of these pontifical labours in making peace, the German historians give examples without number. Thus, in 1289, we read that the archbishops and bishops make peace between Andrew, king of Hungary, and Albert, duke of Austria.‡ When Tholo found sitting at the feet of blessed Hartmann, bishop of Brescia, the man who had slain his brother, and whom he had long sought for in all public places in order to kill him, the terror and remorse which seized him at the sight, and his pacific departure, without any attempt to injure his enemy, through reverence for the bishop is compared by old writers to the miraculous staying of Attila at the gates of Rome by the presence of the holy pope.§ "The peace which angels announced to men at the birth of Christ, this holy pontiff," say they, "endeavoured to convey to others; for he was pacific to those who hated peace; so that often before persons of the most humble condition he would lie prostrate on the earth, beseeching them to be reconciled to each other. From the day when the counts of Espan had refused to accede to his mediation and make peace with the Tyrolese, who desired to accept it, men remarked that though up to that time by far the most powerful, they were always worsted in war."‖ Hillein, in the twelfth century, on becoming archbishop of Treves, found the province still smoking with the war between his predecessor and Henry, the count of Namur; but he extinguished the flame, not by arms, but by peace—not by animosity, but by gentleness—not by temerity, but by reason. So he took away occasion of injury from the tyrants; and when he could not otherwise, under a form of decency, purchased peace for the churches and people of God. Thus, in time of war he was made a reconciliation. No one could describe his ability and foresight, so that the country in his days had rest from wars. His pious art in preventing them and securing peace was commemorated on his tomb. It was he who built the towers in the castles of Tris and Manderscheit.* In the same century Arnold, archbishop of Treves, recalled the nobles of the province to peace and concord, not alone by frequent admonition and correction, but also by a liberal distribution of great gifts; and when he was blamed by some for this, who deemed it disgraceful that a man so rich and powerful—who ought, as they said, to resist force the injustice of tyrants—should give his treasures to them as if through fear of men, he humbly answered, "God is my witness that I do so for the sake of God, for whose love I would rather give away mine own than involve myself in wars in which I should give occasion to wicked men to exercise robberies, homicides, and other crimes against the Churches and the poor of Christ. Therefore, I choose by dispensing my treasures, to repress the insolence of the violent, that I may redeem both those who inflict and those who suffer injury, whom Christ deigned to redeem with his blood." Nevertheless, this archbishop was brave and strenuous, and resolute in defending justice even by force of arms, as when he opposed Frederick, son of Duke Matthew, and the sister of the Emperor Frederic, whom he besieged in his castle of Sigerbech, and compelled to live at peace; as also when he repressed the count of Nassau, and opposed the evil actions even of the emperor himself; so that it was only his own that he liberally gave away for the sake of peace.† Engelbert de Monte, in 1217, was elected archbishop of Cologne, a true man of peace and defender of the poor. He was assassinated by his relation, the count of Isenburg, as he travelled in a hollow way going into Westphalia, in revenge for his having protected against him the convent of Essendiens. This prelate used always to say "that without money he could not make peace in the land."‡ In the twelfth cen-

* Chronic. Januense, ap. id. tom. ix.
† Joan. Pyrrh. Epist. ap. Goldast. Philologicar. Epist. 32.
‡ Chronic. Claustro-neoburgense, ap. Pez. Script. Rer. Aust. i. § Id.
‖ Id.

* Gesta Trevirensium Arch. ap. Martene, Ve Script. iv. 209. † Id.
‡ Annales Novesienses, ap. id. iv.

albero, archbishop of Treves, on sion made peace in a singular The Saxons, with Duke Henry, ointed a day and the place of , to try by a general battle, the f their respective titles to the That prelate, who had promised with twenty knights, arrived with lred, and thirty hogsheads of wine, an immense supply of victuals. ith the divine assistance, he la- uccessfully in making peace be- ıe rivals at the moment when so ousand had met in great hatred erness to fight. So having com- things in peace, he sent a hogs- wine to each of the princes, y to the Saxons; and in this we ote the subtle genius of the arch- who deemed that plenty of wine ıals would conduce more to victory ısands of starving men. So, again, counts of Molbach and of Zeina ; waged war with each other, the untry would have been laid waste, ro, the archbishop, had not inter- his counsel: for it was his custom y to assemble his suffragans and es and nobles of the province, and ister large stipends to them, and ith them concerning the peace of try.* "When Albero, brother of of Louvain, became bishop of says another chronicle, "it was l to see what peace returned to ıtry by his means."† In 1464, hbishop of Magdeburg, succeeded ic Frederic, who left a name cele- nong angels and men for his love John also loved peace and con- henever discords arose between as those between William, duke y, and the landgrave of Thurin- between princes and states, as oftener, he laboured to appease he chronicler who thus speaks also Hermann, archbishop of then living, as another lover agator of peace; as also Bertold enberg, archbishop of Mayence, minently pacific."‡ Sometimes, accomplish their mission, such esigned it to other hands. Gode- bishop of Treves, had been beloved by clergy and people before his elevation: but the year after, some of his clergy began to rise against him, and to calumniate him, "whether with truth or not I know not," says the chronicler; "God knows: but at length, seeing that on his account fraternal charity was wounded in the Church, some adhering to him and others resisting him, lest he should be the cause of division, he abdicated the see in the third year of his episcopacy."* In the year 1000, when a great discord prevailed between the nobles and people of Milan the Archbishop Herebert, finding all his efforts to make peace fruitless, on the two parties coming to open war, voluntarily withdrew to another place; for he was unwilling to act against the nobles who were now expelled, being himself sprung from them; nor would he contend against the people, because he always showed himself their father and pastor; but he used to speak words of charity. This man of peace thus prevented, was nevertheless of such reputation in Italy, that there was no duke or marquis that would oppress any one unjustly if the pastoral staff of Archbishop Herebert was carried and fixed in the place; and no question arose that did not immediately cease until it was discussed before him.† But the fact is, that the difficulties opposed to peace were sometimes insurmountable. The obstacles to be overcome were so great, that old writers compare such bishops to sheep among wolves. St. Bernard says, on one occasion, "Then the man of God understood that he was destined to preach, not to men, but to animals." Still their courage and ability were often crowned with success. When St. Hugues, bishop of Lincoln, was chosen ambassador to treat of peace with Philip Augustus, he showed such talents in the negotiation that the most skilful diplomatists of the time were astonished. It was in the solitude of his ancient cloister that he had learned the art which enabled him now to make peace between two kings. The calm self-possession dictating a playful ease, with which they accosted the most terrible potentates, aided them not a little. This same pontiff, having offended the king of England, was introduced into his presence, whom he found in great wrath sitting in his hall, sucking his finger, which had been hurt and wrapped in a cloth. Then Hugo,

Trev. Arch. ap. Martene, Vet. Script.

Monast. S. Laurent. Leodiens. ap. et. Script. iv. 1082.

ic. Terræ Misnensis, ap. Menckenii . Germ. ii.

* Gest. Trever. Arch. ap. Martene, Vet. Script. iv.

† Gualvanei de la Flamma, Hist. Mediolanens. 145. ap. Mur. Rer. It. Script. xi.

wishing to lead him from pride, said to him in a jesting tone, "How like you are now to your relations of Falaise!" The king, admiring his constancy, could not forbear laughing; and said to his astonished courtiers, "Do you not perceive the impertinence of the man? The mother of my ancestor William was a furrier's daughter of Falaise, and this prelate, seeing me sucking my finger, says I resemble the Falasians, and that I am their relation." Then they all laughed, and Hugo was received in peace and honour.* That urbanity and sweetness of address, with that true liberality of mind which in every age has distinguished the episcopal character, must always have produced the effect which Talleyrand described when he said, speaking of the bishop of Evreux, "His house was open to men of all political parties; and he made use of the influence arising from his sweetness and his great age to reconcile rivals and enemies; for persons in the same room with the bishop could not be far from understanding each other." Their eloquence was of itself a most efficacious instrument of peace. That of James de Voragine, archbishop of Genoa, is described as being truly wonderful in his mother tongue. He was so studious of St. Augustin, that he could repeat nearly all his volumes by heart, besides being deeply versed in the Old and New Testament, of which he was the first to give a translation in the Italian.† The words of such men almost irresistibly infused peace, even where the fight was all within men. A contemporary writes as follows to Leander, archbishop of Seville: "I have received the letter of your holiness, written with the pen of charity; for every thing on the paper bore the tint of what was in the heart. Some good and wise men were present when it was read to them, and their breasts were immediately moved to compunction. Each one began in his heart to give you the hand of affection, for in that letter one not merely heard, but beheld, the sweetness of your mind. They were kindled and filled with admiration; and that fire of heaven demonstrated what was the ardour of the writer; for what must be the intensity of that fire of charity in your mind which could so instantaneously kindle others!"‡ Their eloquence derived its force from the deep religious conviction which inspired it; their style was Christian simplicity; and all their in regard to their own enemies or other men, were drawn from the on the Mount. A dissension havin between Henry, bishop of Minde Wibald, abbot of Corby, Bernard, of Paderborn, writes in 1151 to the in these terms: "Since we are comm to follow the things which are of and since eternal beatitude is pron the pacific, therefore, through the peace we think it right to labour i to destroy the root of discord whi grown between you and the abbot of C His mediation was successful, for the letter of Wibald to the bishop den, expressing his joy at the proffer of reconciliation, and declari henceforth he will labour to cond bishop's cause with as much zeal were his own; that where discord ab charity and grace may the more The Emperor Conrad's letter to the is also extant, in which he congr and praises him on having mad with the monks of Corby. In 126 Visconti, archbishop of Milan, placed the city under an interdict sequence of the Turriani having v seized the goods of the Church nobles accused him to the pope, manded his deposition. His lang different occasions during this dis might be cited as another exampl indeed," he said in the Pope's p "was born in the city of Milan, v love so much that I would willing my head cut off, if by that suff could procure peace for all the ci Being, however, driven into bani with the nobles by a violent faction by the Turriani, and in 1275 co Vercelli, he was addressed by the of Milan, who begged that he woul himself at their head while endea to regain possession of their homes. reminded him of the death of Count de Languscho and Tibald, his own who had been so dear to him, a death of others who had fallen in t test. Otho replied as follows: "I part of an archbishop to spare, and punish or take vengeance. I wish and to lead back the proscribed homes. I wish to be a captain an of you all, provided you lay asid against your enemies, and invoke th

* Dorlandi Chronic. Cartus. Lib. iii. c. xi.
† Italia Sacra, iv. 888.
‡ Ant. Hispalensis Bibliotheca Hispana, Lib. iv. c. 4.

* Ap. Martene, Vet. Script. ii. 4

nce." This pacific man was thus, t his desire, drawn into many battles. incredible sufferings, which he en- with heroic fortitude, he was present he nobles in their great victory in at Dexio, against Napus de la Turre, rancis de la Turre, the lords of the Milan. Already the podesta and s were among the slain, when Otho d that the father, Napus de la Turre, unded. Then moved to compassion, armed as he was, he ran to the spot ent his being slain; and seeing him erably prostrate on the ground, he ered and wept, and tried to console rith friendly words. Then Count d de Lomello came up, seeking nce for the death of Count Gotfried nguscho, but he was prevented by chbishop. Meanwhile the people of ty, many of whom had been at all friendly to Otho, sent ambassadors that they would receive back the and the archbishop. Then Otho, assembled the nobles, spoke to thus: "Let no one draw a sword, or either poor or rich. Let no one re- er injuries or wounds; for it would come an archbishop to return to his th joy while others were mourning ss of their property or of their blood. t us all enter the city singing the s of God." The nobles promised to im; and he, seeing that every one to spare his enemies, said, "Let us en, to Milan with benedictions." came forth the monks and clergy, l the people, crying "Peace! peace!" gh from the day of recovering his see dered to no enemy evil for evil, but ited all enmities, we find his sub- t life full of troubles, till at last, in he made a peaceful end in Clairvaux.* tter of Ives de Chartres to the clergy ity of his diocese, when they sought e of arms to deliver him from the into which he had been so barba- thrown by the viscount, is a still more table instance, as recalling the heroic votion of St. Leger, bishop of Autun seventh century, when he gave him- to Ebrouin, rather than draw down amities of war upon that city. The of Chartres writes in these terms: olutely forbid you to do this; for by houses and robbing the poor, you please, but offend God, without whose aid neither you nor any one else can deliver me: for it would not be decent that I, who did not come to the episcopacy with warlike arms, should recover it by such means, which belong not to a pastor, but to an invader. If the hand of the Lord hath touched me, pemit me alone to drink the cup of my misery, and sustain the wrath of my God, till He shall justify my cause. For I am resolved not only to suffer imprisonment and deprivation of ecclesiastical honours, but also to die, rather than that for me there should be a slaughter of men. Only remember that when Peter was kept in prison, the Church prayed unceasingly for him. So do ye for me. Be content with the limits placed by our fathers; and may the God of peace and consolation grant that in this, and in all other matters, you may think and do what is right."*

A difference between the count of Savoy and the Dauphin being referred to certain arbiters, Guillaume Royn, bishop of Grenoble, opened the conference with these words: "O, palpable darkness of human minds, not to know the good of peace, by which kingdoms flourish and republics are extended. Place the evils of war before your eyes, when there are not engaged, perhaps, twenty men who know each other, or who would cause each other displeasure, and who, if they met elsewhere, would not wish to serve each other; and yet, thus marshalled, they all run at each other like mad dogs to tear each other to pieces. Think of the horrible rage and the fearful circumstances of war; and what is the end of the tragedy but churches and sanctuaries pillaged and profaned, towns burnt, villages reduced to solitude? Let us endeavour then to bring over princes to concord, that our poor people may have peace, and all states of our country enjoy beatitude."† I have wearied my reader by these examples; but they were not uncalled for. When next he sees the magnificent sepulchre of one of these princely bishops of the middle ages, perhaps he will be less quick to assent to those who take occasion from the view of such tombs to argue, that the powerful churchmen of those days can have no title to the gratitude of the pacific. Even though he should not expressly read on it, "Amator pacis," as he may find on that of Philip, bishop of Utrecht, the son of Philip the good duke of Burgundy; or, "Qui in vita sua pacem dilexit, bona pace

ılvanei de la Flamma, Hist. Mediolanens. .p. Mur. Rer. It. Script. xi.

* Ivon. Carnot. de Epist. xx.
† Paradin Chronique de Savoie.

quievit," as on that of Hugo, bishop of Auxerre,* perhaps he will be no less inclined to believe that the vault beneath his feet contains the ashes of one who, though potent, abhorred all violence, and who lived diffusing peace.

I have now to speak, in fine, of men, the sole object of whose present existence appeared to be the attainment and diffusion of social and intellectual tranquillity. The clergy, in general, had a complicated duty to fulfil: the sovereign pontiffs had to govern, with a vigorous arm, the universal church—bishops had often to contend and to resist,—but monks and friars, though always the first to combat and to suffer for justice, seemed, even in the combat, to have had only one ministry and one desire—the diffusion of peace—to seek peace and follow it themselves, and to persuade other men to seek and follow it. The pontiffs and prelates, whom we have just seen, are witnesses to prove the pacific influence of the cloister, for most of them had been called from the cells of monasteries, where they had learned the science which enabled them to still the tempests of the world. In the first ages of the Church society beheld, issuing from convents, those who bore the caduceus which the true Apollo found. In the sedition of Antioch, the monks came down from their mountains, and placed themselves at the palace gate, imploring grace for the guilty. One of them, Macedonius, met in the streets two officers of the emperor. Seizing one of them by the cloak, he invited them to alight from their horses: "Friends," cried the hermit, "intercede for the blood of the guilty; tell the emperor that his subjects are also men made in the image of God; that if he is angry on account of some bronze statues, a living and rational image is far preferable. When the former are destroyed, others can be made like them; but who will give a hair to the man who has been slain."

Rome herself, when taken by Totila the second time, owed some mitigation of her sufferings to the prayers of St. Benedict, whose sanctity was respected by the barbarian. But let us pass on at once to the scenes recorded in the histories of the middle ages.

"King Henry," says Orderic Vitalis, "making war against his brother Robert, duke of Normandy, laid siege to Tinchbrai. In the two armies were brothers and relations opposed to each other. Many monks endeavoured to prevent a combat and effusion of blood. The hermit V ardent than the rest, boldly for to come to extremities, lest or witness revived the detestable cri sons of Œdipus."*

When the citizens of Benev the ninth century, took up arn those of Spoleta, each party be mined to carry on war till it con perished, the man of God, St. abbot of Corby, walked to and fr their furious ranks as a herald ciliation; nor did he desist unt made them renew their treaty, it with a kiss.† St. Ailred, proce Galloway, found the ruler of th in deadly hatred against his son against the father, and the brothe each other, a feud which the kin bishop had vainly endeavoured The soil was stained with bl Ailred not only pacified them, vailed on the father to assume the habit; and thus he taught him, deprived so many of life, to partaker of life eternal.‡

The pacific influence of St. Ber might occupy a volume. In 1132 peace between the Pisans and In 1134, he was an arbiter of pea Milanese. Again, he made peac Louis, king of France, and Theot of Champagne. The infamous Vermandois being excommunicat le jeune was exasperated to such he carried war and devastation whole of Champagne because he the count of having procured the to avenge the injury of his daugh it was on occasion of this atro directed against all things sacred fane, that St. Bernard wrote th and thundering letters to the his counsellors. "By a secret of God," he says to the former, " to yourself false ideas of every th regard as an affront what is hon you, and as an honour what c with infamy: you fear where th ground for fear, and you do not f midst of danger." In fact, the vi judgments of God with which menaced him caused him such hension, that he fell into a state of

* Martyrolog. Ec. Antissiodor.

* Ord. Vit. Lib. xi.

† Vita S. Adal. ap. Mabillon, Ac Bened. Sæc. iv. p. 1.

‡ Bolland. Acta Sanc. Jan. tom. i.

§ Angelo Manrique Cisterciensium

ned affairs, and gave himself up to
g. Suger endeavoured, in vain, to
him. The king said that no one
Bernard could heal the wound of his
When the saint heard of his peni-
being entreated to hasten and wipe
is tears, he replied that many tears
anting in order to extinguish the
of Vitri, and to wash out the blood
had been unjustly shed. However,
aired to the court, and represented
king the enormity of his crimes,
the same time the necessity of not
way to despair, flying into opposite
s from those which had caused his
He told him to evince the sin-
f his penitence by commanding his
passions for the future, by humility,
on, and application to the affairs of
gdom. Each time that the gates
monastery opened for this man of
visit the stormy scenes of the world,
an angel of peace that came forth
pate contention. One time he came
ounce to Louis le gros, with all the
ty of a prophet, the destiny of his
and of his crown, and to reconcile
ith the bishops; at another, after
ng his monks to prayer, it was to
he camp of Louis le jeune to make
row aside the sword already turned
Thibaut, count of Champagne; at
r, it was to promise the queen that
ould have a son, provided she would
le a peace; at another, it was to
e city of Metz from the fires of a
ich were to reduce it to ashes. His
deed, a life in glory shrined. But
shall we find a monastery in ages
that did not send out some blessed
naker to heal the world? The monks
Corby in 1148 had written to their
Wibald, urging him to return, and
ining of his having remained absent
in the monastery of Stavelo in the
es, over which house also he pre-
and he replied in these words,
your fraternity may know that the
s not been spent idly by us, be it
to you that we have made peace,
ing its author, until the feast of St.
between the count of Namur and
nts of Lon and of Dasburgh, whose
ons had lacerated the whole country.
e, besides this, effected a definitive
ntary concord for the whole land
the count of Rupe, who is our ad-
and the count of Monte Acuto, who
incitements of many, had waged
ns against each other. And what
are your chief and pressive motives for now urging us? Truly, that the old women round your walls are reckoning upon their fingers, and saying, like prophetesses, 'He will not return!' Lo, these are your wars —these your desolations!"* In 1151 the same Wibald excused himself to the bishop of Liege for not having been present at the colloquy of Huy, as he was labouring to procure peace and tranquillity for the Christian people, and preventing tyrants from rushing to arms.† The abbot of St. Godshard of Hildeshiem, writing to him to beg that he would be reconciled with Henry, the former abbot, knew what arguments would best move such a man; for his words are, "I beseech you by Him who is the true peace, Christ, and by regard to the reward which in the Gospel is promised to the pacific."‡ Allusion to such events occur repeatedly in the monastic diaries. Thus, in the annals of Corby, we ready that in 1168, a discord about hunting, between the counts of Everstein and Homborch, was appeased at Corby by two abbots: that in 1170 the lay magistrates of Stockhusen chose the abbot for arbiter of their quarrels, that in 1334 the contests between Albrecht de Stocheme and Margaret de Nannexen, about lands and regalities, were appeased by the abbot: that in 1337 Lippold de Luthorst and Adam of Olterhusen chose the abbot Tideric for their arbiter.§

Some time previous to the year 1194, Udo de St. Cloud gave to the priory of Montreuil, near Versailles, some land which Hugues de Crespieres pretended belonged to his fief. Udo St. Cloud had a son, named Raoul, who offered to prove his father's right by duel. The monks of the priory, in order to prevent the combat of the champions, paid to Hugues a sufficient sum to induce him to desist from his claim.‖

In 1149 the horses of Corby were stolen one evening while the monks were at supper. Theodoric, count of Huxaria, was challenged to combat by Reiner, de Porta, who promised to prove by battle that the lord abbot's horses were stolen and slain by advice of the said Theodoric. He, therefore, becoming a man suspected and hateful on that account, and wishing to purge himself, accepted the challenge. The domestics and dependants of the abbey

* Ap. Martene, Vet. Script. ii. 255.
† Id. ii. 485. ‡ Id.
§ Annales Corbienses ap. Leibnits. Scriptor. Brunsvicensia Illustrantium, tom iii.
‖ Lebœuf, Hist. du Diocese de Paris, viii. 341.

besought the abbot, Wibald, to have the matter settled, either by justice or by mercy. The abbot chose eight persons, to whom the case was referred, and by his authority prevented the duel, and Theodoric swore, on the sacred relics of St. Vitus, that it was without his knowledge or will that the horses were stolen. Then the abbot reconciled Theodoric and Reinher.*

Abbots used sometimes to make peace between citizens and bishops, who were for defending their feudal rights against them by force. Thus, in 1326, is was the abbot of St. Nicaise, at Rheims, who made peace between the bishop of Liege and the citizens: again, in 1346, it was the same abbot who reconciled the chapter of Liege with the lord of Heinsberch; and so, in 1371, it was the abbot of St. Bavo who treated to conciliate the bishop of Liege and the city.†

What care the blessed Stephen, abbot of Obazina, in the diocese of Limoges, in the twelfth century, evinced to promote peace, will appear from one example, related by contemporary writer. "A quarrel arose between Raimund, viscount of Turenne, and a certain nobleman, by name William. The cause was a hawk, belonging to the viscount, which William obtained, and refused to give back. Satan can cause calamities by the least things; so the viscount, not so much on account of the hawk as of the insult, declared war, and said that he would ravage all the domains of the said William, unless he restored the bird. William only resolved the more strenuously to keep it, for he desired nothing more than war, that he might have occasion to plunge upon the rich territories of the viscount. So fearing lest by any accident the hawk might be taken from him, and this favourable opportunity for war be lost, he sent it to a certain powerful nobleman who resided at a great distance, and who, like himself, desired war and plunder. This holy man, perceiving by these events how evils were multiplying, and how the whole country was about to be exposed to the ravages of armed bands, went first to the viscount, and reproved him for intending to vex and destroy a Christian people for the sake of a bird: he implored him to overlook the deed, or, if not, to punish only the guilty without making the innocent people suffer for it. But seeing that h strances availed nothing, he trie way, and pledged himself to b the hawk if the viscount would im disband his forces, and give the to return to their homes. The assenting to this, he being ar faith, and in confidence like a li diately presented himself to th and, on the viscount's author manded them to separate and their respective abodes. He ceeded to the residence of Wil hearing that the hawk had been s he set off without hesitation to nobleman to whom it had bee though it was then the depth and though the distance was so when it was a question of maki nothing seemed difficult to hi was ready to die, or leave his c ever, rather than not exert his secure it. On arriving at that n castle, as soon as he presented hi lord demanded who he was, and his business; but as soon as h the object of his visit, he not on point blank, but ordered him to from his presence with insult. the holy abbot bore patiently; s drew fasting, and proceeded brethren who accompanied hi cottage of a poor man, at some where he arrived at nightfall. man had a wife and some young and so destitute were they, that hardly clothes to cover them. abbot compassionating their pov morning on going away gave the his tunic, leaving it behind, as forgotten it: the brethren soon how much he was suffering from but he evaded their questions, by that whatever quantity of clothe he could not warm himself. O the cottage they supposed that to return home, but he set his towards the castle, saying to t demanded for what purpose he now, "Let us only go again name, for the man will not be to- was yesterday." So coming a se to the castle, he found open all which had been closed on the pre and when the nobleman heard servant of God whom he had ex day before, was returning to him, from his bed, almost naked as he with bare feet ran across the sno him, and falling on his knees b

* Ap. Martene, Vet. Script. tom. ii. 330.
† Chron. Cornelii Zantfliet, ap. Martene, Vet. Script. v.

forgiveness. Then ordering the hawk to be brought, he gave it to the holy man, who received it with great joy, and then departed, committing it to the care of a brother, and so returned home; and, truly, it was wonderful to see how the peace of a whole province depended on a bird. The hawk being brought to the viscount, no sooner flapped its wings in his hall, than peace was restored and confirmed, and thus, the whole country was saved from pillage and extermination."*

The abbots of the greater monasteries, by their elevated position, were often able to arrange political differences of the greatest magnitude. In the year 1386, Peter II., abbot of Einsiedeln, surnamed the father of the poor, interposed himself between Austria and the people of Schwyz. Along with the abbot of Wettingen, he used to be seen passing from side to side, as an Apostle of peace.† On the other hand, the fame of sanctity, and the fact of absolute separation from the world, were often more efficacious than any other influence. A letter from Dionysius, the Carthusian, to Arnold, duke of Gueldre, and to his son, prevailed so much, that they abandoned their intention of making war against each other, and thus, the country was preserved from immense calamities.‡ Solitary religious men, anachorets, came forth too, from time to time, as peace-makers. When the dissension arose between Philip Augustus and King Richard, a hermit, named Joachim, who lived in the mountains of Calabria, came from his retreat to make peace between them, and to invite the Paladins to penitence. "Speaking of Peter the Hermit," an ancient author says, "that he re-established, with a wondrous authority, peace and good understanding between husbands and wives, who had been disunited." In 1335, when King Robert, after the death of Frederic, prepared a fleet against Sicily, the hermit Henry wrote a long letter, to dissuade him —"I beseech you," he says, "do not despise the words of an old rude man, dwelling in the desert, since it is imposed on me to break forth thus to you. Successor to ancestral cruelty, pitiless king, impious, cruel king, what insane fury instigates you at your advanced age, when you are so near the terrible shore of death and judgment—you, who have passed so great a portion of your days in liberal studies, so studiously at intervals revolving the volumes, one time of saints, at another of philosophers, what madness, I say, moves you to irritate God, with the slaughter of innumerable Christians? Consider how all the empires and kingdoms of the world have been changed by Almighty God, and without looking beyond this one island of Sicily, how it has pleased Him to dispose all things according to his pleasure, independent of the will of men. Recollect the wars and perturbations it has endured in times past, and how little the result has ever crowned the hopes of those who caused them. I beseech you, then, my brother, and my lord, in the glorious blood of Jesus Christ, to return to the Lord thy God, and to contemplate all things with the eye of equity, and not to seek to contend against Heaven, for it is not for us to know the times and the seasons; but since you are evidently prepared to depart hence, seek not wars, nor seditions, nor hatreds, nor machinations, nor factions, nor quarrels, but this only with diligent care, that you may rest in peace, especially since there is removed from you the motive for that lust of reigning, which is accustomed to possess miserable parents, and make them desirous of propagating kingdoms for their children, and for their children's children; since, without war or tumult, you perceive that the kingdom must needs pass to the collateral line."*

The rise of the mendicant orders was a memorable epoch in regard to the pacific; for never before was there so prodigious an accession to their numbers furnished at one time; and truly the city of God had never greater need of such services; for that was the moment when the fairest portion of her pale on earth was rent with the most cruel civil discords. Whence did such bitterness arise? "All that I can say as to the origin of these divisions," says one historian, "is, that Florence never heard the Tartarian names of Gibelline and Guelf, until the year 1215."† Most of the wars at this time were either immediately, or indirectly, occasioned by the strife of opinions, indicated by these names. The enmity, for instance, between Pisa and Florence, had no other origin.‡ With-

* Vita B. Stephani Abbat. Obazinensis in Lemovicibus, Lib. ii. c. 39, ap. Baluze, Miscellan. tom. i. † Tschudi Einsiedlische Chronic. 74.
‡ Dorlandi Chronic. Cartus. Lib. vii. 13.

* Nicolai Specialis Hist. Sicula. Lib. viii. ap. Mur. Rer. It. Script. tom. x.
† Stellæ Annal. Genuenses, ap. Mur. Rer. It. Script. xvii.
‡ Matt. Palmerii de Captivit. Pisarum, ap. id. xix.

out attempting to discuss the general question between them, which, however, is one of all ages, under various denominations, it is but justice to observe the difference of character, which, far more than the insignia of the eagle and lily, distinguished the opposite sides. Not without reason was the latter adopted by the Guelfs, for in general they were pacific men, making peace between others, and overcoming resistance to themselves, by moderation and gentleness.* They stood for the interests of the community, being for the Church: therefore, their cry in war was, as at Parma, in 1308, "Peace, peace, the people, the people!" and, in victory, "Live the people, and the Guelfs!"† "If a Guelf wishes to be a tyrant," says Matteo Villam, "he must first become a Gibelline." The Gibellines were men of immoral lives, like Ceresius Monticulus of Verona, who, in 1184 so basely assassinated Alexander, count of St. Boniface, his uncle, not through any personal resentment, but merely because he was chief of the Guelfs. They were generally too the aggressors.‡ Of the miseries attending these dissensions, the contemporary writers speak with horror and astonishment. Carpesanus observing, that the Brescians are the most factious of all mortals, says, that they convert innumerable things into party signs; the kind of cups used on the same table, herbs, trees, fruits, colours of clothes, modes of walking, of moving the fingers, are all there endued with a signification: which perversity of manners infects the citizens like the plague.§

Some that were fancifully inclined attempted to account for this assault of jarring discord by astrological causes. Thus one historian says, "If there be any excuse for the civil contests of the Genoese, perhaps, it may be that the city had its beginning under the sign of the scorpion, in which Mars has his place. But I wish that the Supreme Ruler of the stars, who can change them as He pleases, may pacify this city with solid stability."‖ "Some say the cause of this misery," says another, "is the return of Saturn to Leo, and of Jove to Pisces. Alas! not the stars, but the minds of men are retrograde." The Gibellines, like all men of unsound faith, were superstitious. Astrologers were generally in their councils, and we read of a curious incident demonstrative of their disposition to seek in its vain promises a remedy for their woes. Let us hear the old chronicle which relates it. "Guido Bonatto, who belonged to the Gibelline party, was a great astrologer of Forli, in the time of the magnanimous Count Guido de Montefeltro, captain of Forli, where he had his habitation, being prince of the Gibelline party under the Roman emperors; and he used the counsel of this astrologer in all his actions, so that many persons ascribed his victories over the citizens of Bologna, Ravenna, the Malatestas, and others, to the advice given him by this Guido, though he was held by the vulgar as a visionary. Master Benevenuto of Imola, in his commentary on the twentieth chapter of Dante, says, that he had seen him. This Guido Bonatto was regarded as one of the first astrologers of the world, so that in Paris, and wherever such studies were in vogue, he was held to be second after Ptolemy. In Forli, while the parties of Gibelline and Guelph raged most furiously, he sought to annul them, and to unite the citizens into one; for which purpose he persuaded the people to begin building the walls of the city at a moment when the planets were so favourable that if both parties would then concur in laying the foundation, placing one stone for each citizen of each party, at the instant he prescribed, in future ever after there would be no divisions amongst them: all which they consented to do; and then choosing a citizen for each party, they all stood expecting the sign from Lord Guido, each citizen having a stone in his hand, while the workmen stood below with lime and all things prepared. As soon as the sign was made, the Gibelline threw his stone, but the Guelph hesitated: upon which Guido exclaimed, 'May God destroy you with your Guelph party, and assuredly He will for your malignity, for this sign will not appear again in the heavens these five hundred years to come.' And sure enough the said party was subdued: but praised be God, who has reduced these parties now to such close union and benevolence, that no one any longer hears the name of separation in our state. While speaking of this man, it will not displease me to relate what I heard from my father in his old age, which he heard from the Lord

* Weingartens. Monach. Hist. de Guelfis Princip. ap. Canisii Lect. Antiq. iii.

† Chronic. Parmense, ap. Mur. Rer. It. Script. ix.

‡ Ricciardi Comit. S. Bon. Vita, ap. id. tom. viii.

§ Comment. suorum Temporum, Lib. v. ap. Martene, Vet. Script. x.

‖ Stellæ Annales Genuens. Lib. iii. ap. Mur. *Rer. It. Script. xvii.*

James Moratino, his father, when very old, who learned it from a certain wise neighbour, who knew intimately the said Lord Guido." Then after mentioning many instances of his diabolical art, which came to light through the repentance of persons who had consulted him, and who were obliged by their confessors to renounce what they had gained by his means, he says, that "the said Lord Guido, by his science, caused many escapes and many disasters among enemies; for that when he knew the time was fitting, he used to mount up into the belfry, which is over the great square, carrying with him his astrolabe and his book of magic, diligently observing the time, and when the point arrived, he used to toll the great bell to call them to arms."*

But enough of this. I only sought to remind my reader of the distractions which he is now to see appeased by messengers of grace, who knew what was for them the true and only remedy. One symptom, however, in those times was favourable. Petrus Cynæus noticed it among the Corsicans, who, though prone to excite domestic seditions, yet, as he says, were generally inclined to love those who endeavour to make peace.† This was certainly characteristic of all nations during the middle ages. The poet, dearest to the English, tells them that "a whole city is much bound to the reverend holy friar who reconciles foes, and makes peace in houses:"‡ that is, in short, no unimportant fact, which now would pass unnoticed, the office of a peace-maker was recognised in common life, and appreciated in the light of faith. Truly it was known and worshipped. The world stood mute to hear the seraph of Assisi and his fit colleague. If we attend to the effects which followed the preaching of the two great families which sprung from them, we might suppose that the sole object of their mission was to re-establish peace. "Into whatever house the friar minors enter," says their father, "let them first say, 'Peace be to this house;' and let their first salutation be always, 'Peace be with you.'" St. Francis used to begin all his discourses by saluting the people in these words, "Dominus det vobis pacem," as if that were the supreme good. "He passed amid the strife of man, and stood at the throne of armed power, pleading for a world of woe; secure as one on a rock-built tower o'er the wrecks which the surge trails to and fro. Amid the wild passions of human kind he stood like a spirit calming them, for his words could bind, like music, the lulled crowd, and stem that torrent of unquiet dream which mortals deem justice and reason, but is revenge, and fear, and pride. Joyous he was; and hope and peace abode on all who heard him, raining, like dew, from his sweet talk." His very gestures touched to tears the unpersuaded tyrant never before so moved. Entering Sienna, most of the noblemen with the people came out to meet him, and conducted him to the bishop's palace. The city at that time was troubled by a sedition, but he by his sermons succeeded in reconciling them all with one another before he departed. Bitter discussions had arisen between the bishop of Assisi and the magistrates of the city. The prelate had excommunicated them, while they, on the other hand, prevented all communication with him. We heard in a former book how St. Francis sent his friars to sing in their presence, and how they were on the spot, as if miraculously, reconciled. The strophe which he added on this occasion to his chaunt on the sun was as follows: "Praised be my Lord in those who pardon and bear suffering and tribulation for His love. Happy those who persevere in peace, for they shall be crowned by the Most High." The souls of the hearers by a secret virtue were melted into love: they mutually asked forgiveness, and embraced with delicious tears.* The incidental notices of the pacific labours of the friars abounding in the Italian chronicles are sufficiently significative of their success. Thus, in one we read. "In 1233, peace was made in Parma by brother Gerard, of Modena, and all exiled persons were pardoned, and brother Cornetus came to the city, and all went after him with branches of trees and lighted candles, saying, 'Blessed be the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost.'"† In another—"In 1233, there was made peace in Modena by the mediation of brother Gerard, of the order of minors, and free pardon granted to all, with the exception of five persons, who for whatever cause had been banished by the government. In that year there was many sermons preached."‡

* Annales Forolivienses, ap. Muratori, Rer. Ital. Script. t. xxii.
† De Rebus Corsicis, ap. Mur. Rer. It. Script. tom. xxiv. ‡ Romeo and Jul.

* Acta S. Oct. tom. ii. p. 1002.
† Chronic. Parmense, ap. Mur. Rer. It. Script. ix.
‡ Annal. Veteres Mutinensium, ap. Mur. Rer. It. Script. xi.

In another—"In 1323, by the mediation of brother Paulinus, of the order of minors, peace was concluded at Padua between those within and those without the city. This friar went then with the embassadors of Padua to the duke of Carinthia, to have the peace confirmed by him. On the news of his death coming to Padua, there was a great festival, and masses were solemnly celebrated."* In another—"In 1233, the Lord Albert de Fontana and the knights of Placentia on one side, and the Lord William de Andito with the people on the other, commissioned brother Leo, of the order of minors, to heal their discords. Then the said friar, in the square before the great church, made twenty of the knights and twenty of the people kiss each other and then he gave sentence that the knights should have half of the honours of the city, and the people the other half."† Machiavel, too, relates, that when the two parties of the nobles and people were ranged in order of battle in the squares of Florence, and about to come to action, some friars advanced, interposed between them, and by force of moving eloquence, while boldly reminding both of their respective faults, succeeded in preventing the deadly engagement from taking place.‡ When we open the annals of these orders of the Franciscans and Dominicans we find events of this kind related in detail, and the incidents are so affecting, often so poetical and dramatic, that July days seem as short as December while we are turning over pages of the ponderous volumes. At the preaching of St. Bernardine of Sienna, inveterate enemies might be seen embracing each other at Vicenza, Bologna, Milan, Rome, and Perugia. At Sienna he made friends the families of Thomas de Regazani with the house of Thomasina, John Guido with the families of Benincasa and Piccolomini, the men of Monte Ursali with the Brachini, who for many years before could not be satiated with each other's blood. Bernardine made all these men friends.§ At Perugia there existed a deadly feud between the citizens. St. Bernardine exhorted them to mutual peace, saying, "The Lord God seeing your dissensions, which he hateth, hath sent me as His angel to you, that I should announce on earth peace to men of good will." At the end of his fourth sermon he spoke thus: "Let as many of you as possess this good will and desire to live at peace with your neighbour pass to the right hand, and let the others who are unwilling to obey this invitation move to the left." Then all the people who had been on his left hand rose up, and went to the right, with the exception of one young nobleman, who remained with his servants on the left, muttering imprecations against the man of God. Then Bernardine said, "Lo! you stand there alone, despising what has been said to the people. A second time I invite you, in the name of God, to remit to your neighbours whatever trespasses they may have committed against you, and to pass to the right; but if you refuse, be assured that you will not return to your home alive." Still he refused, and derided the prophecy: but lo! as he stepped over the threshold of his own house, unheeding the Divine anger, he fell dead.* In 1419, Bernardine preached in an open field during fifteen days to make peace between the Trivillians and the Caravaggiani, who were at war, and from the happy result this spot between the two towns is called the field of peace to this day. In the church of Trivelli is shown a tablet, with the name of Jesus in gold letters, which was then painted at his suggestion.† The city of Aquilani had been torn with dissensions: the people and the nobles were at war, and a few days previous seven men had been slain, but at the funeral of St. Bernardine harmony and union were restored. All became friends at that solemnity, as if the holy man who had so often made peace while living had power to impart it even in death. It seemed as if he had come to die in the midst of this people, in order to reconcile them.‡ Wadding, who relates that it was brother Sylvester who put an end to the intestine wars of the city of Cosma, omits many details respecting him which are found in the profane histories of the time. In one of them we read as follows: "On the 13th of January, in 1440, this brother Sylvester, of Sienna, began to preach in Placentia against factions and cursed parties, and took for his theme the words 'Venite ad me omnes qui laboratis et onerati estis, et ego vos reficiam. Tollite jugum meum, quoniam suave est.' And on the 18th of the same month seven notable men, doctors of law and of medicine, were elected in order to abolish the said parties, and establish a holy union. On the 22nd, which

* Hist Contusiorum de Novit. Paduæ, Lib. iii. 2, ap. id. t. xii.
† Chronic Placentinum, ap id. tom. xvi.
‡ Hist. of Florence, ii.
§ Wadding, Annal. Minorum, tom. ix.

* Wadding, Annal. Minorum, tom. x.
† Tom. xi. ‡ Tom. xi.

was the feast of St. Vincent, certain statutes were published by these men, and approved of by the people; and the same day as many as eight thousand of the people swore to observe them before the Lords Vincent de Vegiis, the ducal vicar, and the captain of the citadel, in presence of brother Sylvester and others. And they swore upon this memorable sentence, which appeared written in the beginning of the book: 'Et viri eorum interficiantur morte, et juvenes eorum confodiantur gladio.' On the 25th, which was the feast of the conversion of St. Paul, there was made a solemn procession, and on the following Sunday, the 29th, there was concluded in the great church an instrument of holy union, abridged by John de Ronchovetero. On the 5th of February, the feast of the holy virgin and martyr Agatha, the said brother Sylvester made his testament, in which he constituted the people of Placentia his heirs, and dismissed them rich, that is, well instructed, and well trained, and well furnished in all doctrine and discipline into one body, reformed and reduced to peace and concord. He made all the boys, women, and men in separate divisions embrace and kiss each other, which they did weeping for joy. He restored peace to those who had committed homicide, preaching and declaring the epistle of Paul to the Colossians—'Induite vos sicut electi Dei, sancti, et dilecti, viscera misericordiæ pietatem, modestiam,' and the rest to the end. On the 8th of February, embassadors from Placentia proceeded to Milan to have the statutes of the holy union confirmed, and on the following day brother Sylvester left Placentia, and went to Cremona, that he might establish a holy union there also."*

Let us return to the annals of the order. In 1471, brother Fortunatus, of Perugia, made peace between Florence and Sienna. In 1486, at Perugia, on the feast of St. Antony of Padua, after the sermon, when St. Bernardine, of Monte Feltro, was sitting at table to refresh his strength, lo! a sudden noise and tumult arose, caused by the two most powerful armed factions of the Peneschi and the Staffeschi combating in the forum. Seizing a cross, he rushed into the midst, and had such authority that he made them desist. Though forty were wounded, and all breathed slaughter, nevertheless, they obeyed the man of God, and retired each to his own home. Soon after, the Ballioni and Oddesci came to join in the fray; but these also he repressed, and led the chiefs of all the parties into the adjoining church of St. Lorenzo, where, by the intervention of the bishop, he appeased their mutual anger, and established peace.*

In 1487, coming to Tuderta, he found the citizens divided into two factions, and brought them to peace by his sermons and pious exhortations. Then united in one body he prevailed on them to suffer whatever laws their bishop thought necessary. About to depart before Septuagesima Sunday, he unfurled in the public square the standard which he had prepared secretly, in which Christ flagellated was painted with arms extended over the city; the citizens divided in two parties, were represented on their knees, with eyes raised up to Christ, exclaiming, "Pars mea Deus est," to whom the Saviour replies, "Et ego ero vester si vos mei fueritis." At the end of the sermon he uttered with great fervour, the words, "pacem meam relinquo vobis." Then exhorting them all to preserve that peace, he desired them to make two similar standards, and to place one in the cathedral, and the other in the Church of St. Fortunatus, while the third was to be suspended in the town hall, to be a perpetual testimony and exhortation to peace. Descending from the pulpit, all received him with tears and great cries, exclaiming, "Peace, peace!" After some interval returning to Tuderta, he found the seeds of dissension still lingering: these he laboured to destroy. At length, having established sixteen articles of solid peace he ordained a general procession round the city, and taking up the said standard, he was followed by all the people carrying branches of olive. This solemn and salutary day was diligently noted in the annals of the city; and in the senatorial palaces the image of Bernardine was sculptured.

Ravenna, in 1491, was divided into armed factions, daily he spoke against them, and by a divine power softened hard hearts. Many who had been deadly enemies for many years, were made friends; and these persons to serve an example to others, used to rise up in the midst of his sermon to kiss and embrace each other in sight of all. The magistrates co-operated with him, and used to inquire who were at enmity. They would then send each of the parties successively to Bernardine, and both having heard the preacher, were eventually reconciled. There was one old man, who for

* Ant. de Ripalta, Annales Placentini, ap. Muratori Rer. Ital. Script. tom. xx.

* Tom. xiv.

many years could not be induced to forgive the slayer of his only son, a hopeful youth, though many of the chief citizens had interposed. At length, a certain man, named Papiniano, prevailed on him after two or three attempts to go with him and hear Bernardine, who offered himself in place of his dead son. All who were present wept, knowing the inflexibility of the old man. But like the rest who came, he was vanquished, from a mortal foe becoming a man of peace, so that ever after when he heard of others being at enmity, he would lead them to Bernardine with Papiniano, the author of his own peace. Amongst others he led two heads of factions of Valle Lamone, who, for many years, had been continually at war. "One more severe than the other, and of more rigid nature," said roughly, "that for eternity he would not relent;" and to Bernardine persuading peace, replied, "I cannot; one hundred years we are at war: my enemy has shed much of our blood, they slew my relations. Do you ask me to spare them? I will not. You lose your time." Still Bernardine persevered, describing the misery of enmity and the advantage of peace, while the old man continued saying, "If I lost my only son by treason, yet, for the love of God and of this holy man, I spared and forgave his murderer, and have laid aside all anger; and do you resist still on account of your relation's blood?" At length, the Holy Ghost inspiring, he too felt himself softened: the reconciliation was soon effected. Rushing into each other's arms, they embraced and filled all the beholders with wonder and admiration. "The Lord hath sent his angel to us," they exclaimed, "who hath restored peace to the city, and concord to us all."*

At Brescia Bernardine saved the city from imminent ruin; for the discord running high in the great council, at the second hour of the night, the gates being closed, early in the morning, he preached on the miseries of civil war and sedition, with such effect that he recalled to union and peace the Avogradi and the Martinengi, who were ready armed, and about to meet in intestine shock, and furious close of civil butchery.† This man, in sooth, did wonders: but many of the same order were alike successful. In the kingdom of Naples, all the villages which are in the circuit of Monte Corvino were at such enmity, that they had long made war against each other, like wild beasts, sparing neither sex nor condition. In 1524, a certain pious Franciscan, emine preaching, went to them, and labou effectually, that he reunited them friendship, and then, in common, the the church of St. Mary of peace, to they added a convent for friars of his We should observe, that Minor fri Dominicans, were repeatedly chose the instruments of effecting peace, w holy see intervened. Thus, in 1331, the minister general of the Minor sent by the pope along with brother the Dominican, to pacify Edward, England, and David, king of Scotlan were hastening to the arbitrement of and preparing for each other a reckoning against the great accompting In 1351, the Venetians and Genoes at cruel war: the Euxine beheld rep their terrible conflicts. Peter, ki Arragon, and the emperor of Constant came to the assistance of the former Visconti, of Milan, sided with the latter Clement VI. sent brother Fort Vasallus, a Minor friar, as pacifica tween them.‡ In 1366, brother another Minor, was sent by Pope Ur to make peace between the Emperor C IV. and Lewis, king of Hungary. de Bibiena and Thomas Fiechio we employed as pacificators by Pope Grego As rival princes, when blood is their arg can seldom meet without adding fresh the fire of malice, personal intervie tween them were generally condem by the wise Philip de Comines, and the advised to communicate together t meek religious men.§ Friars were, fore, chosen for this purpose, who failed through want of zeal. But bearing such authority, those whom t girt humbly are found every where peace. Thus, in 1336, they reconc kings of Castille and of Arragon. 1362, brother Mark, of Viterbo, m general, pacified many princes of It true angel of peace was he, soothing cordant hearts with admirable skill credible facility. Thus he made between Amadæus, count of Savoy John, marquis of Montferrat, betwe same marquis and Galeazzo Viscont between the Florentines and Pisans. B Mark was most active in endeavouri repress the horrors of the English which came into Italy at the termina the war between England and F

* Id. vol. xiv. † Id. tom. xv.

* Id. tom. xvi. † Id. tom. vii. ‡
§ Le Conseiller d'Estat, 1645. ‖

, in 1371, Thomas, the minister
al, made peace between the Genoese
e count of Flisco; and repressed also
stilities of the former against Cyprus.*
acific labours of the Minors are some-
attested on their tombs. Thus, on
f Friar Paul, of Padua, celebrated for
wer and success as a pacificator—who
ried near the gate of the cloister at the
iscans, in that city—you read, under
ite of 1323—

icibus eloquiis, cui persuadere quietem
ivibus et patriæ sedula cura fuit.
ifer hic Patavæ sedavit scandala terræ,
xulibus patrios restituitque lares."†

that of the blessed Guido de Spathis,
convent of the Minors at Bologna,
ad—

tor ubique pacis, linguæ sanctissimæ facis:
montium colles, contristi novissima valles,
ordes placans, guerrarumque odia sedans."

e venerable branch of the seraphic
which is known by the title of Capu-
did not belie its origin when there
casion to make peace. The manner
ich Bernardine, general of the Capu-
composed the troubles of Palermo in
seemed divine to all who witnessed

in of Fano, after passing to this order,
nother eminent pacificator. He found
San Sepulcro in the midst of tumults
ssensions, and by his sermons he made
e inhabitants friends.§ Brother Ma-
of Nebia was another angel of peace
the same hood, the scene of whose
ry was the island of Corsica, the
us inhabitants of which, he tamed and
ed to all offices of love and friend-

Petrus Tudertinus, a Capuchin,
ed such a grace from God, in com-
dissensions, that there was no one
uld resist his pacific influence. Many
houses which had been at war for
tions, were by his efforts reconciled
other, and factions which had dis-
the public tranquillity wholly sup-
.¶ Brother Antonius of Cordova, a
, revered by the people as a saint, was
essful in reconciling enemies, that he
be called by the bishop and nobles
city, instrumentum pacis.** In
ach member of that humble order,

Conseiller d'Estat. viii.
dding. tom. vii.
nales Capucinorum, an. 1536.
1539. § Id. 1540 ¶ Id. 1540.
hronic. Minimorum, an. 1591.

lived but to inspire charity, and ever in his right hand carried gentle peace. But it is time that we should turn to the Dominicans, that second great family of the mendicants, who were devoted to the blessed work of reconciliation. Truly it would be long to tell of the labours for this end, of Gilles de Sant Irene, John the Teutonic, the third general of the order, Blessed Bartholomew de Braganza, Constantine de Medicis, James Boncambio, James Crescenti, whose mission was in Poland and Russia, Thomas de Berta, who laboured in Sienna, Peter de St. Astier triumphant at Perigueux, Humbert de Romans at the university of Paris, Aldobrandi at Orvietta, Morandi de Signia, and he who afterwards governed the church as Innocent V.* Who could worthily describe the fruits of peace which followed the steps of a friar Lawrence of England, of a St. Vincent Ferrier, who never left a town or village without having chased from it the demon of discord, and re-established order, peace, and harmony; who passed as an angel of peace through Spain and France, Italy, Savoy, Switzerland, England, Ireland, and Scotland, where Henry IV. then reigned, of a Lewis of Valladolid, confessor of John II. king of Castille, of a blessed Peter of Palermo, or of him who afterwards became Pope Benedict XI. a man who seemed to have lived only to preach peace, and to have obtained power only to make it reign, or of a Raymond of Capua, twenty-third general of the order, or of an Andrew de Franchis, afterwards bishop of Pistoia, or of a Paul Justiniani, who reconciles so wondrously the two great hostile families of Genoa, the Assereti and the Imperiali, or of a Decius Justiniani, afterwards bishop of Aleria, to whom the canons of his cathedral bore this testimony, inscribed upon his tomb,

"In componendis odiis Corsicæ miraculum;"

or of an Ambrose of Sienna, or of a cardinal Latin Malebranche, of the Frangepani family, legate of the pope, who persuaded the Florentine Guelphs to restore the banished Gibellines to their country and property, in 1278, on the place of Santa Maria Novella, reversing all decrees against them, and causing marriages to be contracted between them, so that he was ever afterwards styled the prince of peace, or of St. Augustin de Gazothes, or of Odon de la Sale, afterwards archbishop of Pisa, or of

* Touron, Hist. des Hommes Illust. de l'Ord. de S. Dom. i.

Berenger de Landon, who became archbishop of Compostella, and who died in discharging the office of mediator, or of Bernard Guido, or of an Angelo of Perugia, that true angel of peace to Florence, or of a Simon Salterelli, nuncio of Clement V., or of a blessed Ventura of Bergamo, who conceived and realized the idea of terminating the dissensions of a whole people by a pilgrimage? Ten thousand Lombards assuming the cross for their standard, and for motto three words, "Peace, Penance, Mercy," clad all in white, having on one side of their habit a cross, and on the other a dove, with an olive branch, followed this friar to Rome, where, at his suggestion, laying aside their arms, they sealed their peace before the tomb of St. Peter. On this occasion, the warriors were accompanied by their wives and daughter, and even their children. It is remarked by historians that this new inspiration of love had restored the multitude to harmony with all nature, and that the spectacle of the beautiful regions through which they passed, gave them a taste for joys, of which, while hatred and vengeance filled their breasts, they could have had no conception. The secular historians of the middle ages abound with testimonies to the labour of these friars, many of whom, however, they only knew or saw as it were in passing. Thus, one chronicler merely says, that in 1429, when the citizens of Liege were greatly divided, Raphael, a certain preacher from Spain, came there, and by preaching and works recalled many from contention and other sins to peace.* Of the most eminent, however, they speak at sufficient length. Thus, in 1299, they relate how brother Angelo of Faventia, prior of the Dominicans, with Octolino de Mandello, made concord and peace between the government of Bologna and those of the province of Romagna, who held the party of the Lambertazzi, who were without the city; and how in consequence of this treaty, the merchants thenceforth travelled through the whole province safely and secure, without any impediment.†

Let us hear one of their narratives. The city of Bologna was stained with blood by the quarrels of the Jeremies and the Lambertazzis. A member of the former house, in love with the young Imelda Lambertazzi, had been assassinated by her brothers in her presence. After seeing him fall at her feet, she stretched herself upon the corpse and sucked the wounds, which were with so deadly a poison from the p that she expired in a few minute this tragedy, the two families were b pursuing each other with redoubl nevertheless, brother Latino, a Do overcame their thirst for vengea succeeded in reconciling them in t of a lasting peace. But let us now the plain of Paguara, where an multitude from the marshes of Tr from Lombardy, is assembled at of brother John de Scledo of Vi whom the ancient historians speal lows: "Friar John, of the order of p was the son of Manelini, a lawyer of Since the time of our Lord Jesu there never were such multitudes together in his name, as were asse hear this friar preach peace. He c to Padua and made peace there; went to Treviso and did the same with the Feltrini and the Bellunens he brought peace to the lords of Coneglano, and Romana. In lik the citizens of Vicenza, Verona, and Brescia, were restored to co his means. He had such power minds, that every where he was to arrange the terms of peace. reverence for him, the greatest p multitude used to hear him with Many who had been mortal enemie by his preaching, of their own ac braced and gave each other th peace.* On arriving at Verona, the Guelphs of that city disposed and he produced an effect even o posite party. He spoke of peace eloquence in the forum, that Ecce self, who surpassed in ferocity all m time, was moved to tears, and to that he would agree to whatever th should determine between him and dus, count of St. Boniface.†

At Bologna, he persuaded the c renounce all party spirit and animo to adopt a mode of saluting on mutually in the name of Jesus Chri usage passed into other cities of L and, finally, into all the Italian The establishment of a general this blessed friar, and the union multitudes who accepted it in the the charity of Christ, are described temporary authors as giving rise t

* Chronic. Cornelii Zantfliet.

† Annales Forolivienses, ap. Muratori, Rer. Ital. Script. tom. xxii.

* Gerardi Maurisii Historia ap. Mu Script. viii.

† Ricciardi Comit. S. Bon. Vita ap. It. Script. viii.

alleled in the history of the Church. 1233," says one of them, "brother Scledo came into the marshes of Padua the region of Bologna, and made many ons in the city and through the marshes, God was with him. This just man had s before his eyes, the authority which 'beati pedes portantes pacem;' he d to make peace between them and nobles of Lombardy, and those of the ies and Romagna. Having called all rinces of the marshes into the meadow vale at Padua, he made a solemn ser- and ordained that in the ensuing h of August they should meet in the agna of Verona, near the river Alace, was done. Thither came the barons, s, magistrates, and such a multitude ople, that I believe the like had never seen before in Lombardy; and the stood on a wooden stand sixty cubits constructed for the purpose at a spot Paquara, on the river side about four from Verona; and there he proposed authority, 'Pacem meam do vobis; relinquo vobis;' and then he preached ritatively peace to all the Lombards, all Italy: and he added warnings and ciations against any who should dare ture to interrupt that blessed peace. arly he established peace at Vicenza, Feltro, and at other places."* The between the Guelphs and Gibellines, was drawn up on this occasion by r John, may be seen, at length, in the work of Muratori,† where it stands monument, to prove the truth of what et says, that

e hath her victories no less renowned than r."

it be remembered, however, in cou- , that the mendicant orders in these s deeds only revived the examples of ancient times. The Holy See had always laboured to cause associations for a pacific end, and to inspire the nations with a love of peace. One of the constitutions of Othobono, legate of the pope in England, in the reign of Henry III., commanded that throughout England, Ireland, and Scotland, every year, on the day after the octave of Pentecost, there should be a public and solemn procession, in which all the faithful were to return thanks to God for the tranquillity which had been restored to them, and to pray devoutly for the permanence of peace and concord.* With supplications of this kind our present book almost commenced. I rejoice to meet with this procession of our ancestors, to bring it thus solemnly and impressively to an end.

Such then were some of the labours of the blessed peace-makers during ages of faith, conducing to that mirth which is in heaven, when earthly things made even at-tone together: fulfilling, as an ancient author says, the words of Isaiah, "that the wolf should dwell with the lamb, and that a child should lead them." Such were their vows, and so were they repaid.

The monks and friars have conducted us to the threshold of those true asylums of peace, of which, in the beginning, I said that we should speak, where souls through powers that faith bestowed won rest, and ease, and peace, with bliss that angels shared. Our course tends right unto the summit. On to the abbey! as the poet says. Already we have met the men who come from it, whose strains still sound to us like the sweet south that breathes upon a bank of violets: but no more yet of this; for 'tis a chronicle of day by day, not a relation for a visit, nor befitting this late meeting. Here will we repose, and wait till the morn, in golden mantle clad, shall walk o'er the dew of yon bright eastern hill. So that, gentle reader, with respect to the peace enjoyed and imparted during faithful ages, half yet remains unsaid.

ronic. Rolandini, c. 7. ap. Grev. Thesaur. Ital. tom. vi.
tiq. Ital. iv. p. 1171.

* Lyndwood, Constitutiones Angliæ.

END OF THE NINTH BOOK.

Mores Catholici:

OR,

AGES OF FAITH.

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MDCCCXLVII.

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MORES CATHOLICI;

OR,

AGES OF FAITH.

THE TENTH BOOK.

CHAP. I.

THE ancients used to say, as we find from the Gorgias of Plato, that it was not lawful to break off in the middle of a narrative, and leave it without est it should wander about spectre- hat condition. In accordance with enian fancy, which happens here ide with graver motives, we must to place, as it were, the head on history, by commemorating a par- lass of persons, who in a still more manner fulfilled the divine pro- Sedebit populus meus in pulchri- acis, in tabernaculis fiduciæ, et in pulenta,"* and whose lives seem been especially foreshown by the eat voice, declaring, "Opus justitiæ ltus justitiæ silentium et securitas i sempiternum." My theme pur- en, I have to speak of the multitudes teps the cloister guarded during aith; for without an intimate ac- ıce with their lives and customs, ory would be incomplete, and as it dless; since, after all, it was chiefly steries that peace found its sin- orshippers, and the most devoted s to dispense and propagate it on or it was within their walls that ave hitherto seen of peace and of ıfluence existed in the fullest per- fection. Now lest any one should imagine that an inquiry into the spirit and manners of this separate world, (for the monastic life, in fact, constituted a world in itself,) would lead us aside to consider things of secondary importance to the general society of men, let us begin by observing the im- mense and universal character of these great institutions: for this people, so peculiarly seated in the beauty and plenitude of peace, was not confined to any one locality or nation; it was spread over the whole earth, and no place was left without the tranquillizing influence of its philosophy and of its manners. Without attempting to trace the progress of the monastic orders, some estimate of their diffusion may be formed from the incidental notices re- specting them, which occur in any of the local historians of the middle ages.

In the cloistral community of Oryrynchus were 10,000 monks. They served besides twelve parish-churches for the people, whose manners were so formed by them, that the whole city seemed one church. In Her- mopolis were 500 monks; at Nitria their number amounted to 5000; at Cellia to 2000. But confining our view to the western church, we find that in the monas- tery of St. Finnian, at Clonard, in Ireland, in which St. Columbkill studied, there were at one time 3000 monks. The abbey of Bangor, near Carrickfergus, founded about the year 555, and restored by St.

* Is. xxxii.

Malachias after its destruction by the Danes, of which St. Bernard says, "a place truly holy, and fruitful in saints, most plentifully producing fruit to God," from which came St. Columban and St. Gall, contained before the death of its founder, St. Comgal, 4000 monks. In Bangor, in Wales, there were eight divisions, each of 300 monks. In the year 900, there were more than 1000 monks in the abbey of St. Sylvester, at Nonantula. The abbey of Jumiège soon after its foundation by St. Philibert and queen Bathilde, contained 900 monks; many bishops, clerks, and noble laics, retiring thither to renounce the world. In the abbey of Fulda, under Raban Maur, there were more than 370 monks, when Count Erlafried sent thither for monks to place in Hirschau.* In the twelfth century, under St. Peter the Venerable, there were in the monastery of Cluny nearly 400 monks, besides an immense number of guests, and a multitude of poor.

In the twelfth century, Orderic Vitalis says, "that the venerable Hugo, abbot of Cluny, during the sixty-four years of his rule, admitted more than 10,000 monks into the ranks of the Lord's host."† The same author relates, that on the day of his own ordination at Rouen, the army of Christ was augmented by nearly 700 clerks, who received different orders.‡ Brother Jordan of Saxony, the second general of the Dominicans, gave the habit to more than a thousand men, whom he alone had gained to the order.

In the thirteenth century, we find in Milan 140 friars in the Dominican, and 100 in the Franciscan convent.§ In the same city, at that time, there were sixty hermits of St. Augustin, and thirty Carmelites.‖ The proportions were about the same elsewhere: when Mabillon visited the abbeys of Einsiedeln and St. Gall, there were 100 monks in each, besides novices.¶ Before the revolution in 1524, eighteen monasteries and churches were in the single town of Eisenach, which were destroyed in one day. From these few statements it is evident, that the religious orders embraced an immense part of the population, and, therefore, we should certainly be unable to form any just estimate of the number of men who loved and enjoyed peace in the middle ages, i not take into account these imm widely-spread communities of the pacific.

We have seen what dark ca times afflicted the Holy Churc reaping the immortal fruits of fa the year 480, when St. Benedict v the aspect of Europe was deplorab groaned under the yoke of Odoacr and Aquitaine under that of Ala of them Arian princes, that is, a with truth, the fountain of peace. was subject to the Arian Suevi; C king of the Francs, was an idolat Burgundians, who were Arians, not a small part of Gaul; and G with a part of Britain, were ignora true God. This was, neverthel moment when the holy institut Benedict arose, which was found the year 529, on Mount Cassinc according to the remark of Mabill was provided a safe asylum agains misery.* Long afterwards the Europe, in regard to peace, cont be calamitous. Gaul, in particu ruled with a rod of iron; and generally, in the seventh century distracted, that Pope Agatho, in t of the Roman Synod, claiming in for the diminished literary glor Western Church, uses these affecti as Mabillon says, truly golden "Since in our regions the fury of nations rages daily, at one time co at another traversing, at another —our whole life is full of solicit sola est nostra substantia fides nos qua nobis vivere summa est gloria all the while, where the evil perl greatest, under the terrible sce Childebert, Clotaire I., Chilperic, II., and Dagobert I., warlike ki whom the French, at that time s cious, evinced an astonishing sy and a fidelity unalterable; there we ing the peaceful multitudes t monasteries gave both peace and th of its propagation. Even secular hi remark, that while the spirit of pervaded countries, as in Ireland, the natives against each other, i multitudes of the inhabitants c countries enjoyed and worshipped the seclusion of monasteries: for to many unknown, these tranquil nities existed in the midst of the d

* Trithem. in Chronic. Hirsch.
† Lib. xi. ‡ Ibid.
§ Gualvanei de la Flamma, Hist. Med. ap. Mur. Rer. It. Script. xi.
‖ Annales Mediol. c. 59, ap. id. xvi.
¶ Iter Germanicum.

* Mabillon, Præfat. in 1 Sæc. Bene

troubles of the worldly life. The lovers of peace were, however, gene- led to discover them, like St. Augus- who says, "I was astonished when I l them speak of this great Monk ony, of whom I had known nothing hat hour. I was filled with amaze, ing of his recent memory and his cles so near our time in testimony to faith of the Catholic Church. Then onversation turned upon the multitude onasteries, and the solitary holy men e desert, of whom we had known ing. There was a monastery at Milan, f good men, without the walls of the under the care of St. Ambrose, and d not know of its existence."* Thus o doubt, it was in Gaul, while cruel ingians reigned. Then when the had passed, under the Carlovingians, yielded in importance and influence eys, which were like great castles, ed, containing all things requisite regular and pacific life. In the entitled, "Gallia Christiana," one is ished to see the prodigious number beys and convents in the cities of e. Hence an ancient writer cries—

"Felix regio Francorum,
Parens fœcunda tantorum
Benedicti militum."†

any thing," says one historian, "could cile the eyes of humanity to the es offered by the first ages of our rchy, it would be without doubt those aneous unions of pacific men, who om a corrupted and desolated society, ler to meditate on a better world, to ve kindled for future generations the of truth."‡

t what Christian land was left with- his happiness? "The drama of his- says a recent historian of Ireland, ing of very early times, "begins to ne an entirely different character. ad of the ferocious strife of kings and tains, we have the pure and peaceful aphs of religion. Illustrious saints of sexes pass in review before our eyes; owl and veil eclipse the glory even of egal crown, and instead of the grand estive halls of Tara and Emania, the y cell of the fasting penitent becomes ene of fame." So that, in fact, during the most disturbed periods of the middle ages, no warrior could ever reduce men who really loved peace to the dilemma in which Cæsar places the people of Marseilles, saying—

"At enim contagia belli
Dira fugant: dabitis pœnas pro pace petita;
Et nihil esse meo discetis tutius ævo,
Quam, duce me, bellum."•

For, in consequence of the foundations of faith, subjects as the sons of a great family were always at liberty to choose and follow either peace or its opposite. "Gista, widow of Earl Godwin, had seven sons," says Orderic Vitalis, "Suenon, Tostic, Herald, Guorth, Elfgar, Leofwin, and Vulvod; all were earls distinguished by great personal beauty and merits, though their ends were different. Elfgar and Vulvod, who loved God, lived holily and happily; the first, a pilgrim and monk, died at Rheims in the true faith; the other died honourably at Salisbury. The five others, devoted to arms, perished in different places by the sword."†

The prodigious number of disciples which each worshipper of peace drew after him from the first moment of his conversion, is a fact which sufficiently indicates the attractions possessed by this society distinct from that of the world, though ever in the midst of it. The blessed youth Francis de Paula, for instance, in 1435, retires into a cave in a desert place, and lo! Balthazar, Bernardino, Paulus, Francis, Antonius, Andrew, Archangelo, Nicholaus, Angelo, Nicholas a Nucito, John and Florentinus follow him.‡ How should we be detained, if we were to speak of the multitudes leading the pacific life in the more celebrated regions in monastic history? Such, for example, as Suabia, which the historians of St. Gall style "the land of the saints."§ St. Peter Damain says, "That the whole world was full of monks;"‖ that is, of men who loved, enjoyed, and propagated peace. Places of monastic retreat existed almost from the beginning of the Church.¶ There were monks in Gaul before the time of St. Martin; for there were some in the island of St. Barbara above the confluence of the Arar and the Rhone, who received the Christians that fled from the persecution of Septimus

onfess. Lib. viii. 6.
nonym. Carthusianis de Religion. Origine artene Vet. Script. Collect. tom. vi.
anglois Essai Hist. sur l'Abbaye de Fonte-

• Lucan, iii. † Lib. iii.
‡ Chronic. Ord. Minimorum.
§ Eckehard IV. in Lib. Benedict.
‖ Lib. vi. Epist. 15.
¶ Murat. Antiq. It. lxv.

Severus.* How many arose in Sicily in the earlier times may be witnessed in the histories of that island,† where the ancient Greek monasteries were rebuilt by Counts Robert and Roger, on the expulsion of the Sarassins, as were the six Benedictine abbeys founded there by St. Gregory the Great, out of his own patrimony.‡ Mount Ætna, that had been formerly devoted to the vain worship of the Gentiles, was in the first Christian ages covered with monasteries for the worship of the one true God.§ Calabria—which was the first part of Italy, after Rome, to embrace the Christian faith, St. Paul having preached at Rhegium, and which produced so many martyrs in early and modern times,—became another Egypt in regard to monasteries. It is delightful to survey in local histories the celebrated monasteries of this region, so abundantly endowed, and producing such wise and holy men, who threw in the shade those old Pythagoræan days among that illustrious people; to visit this cradle of St. Benedict, St. Basil, and St. Bernard, this mother of hermits dwelling amidst her rocks and woods, and odoriferous hills.‖ In the fourth and fifth centuries, the Italian monasteries were built chiefly in Milan, Rome, Ravenna, Nola, in Campagna, and in the islands of the Etruscan sea.¶ How prodigiously these were multiplied in later times, may be estimated from the number of monasteries visited by Ferdinand Ughelli, the Florentine monk and abbot of the Tria Fontana, at Rome, when he was composing his great work, the "Italia Sacra." But, extending our view over Europe, let us recall the names and site of a few of the most eminent of these great asylums of pacific men in ages of faith. The tracks of the Great Benedict lead from Subiaco to blest Cassino's holy hill, both such places of divine peace.

Passing over these, Italy for many ages gloried in her abbeys of Pomposa, in the duchy of Ferrara, two leagues from the sea, near the south branch of the Po; of Nonantula, ten miles from Modena, founded in 752 by Anselm, duke of Friuli, whose sister Giseltrude was wife of Aistulph, king of the Longobards; of Cluse in Piemont, which in the middle of the tenth century deserved to be compared with Cluny; of St. Peter a Cœlo-aureo in Pavia; of St. Justina at Padua; of St. John the Evangelist at Parma; of St. George at where Mauroseni, one of the com of Romuald, was abbot; of St. I Mantua; of St. Maria in Florence Appollinare in Classe, near Rave St. Lorenzo at Capua; of Camald Vallembrosa, in the Appenines; in the country of Salerno, 5000 pac the city at the foot of Mount Fenetr Muratori reckons the second in imp after Mount-Cassino.* Turning t we find at a short distance from I at a spot called Ligngé, the first built by St. Martin, which continue last times to produce many emine On becoming bishop of Tours, he second abbey two miles from the city was the celebrated house of Marn the great nursery of bishops, and th of science in France. It was here Martin was entombed: the abbey his name at Amiens was on the sit house where the saint resided, whi soldier.† St Benedict on the L the village of Fleury,—founded by bod in the reign of Clotaire II. possessing the body of St. Benet, re in the tenth century, under most h learned abbots, and resorted to by tudes of youth from all countries, a by the fame of Constantine the Sch —was in the diocese of Orleans leagues from that city. Aniane f by St. Benet, son of the count of Ma and especially protected by Charle was seated in a valley, on the littl Aniane, in the diocese of Montpell tween that city and Lodéve. At a distance was the monastery of Gell St. William of the Desert, foun William, duke of Aquitaine, one peers of Charlemagne. The abbey Lucien, founded by Childeric, was a vais. Luxeuil was in Franche-co the diocese of Besançon, at the foo mountains of the Vosge towards L After leaving this his first founda Gaul, St. Columban founded the tery of Dissentis in the Rhetian Al desert 4000 feet above the level of t and subsequently Bobbio at the foo Appenines, at which you arrive by from Chiavera. The abbey of St. G des Prèz, founded soon after the d the holy patriarch of the order,‡ was extremity of the gardens of the royal

* Mab. Præf. in iii. sæc.
† Sicilia Sacra, i. 22. ‡ Id. ii.
§ ii. 1155. ‖ Italia Sacra, tom. ix. 175.
¶ Murat. Antiq. It. lxv.

* Mur. Rer. It. Script. vi.
† Voyage Lit. de Deux Bénéd.
‡ D. Bouillart Hist. de l'Abb. de S. G

suburb of Paris. Corby, in Piccardy, ce such great lights issued in ancient , was three leagues distant from ns. St. Riquier was two leagues from ville, which was originally but the or farm-house of the abbey.* Ferrers, ich Lupus was abbot in 843, was a stery in the diocese of Sens, four from Montargis, on the road to s. Vezelay, founded in the ninth ry by Count Gerard de Rousillon, so rated in old romance, was eight leagues it from Auxerre. Aureliac, founded . Gerald, count of Aurelia, was in the e of Clermont. On seeing that little of Lerins, on the coast of Antibes, ts arid fields and its meagre tufts of one could never divine the part this spot of earth played in the y of Christianity in Gaul from the 10, when St. Honorat first retired to mitage there. But here stood the ned monastery which was built soon from which so many saints were . Bec, founded by Herluin, in 1040, Lanfranc and Anselm were priors, n the diocese of Rouen, on the little Bec, eight leagues west from that city. noutier, founded by St. Fare in 617, n Brie, on the river Morin, five es from Meaux. Flay was in the e of Beauvais. Fontevrauld was on orders of Poitou towards Angou, in iocese of Poitiers. Liessies, where of Blois was abbot, founded in 751 unt Wigbert, is in the diocese of Cam- in Hainault, five miles from Avennes. ontré, chosen by St. Norbert, for the l house of his order, was in a valley e forest of Coucy, in the diocese of , which was a desert in the beginning twelfth century.

steaux, the mother house of the order, led by Odo, duke of Burgundy, in , was five leagues from Dijon, in the se of Chalons. La Ferté was the branch house, founded by the Seig- de Vergy. The second was at igny, in Champagne, on the river n, one league from Ligny-le-Chateau, four-and-a-half from Auxerre. The daughter was Clairvaulx, founded in , by Thibaud, count of Champagne. abbey stood on the river Aube. Mori- l, the fourth daughter, founded in by Odolricus de Agrimont, was on borders of Lorraine and Burgundy. these four houses all the Cistercian abbeys in the world took their origin.* Molesme was in Champagne, three leagues from Chatillon-sur-Seine. Cluny was on the river Grone, on the borders of the duchy of Burgundy, five leagues from Mâcon, and fifteen from Lyons. Paray-le-Monial was in Charolais; St. Selectus was near Narbonne; Bourgeul was on the Loire; Malliac, founded in 990, was near Poitiers; St. Columban was in Sens; St. Maglor, founded in 979, and St. Mary des Champs in 994, were in Paris: and St. Albin, founded in 966, was in Anjou. Of the origin of the Spanish monasteries, which was later, writers of that kingdom give us this account. They relate, that in the sixth century, Donatus, a monk and disciple of a certain hermit in Africa, foreseeing the violence of the barbarous nations, fled in a ship into Spain with seventy monks, and a quantity of manuscripts. In Spain he was received by an illustrious and religious woman, Minicea, and there he built the monastery of Servitanum, which was the first monastery in Spain.† Of these I shall only mention the monastery of Alcoba, so magnificent, so fruitful in learning, so venerable in antiquity, "in which," says John of Bruges, "you discern the authority and sanctity of St. Bernard, and the grandeur of Kings Alfonso and Henry."‡

Among the German monasteries of renown, the site of a few of the most illustrious must be present to every one's recollection. "The most celebrated," as Trithemius says, "were Fulda, founded by St. Boniface, in Franconia towards Hesse and Thuringia. The abbey of St. Peter and St. Paul in Weissenburg, in the diocese of Spires, founded by King Dagobert; that of St. Alban, near Mayence, founded by ancient kings of France; that of St. Gall in Suabia; that of Reichnaw, near Constance, founded by Pirminius, disciple of St. Maur; that of Hirsfeld, four miles from Fulda, founded by St. Lullus; that of St. Mathias, near Treves, the most ancient of all the Teutonic houses; Mediolacensis, in Lorraine, founded by St. Lutwin, who from being duke became a monk and abbot, and archbishop of Treves; the abbeys of St. Maurice at Dolegia, in the diocese of Treves; that of Stavelot, in the diocese of Liege, four leagues from Spa, of

* Topographie des Saints.

* Notitiæ Abbat. Ord. Cist. per Universum Orbem, Lib. i.

† Hildephons. Vitæ Illust. Episcop. Hisp.

‡ Joan. Vasæi Brug. Rer. Hispan. Chronic. iii.

immense fame; that of New Corby, in Saxony, founded by the abbot of Corby, in Piccardy, from which came forth apostles to many nations; that of St. Maximinus, near the walls of Treves, which some think existed in the time of Constantine, and in which certainly there were monks in the time of St. Augustin; the abbey of Prum, in the forest of Ardennes, in a valley on the little river Prum, founded in 721 by Bertrade, grandmother of Berta, wife of King Pepin, who had a castle one league from the place, of which Assuerus, count of Anjou, was the first abbot, and Hirschau, eight miles from Spires, founded in 830 by Erlafred, count of Calba, with his sons Nottung and Ermendred, and restored by Pope Leo IX., who was of the family of Dagburgh, and Adelbert, count of Calba, with Wiltrude, his most devout wife.*

Other great Teutonic houses were Gembloux, in a hollow four leagues to the north-west from Namur, founded in 992, by St. Guibert, seigneur de Gembloux, who formed it out of the castle in which he was born. Villers, one of the most illustrious abbeys, not only of Brabant, but of the whole Cistercian order, on account of the great men it has given to the church, seated in a gorge between two mountains, on the way to Nivelle. The Benedictine Abbey of St. Vaast at Arras, which dated from the seventh century, when the successor of St. Aubert, bishop of Arras, built it over the oratory where the saint was buried; Lobes, founded in 540 by St. Landelin on the Sambre, four leagues from Philippeville, in the diocese of Cambray; Quedlinbourg, in Saxony, in the diocese of Halberstad, founded by blessed Matilda, queen of Germany, and King Henry the fowler, her husband, of which the abbess was the first princes of the empire; Selingstad, in the diocese of Mayence, founded by Eginhard; Steinfeldt, in the diocese of Cologne, to which retired the blessed Herman Joseph, at the age of twelve, and the three foundations of King Dagobert, Elvonensis, in which he was buried, Blandinum near Ghent, and St. Bavon, so called from Count Bavo, who there deposed his knightly arms, became a monk, and died in sanctity.

Of the monasteries in the British islands, two of the most illustrious were Bangor in Ireland founded in the fifth century by St. Comgall, a disciple of Finstan, in the county of Down in Ulster, not far from the sea, where the passage to Scotland was short, and Bangor in Wales, in F which Bede calls the most renown of the Britons, and which was and flourishing, when St. Augu from Rome. Here, as indeed in other countries, the foundation teries was simultaneous with preaching of the gospel. The Glastonbury dates from about 300; that of Sherborn in Dorset 370. The first notice of Dryburg to the year 522, when St. Mode abbot under whose invocation of its chapels. The great St. C alone founded above an hundred Ireland, England, and Scotland, islands depending on them. Ir covered with these pacific retrea yet were continually multiplying. sinister epoch of Henry VIII agents on their arrival found th rebuilding many abbeys with gre nificence than before. In Engl ever, as we learn from Bede, t not in the seventh century man teries, so that numbers of Engli and others passed into Franc abounded with them, to retire in there. "At that time," he says " princess Eartongathe, daughter of bert, king of Kent, passed the came into France, for the purpose ing to serve God in such a sanctity." Still, even in the century we find several religiou founded, as those of Chertsey in 666; Barking in Essex, in 680; bury in Wiltshire, in 670; Glou 680; St. Swithin in Winchester, St. Austin at Canterbury, in 6 chester in Oxfordshire, in 685. celebrated, which date from th century were the abbey of Abingdo shire, founded in 720; those o comb and Tewkesbury in Glouce in 787 and 715; that of St. Hertfordshire, in 755; and that of in Lincolnshire, in 716. The Thorney in Cambridgeshire, of in Devonshire, and of St. Cu Durham, date from the ninth These were all of the Benedictin the abbey of Ramsay in Hunting was not founded till the tenth ce

The Cistercians, who possessed illustrious houses in England, called into it by a noble En Walter Espec, in 1125, under Ki I. to whom there exists a letter Bernard. The first abbey was

* Trithem. in Chronic. Hirsangiensis.

diocese of York, and the second
x.*
ı then were a few of the most eminent
e places esteemed divine, and con-
dly places of divine peace, because,
;o of St. Victor says, places cannot
ne, unless they be places of quiet
»eace.† Truly, well might that dove
in its flight marked the circuit of
jected monastery of Hautvilliers, be
:ted as signifying the tranquil reign
»cence which was there about to
ıce ; and one might have accepted
:neral denomination, for all similar
, the title given to the celebrated
:ry of Gomon, on the coast of
a, at the mouth of the Euxine,
ras expressly called by the monks,
rence to the tranquillity enjoyed
it, Irene, or the place of peace.
ıuntain of Pozaytie in Poland, near
:r Niem in Lithuania, accordingly
l its name for that of the Mount of
when a Camaldolese monastery was
pon it, by Christopher de Pazzi,
hancellor of the duke of Lithuania,
noble Florentine race which had
anished in the preceding century.‡
t have noticed many other monas-
»f equal celebrity, the histories of
as Fauriel says of the abbeys of
:s, of Aniane, and of St. Guillem-
:rt, belong essentially to the general
of the country in which they were
and even to that of Europe.§ The
ery of Oliva, for instance, is as
connected with the history of Prussia
ınt-Cassino is with that of Italy.
terest of many collections of French
grows pale before the historical
ur of St. Medard at Soissons, founded
ıtaire I. where St. Boniface, the
of Germany, crowned Pepin, king
'rancs, which Charlemagne favoured,
was in turns the beloved retreat of
:e-Débonnaire, and the scene of his
ınnes. But these names alone will
to bear out my assertion, that the
tic institute, containing, as we shall
prove, a whole race of men eminently
il, apart from all others that we
in the last book, was of such wide
ın and of such importance in each
, that half at least of a history of
ic manners, in regard to the beati-
f the pacific, must be devoted to

itiæ Abb. Ord. Cister. viii.
»ot. in Cœlest. Hier.
al. Camaldul. Lib. 77.
t. de la Gaul. Mérid. iii. 844.

their consideration. In fact, it embraced millions of men dispersed over the earth, living united and pacifically, tranquil, laborious, obedient, and free.

That the monastic profession was synonymous with a devoted love of peace and of its diffusion, might easily be inferred from what we met with in the last book. Though the complete appreciation of the fact will best be attained after concluding the present, it may be well to commence it by adducing to the point some express testimony. Now from the very nature of the institution, its instructors argue that the object and result must have been pacific; for "from obedience, which was its key-stone," says St. John Climachus, "springs humility, and from humility a placid tranquillity of mind."* "All perturbations," as Cicero remarks, "arise from the will, and from an opinion."† The stoics said that their fountain was intemperance, and a departure from right reason. Accordingly, in the part of the soul which was reasonable, the Pythagoreans placed tranquillity, placid quiet, and constancy of mind. The monastic rule requiring a life so eminently reasonable, averse to self-will, and the influence of private opinion, to impatience and intemperance in every form, could not, therefore, but conduce to that true and placid rest ascribed to those who embraced it in ages of faith, which as Paschasius Radbert says, "reason every where composes, and the serenity of religion commends."‡ Accordingly, we find, that peace is always represented as the chief characteristic of the monastic state. St. Basil, St. John Chrysostom, and St. Augustin, are never weary repeating that it is this, above all things, which recommends it to the human race. So it continued to be in every age. We find a letter from the celebrated abbot of Corby, Wibald, to the monks of Hastières, with this superscription, "To the prior and the brethren of that place, Deo et paci militantibus."§ When one of the courtiers of the emperor Frederic II. was moved to embrace the monastic habit, St. Francis gave him the title of Brother Pacific, to express that he had escaped from the world's turmoils and pageantries. Vincent of Beauvais, or his continuator, styling monks the true pacific, applies to them the epithets in holy writ, of "glorious men, rich in virtue, studious

* Grad. iv. † Tuscul. iv.
‡ Vit. Walæ.
§ Ap. Martene, Vet. Script. et Mon. collect. ii. 450.

of beauty, living at peace in their domains, and obtaining glory in the generations of their nation."*

"Behold men without contestations," exclaims the church, in reference to those who chiefly came from amongst them, "true worshippers of God, keeping themselves pure from all evil work, and continuing in their innocence." "Many things might be said in his praise," says a monk of Villers, of Charles, the eighth abbot of that house, in the seventh century, "but there is one of which we should make especial mention—that never, from the day when he first entered the order, did the sun set upon his wrath; but, considering that he was bound by the monastic vow, he forgave, with the utmost benignity, all excesses committed against him, watching carefully over the purity of his conscience and the tranquillity of his heart:"† that is, he realized the monastic ideal: he was the type of the institution. In effect, as the rule of the seraphic father expressly requires, "monks of every order were to be at peace with those who hated peace;" when they went through the world they were not to litigate, nor to contend with words, but to be mild and pacific.‡ "Now I counsel, admonish, and exhort my brethren in our Lord Jesus Christ, that when they go through the world, they should not quarrel nor contend with words, nor judge others, but that they should be meek, peaceful, modest, tractable, and humble, gently speaking to all as is right." They were to have a pacific heart towards those who disturbed their peace, towards those who hated peace. Of the pacific, who say with our modern writers of the Anglican school, that "in times of peace, with peaceful men, no temper of mind should be more encouraged than that which seeks peace with all men," the monastic teachers have but a poor opinion. "Though they render good for good, and wish to injure no one," says St. Bernard, "they can rarely obtain salvation."§ The standard proposed to monks is, that of two other classes of the peaceful—of those who do not render evil for evil, but who endure wrongs with patience, and of those who render good for evil; the former, as he says, possessing their souls, and the latter, not only possessing their own, but winning others.‖ "No severe word was ever to escape their lips; for their heart was to be at r all enemies to its peace."* Mor to be pacific within and witho walls, towards each other, and tow rest of men. "Our fasts," says I St. Victor, in his commentary on of St. Augustin, "do not please much as our concord." "There is n he adds, "that Satan so much fea unity of charity: for if we distri that we possess for God's sake, devil does not fear, because he p nothing; if we fast, this he does because he has no need of food watch, he is not alarmed, becau sleepless; but if we are joined in then he greatly fears, because then fast on earth what he disdained to in heaven."

Expressly for the sake of pe charity, the monks of Fulda, we re divided into decads, over which presided.†

Dom Martene remarks what penalties were decreed in the monastic statutes, as in those of Fro against all disseminators of discor offence was a case reserved for the A monk of St. John-des-Vignes, at S having calumniated one of the b was sentenced to keep silence for a and to carry the holy water, like in the processions.§

In the year 1224, a discord ar the convent of Monte Sereno, Tid superior, in common chapter, in ho prescribed, in virtue of obedience, any monk retained the least rancour another, he should abstain fro munion of the altar.‖ The chro the Carthusians relates that the hol Henry of Louvain, would never tak in the evening, if a contention a tween any of the brethren, until restored peace and tranquillity.¶

Over the door of the Augustinian tery in Freyburg, I read these "Ecce quam bonum et quam juc habitare fratres in unum!" Such ideal generally realized in the comm of the middle ages.

The pacific character of monks interior of their cloisters is displa

* Spec. Mor. i. part. iv.
† Hist. Mon. Villar. ap. Martene Thes. Anec. iii.
‡ Reg. S. Franc. c. 3.
§ De Conversione, c. 18.
‖ Ib. 18.

* B. Esaiæ Abb. Orat. x. Bib. Pat. x
† Schannat. Hist. Fuldens. 1.
‡ Voyage Lit. 160.
§ Hist. de Soissons, ii. 163.
‖ Chronic. Montis Sereni ap. Mencken Rer. Ger. ii.
¶ Dorlandi Chronic. Cartus. Lib. vii.

kable manner on all occasions of ons, which were so calculated to try cerity. The very need of an election in their judgment from the desire of

Witness these words of electors. certain to all who know the founda- of Catholic purity that the solidity whole church consists in peace and gn of being disciples of Christ, in For our Lord says, in the gospel, eace I leave you, my peace I give to and again, 'By this shall all men that you are my disciples, if you ove one to another:' therefore, no a disciple of Christ unless he is with the seal of love and of peace; is seal cannot be impressed on any on those in whom is unity of will; at unity can only be found in those bmit to their superior. Therefore, thor of peace leaving no order in urch without a governing prelate, arly taught that in no other way fragility of human nature be re- to unity of spirit or preserved in

Therefore, we poor brethren, in nastery of Cella Bononi, after the of Lord Garerius the abbot, have a certain brother, by name Ber- preside over us."*

hen Pasquier is struck with the ons for the liberty of elections in eries in ancient times: he cites from er of Charles the Bald, in the abbey uz, in the Maconnois, these words: oncede to the same congregation of always choosing for itself an ccording to the rule of St. Benedict," s sentence, which an archbishop of s, when he founded the abbey of St. obtained from Clovis the Second, ne monks should have power of elect- uperior according to their rule."†

us hear Guibert de Nogent, speaking desire of his friends to promote his ection, for the sentiments he ex- were not extraordinary in those "It afflicted me to hear that my us should be endeavouring to obtain what was granted to others, who carnal help, but merely the assis- God; for these relations, in acting ere providing not so much for me nemselves. I was delighted at being I had altogether a horror for a place r and the shadow of a great name world; then first I learned what it was to have the intention of perpetual poverty. What shall I say, O Lord, how momentary was that paradise! how short that quiet, how brief the sense of that sweetness! Scarcely had a few months passed after my tasting the fruits of thy good spirit, when, lo! the news of my election to be abbot of St. Mary at Nogent-sous-Coucy, filled me with dismay, as I judged myself the worst and most sordid of men. Alas! the little progress I had made in letters, and my poor skill in teaching, had, it seems, rendered my electors blind. Good God! what would they have said if they could have seen my interior! Thou knowest, O God, who by an inscrutable judgment didst ordain that I, however impressed with a just sense of my unworthiness, should be set over men so much better than myself. Whether God was willing or unwilling in the affairs of my election I know not. This one thing securely I can declare, that I owed it not to the attempts made by any of my relations. I was known to none of the electors, nor did I know any of them. From not knowing me they respected me the more. On my arrival they concealed nothing from me, but with such a faithful confession disclosed all their interior that I, who thought I had seen monks elsewhere certainly knew of none comparable to these. Thou knowest, O God, that I write not this book through arrogance, and that I would confess in it all my iniquities if I did not fear lest I should deprave the mind of many who would be filled with horror at my actions. And although my works are corrupt and miserable, as far as regards myself, yet it is not hidden from thee how much my mind was bent upon promoting the salvation of those whom thou didst subject to me. On the day of my installation I preached on the words of the prophet, which were read on that Sunday next Christmas: 'Apprehendet vir fratrem suum domesticum patris sui: vestimentum tibi est, princeps esto noster, ruina autem hæc sub manu tua. Et respondebit ille: Non sum medicus, et in domo mea non est panis neque vestimentum: nolite constituere me principem. Ruit enim, Hierusalem, et Judas concidit.' From which words I explained the duties of the pastoral care—that a ruler must be a domestic well instructed in the church; the vestment is the habit of beautiful exterior works, on account of which he is made a prince, under whom the ruin of subjects cannot take place: but he replies,

erti Carnot. Epist. cvii.
herches de la France, Liv. iii. 20.

'I am not whom you suppose, who can cure so many evils. You behold the external vestment which yet is not in the house, because the habit of the mind is not the same as that of the body. There is not either that daily bread which signified spiritual consolations, or that confirmation of charity in the interior man without which no one can rule others well: he refuses, therefore, to be a prince, for Jerusalem falls; that is, the experience of internal peace perishes, and Judas also falls: that is, the confession of sins fails through despair, after the loss of interior tranquillity, which is the last of all evils, and, therefore, a just cause for refusing to be a pastor."*

It would be endless to cite evidence that merit, without contradiction from party or local prejudices, was the only thing regarded in the peaceful elections of the cloister. When the fame of St. Aigulph's piety in the monastery of Fleury, on the Loire, had spread far and wide, the monks of Lerins sent a deputation to him to beg that he would undertake the government of their abbey. This one instance may represent them all.

With a view to peace, elections were made secretly, so that the names of those who elected were not known, which practice we find afterwards commanded by the holy council of Trent.† In the frequency of the unanimous elections of men of superior merit, is remarkably evinced the pacific character of such proceedings. Let us observe instances. In 1186, when the abbot William resigned the abbacy of St. Denis, the prior Huon was elected to succeed him without a dissentient voice or the least murmur.‡ On the abdication of Hartmot, Bernhard was elected abbot of St. Gall, and the historian of that monastery says, "All together, the old men and the youths, from the first to the last, the Lord granting a unanimous counsel, with one voice chose Bernhard for their abbot.§" In 1326, John II., one of many in the same monastery who possessed genius of the first order, was elected abbot of Einsiedlen without a dissentient voice. Again, in 1421, at the general chapter of the Franciscan order in Forli, where there were present about 3000 brethren, master Angelo of Sienna, a man excellent in science and in preaching, was unanimously elected general.* T gious orders well understood the ob of which, Pope Alexander III. r the Præmonstratensians, on occasi election, that the rule for all was N contentionem aut inanem gloriam to observe the great calm produced occasions by the celebration of th mysteries, we may remark, that ments of discord had been extir deep humility and a just appreci the nature of pre-eminence. " Bernard of Clairvaux, called abbo is but a little thing." Men tha speak thus of their own dignities likely to be angry competitors fo The priors of Camaldoli always sty selves "the monk and sinner."‡

When it was known that the v Angelrann was to be elected abb monastery of St. Richarius—King himself pressing the election, the h judged himself unworthy, and p a post of humility to one of nence: so he left the monast vately and concealed himself. Th on arriving there, was told that t man had withdrawn secretly, and one knew where he was. The l mired the intention, but ordered should be sought for every wh brought back to him. The soldi sent on all sides in quest of him: at after a long search, he was found wood of Olnodiol in a deep solitud

Charles, the eighth abbot of Vil the seventh century, brother of the Seyne, and at first a distinguished fled from the abbatial dignity, bu length compelled to accept it. He that he should again find himself i with liberties which he had wish nounce with the world. After many he obtained leave from the head Clairvaux to resign his office, wh always kept him in great fear, con the account that he would have to of his administration. "This ma the abbot, "is honoured by the princes, beloved through all the most dear and necessary to his and yet I cannot any longer det in his dignity; so, being absolved turned to the embraces of Rachel,

* Guiberti abb. de Novigent. de Vita propria, Lib. 1. † xxv. 6.
‡ Chroniques de St. Denis ad an. 1186.
§ Ratpert de Origine et div. Casibus Monast. S. Galli. apud Goldast. Rer. Al. 1.

* Annales Foro Livienses ap. Mur. I Script. xxi.
† Ap. Martene, Vet. Script. ii.
‡ Ann. Camald. Præf. in v. tom.
§ Chronic. Centulensis, c. 2, ap. Dach leg. iv.

to lie hidden in peace, and the
ant of his life to pass in the service
d, fulfilling the cloistral discipline."*
pacific character was an essential
fication in those who were to be
d. Louis of Paris, commenting the
of St. Francis, says, "The electors of
lians ought to choose good religious
who love peace for themselves and
hers, who know how to bear the bad
ur of their subjects, and to compas-
te their fragility. The electors of
ncials ought to choose men who are
o believe evil of others, and who will
ith their own eyes before they con-
—men who are ready to hear both
; who, through excess of zeal and
ess, will not believe those, who, under
of piety and great excitement, come
l them, as a secret, the faults of
; who love justice and mercy, but
still more than justice."†
e terms in which monastic superiors
nce their own election are often very
ing. We may form an idea of their
al style from reading the epistle of
Urban IV. to all religious commu-
, announcing his own election to the
l seat. That letter, one might be-
had been written by an angel, not so
on account of the beauty of order
pervades it, and the perspicuity of its
as to the origin of rule and the depth
ught which it discloses, and the un-
ing resolution it expresses to defend
e, as from the celestial air of peace
seems to emanate from each humble,
g word, and the kind of musical delight
h is inspired by its calm, unpretending,
unearthly eloquence.‡ When Suger
l of his own election to be abbot of
enis, the only impression he evinced
grief for the deceased abbot. He was
is road returning from Italy, in the
th of February, when the news reached
"One day," he says, "being risen
early to say matins, before leaving the
el where we lodged, I perceived, after
hing my prayers, that it was still too
to set out; so I threw myself dressed
was on my bed, to wait till day. I
nto a doze and had a dream, imagining
elf to be in a skiff on the wide ocean,
e mercy of raging waves, and that I
ed God to deliver me and conduct me
safely to port. I awoke, and finding it
daylight, we set out; but on the road I
could think of nothing but my dream, and
I felt as if I were really threatened with
some great danger, from which the good-
ness of God would deliver me; but I said
not a word to my company. After some
leagues we met a servant of the abbey of
St. Denis, who stopped on recognising me,
and showed great anxiety but inability to
speak. At length, he informed me that, on
the 19th of the month, the abbot, Adam,
had died, and that two days after, the
community being assembled, had elected
me abbot by unanimous consent." Suger
burst into tears through sorrow at the
death of the holy man, who had received
and nourished his youth, so that all who
stood by were witnesses how he loved him.

The peacefulness of monastic superiors
appears in their readiness to resign rather
than disturb concord. Take an instance re-
lated by William of Jumiège. "A pilgrim on
arriving at Cyprus, enters a certain church
of St. Nicholas, where he prostrates himself
in prayer before the altar, and in the midst
of his prayer renders up his soul to God.
The inhabitants of the island discover that
this holy pilgrim was the venerable Thierri,
abbot of St. Evroul, who had abdicated his
dignity in consequence of difficulties op-
posed to him, and who, as a child of peace,
had resolved to go to Jerusalem. They
buried him with honours in their Church.*
The abbot of St. Victor, at Marseilles, in
1217, made a visitation of the monastery
of Vabres, and in the account which he
wrote of his proceedings there, says, "Since
we knew that a grievous and almost im-
placable discord had arisen between the
abbot and the brethren, we took care to
admonish the former, that for the sake of
peace, he ought voluntarily to abdicate;
and he, receiving our admonition, humbly
and devoutly, not caring for temporal hon-
ours, but with Paul desiring to be anathema
for his brethren, willingly yielded up the
place."† In the last book we had occasion
to cite many instances which proved how
truly pacific was the conduct of religious
men, in their intercourse with the world.

Monks, in general, were men such as a
modern author speaks of, "who detested
the strife of tongues, whom all noises dis-
composed." The Benedictine hymn for
vespers, each Friday of the year, was a
supplication for the peace of the world.

Hist. Mon. Villar. ap. Martene Thes. Anec.

Louis de Paris, Exposit. de la Règle des F.
neurs, c. 8.
Ap. Martene, Vet. Script. ii. p. 1252.

* Lib. vii. c. 26.
† Ap. Martene, Vet. Script. Coll. i. p. 1130.

"Da gaudiorum præmia,
Da gratiarum munera,
Dissolve litis vincula,
Adstringe pacis fœdera."

"Although to all the faithful of Christ," says Pope Alexander III., "we are bound to provide for the administration of justice, yet we are so much the more to attend to the cause of monks, as it is less proper for them to engage in any litigation."* Disputes respecting property, for example, were never suffered by any who had regard to their profession, to lead them aside from the paths of peace. Let us again hear the ancient writers, who describe them involved in such difficulties. "Lord Peter, abbot of Clairvaux," says Cæsar of Heisterbach, "had but one eye: he was a holy man in deed as well as in name, an imitator of the apostle. With him and his brethren a certain knight contended concerning some property: the day was fixed for their meeting, in order either to compose the difference or to go before the judge. The knight came with his friends, and the abbot with only one monk, on foot, like himself, simple and holy. The abbot being a lover of peace and poverty, and a despiser of transitory goods, spoke thus to the knight before all:—'You are a Christian man. If you say that these goods, about which there is this contention, are yours and ought to be yours, I am content with your testimony.' The knight caring more for the goods than for truth, answered, 'They are, indeed, mine,' 'Then let them be yours,' replied the abbot, 'I will not claim them more.' So he returned to Clairvaux. The knight went back to his wife as a conqueror, and told her all that had passed; but she being terrified at words so pure and simple, said, 'You have dealt treacherously with the holy abbot. Divine vengeance will punish us. Unless you restore these goods, you shall have no more of my company.' The knight was struck with remorse; so he went to Clairvaux, renounced the goods, and begged forgiveness. That blessed man in the time of our seniors, visited this cloister: he was of noble blood, being related to Philip, king of France, who was a great lover of holy simplicity."† "Constantine, a monk," says the same author, "related to me that when he was studying at Paris, John, abbot of St. Victor, who was a German, had to appeal for judgment in an allodial cause between him and certain great nobles, who brought with them many experienced and skilful lawyers, who pleaded against the monks, while the abbot sat simply, without alleging a word in reply, so that he seemed more intent on prayer than on defending his cause; which the king observing, said, 'Lord abbot, why do you say nothing?' To whom he answered meekly and with great simplicity, 'My lord, I know not what to say.' The king much edified then said to him, 'Return to your cloister, and I will speak for you.' When the holy man had withdrawn, the king said to the knight, 'I command you, on pain of forfeiting my grace, to give no more trouble to the holy abbot:' and thus the complaints of the monks were finally successful."*

Many charts exist containing the cessions of rights by abbots to prelates for the sake of peace. Thus, in 1158, Ubert, abbot of St. Michael, yields the church of St. Christopher de Colignola to Villano, archbishop of Pisa, because it is written, "Servos Dei litigare non debere;" and that it is proper for the rectors of venerable places to provide rather the things which are of peace and utility, and that in this instance the controversies cannot be set at rest without great scandal and peril to souls, and therefore, with the council of his brethren, he makes over all his rights.†

In the annals of the abbey of St. Crépin at Soissons, is a singular narrative of a trial in the twelfth century, which after much pleading, was referred by the dread forain opposed to the canon law to the issue of a duel. The Abbot Teulf, who writes the account in a charter of the year 1135, says, "that in order to prevent it he and the brethren decreed to settle it by compromise, in which the abbey waved its right during the life of the parties." The horror and disgust with which every instance of a contrary conduct in monks was regarded in the middle ages, might alone sufficiently prove what was the general practice. A satirist in the end of the twelfth century complaining of some legal proceedings by the monks of Grandmont, produces them as a legitimate reason for refusing to join their community.

"Ergo quid est, quod homo qui vivit ut Angelus intus,
Pulsatur totiens exteriore foro?"

* Ap. Martene, Vet. Script. xi. 838.
† Illust. Mirac. Lib. vi. c. 2.

* Illust. Mirac. Lib. vi. c. 2.
† Murat. Antiq. It. tom. iii. Excerpta Archivi Pisani.

he Carthusians, on the contrary, he

ra non veniunt quo litem scite resolvant,
populi vanum depopulantur Ave:"*

ble is the letter of Peter of Blois,
abbot of Marmoutier, for having
fore the tribunals, the prior of St.
on the subject of certain lands and
, which he claimed for his monas-
If you would attend to the vow of
ofession," he says to him, "you
udy the things which are above,
e which are on the earth. The
f God ought not to litigate, but
ather suffer himself to be de-
It was not becoming in a man
an order, whose conversation was
to be in heaven, to litigate for
Far be it from a spiritual man
ffect earth. Of you it is written
sons of men, why will you love
id seek a lie? For a lie, and
r is the possession of this world.
ou lately in the audience of the
op of Tours litigating for these
d pastures; and I grieve that I
so forgetful of all religion and
as to turn all to abuse, and to
a laughing-stock to all, instead of
g in your countenance and manner
astic gravity. You threw about
ds, you leaped forward, you dis-
our whole face, insulting the poor
h a proud demeanour, and shout-
with a nautic clamour. But He
elleth in heaven, and beholds the
will deliver the poor from the
So in hatred of your dissolved
st troubled state, the prior was that
olved. Nevertheless, there remains
a heavier judgment, and a day
be suspected, which will put an
our litigations, which to the scandal
onastic profession, you now exercise
y court. For that readiness of a
s and injurious tongue, the day of
hich threatens your white head will
l vengeance. Your flesh is congeal-
our limbs are stiffening; your lungs
ouring; your lips are slavering;
es are growing dim; your face is
ng pallid—so in a little spot of
ere will soon be dug a grave for the
and a tomb shall be his house for
ntil shall come that terrible day

tentia Brunelli de Ordinibus Relig. ap.
, Vet. Script. vi.

which will render to every man according to his works. Cease then from things which wound consciences, scandalize the order, and destroy souls. They who litigate for lands or pastures, are unworthy to be placed in the land of the living, or in the place of pasture."*

To the eminently pacific character of those who followed the monastic profession in ages of faith, we might cite innumerable direct witnesses, and produce also ample testimony from the tombs. This is, in fact, the characteristic on which all writers of cloistral biography seem to lay the greatest stress. So Theodoric, a monk of St. Ouen, dedicating a work in 1060 to Nicholas, abbot of that monastery, addresses him in these terms—

"Patri sincero, tranquilla pace sereno."†

What multitudes are commemorated in the Neustria Pia, and other similar works, as having been, like Reinaldus, abbot of Preaux, "full of pacific goodness."‡ In the chronicle of the Carthusians, the author, speaking of the priors Hugo, Bernard, Riferius, Gerard, William, Henry, John, Francis, Antony, and many others, sums up their praise by saying, "in all whose breasts peace and goodness ever reigned."§ In like manner, it is chiefly as the worshippers of peace that we find them commemorated on their sepulchres. Thus on the tomb of Nicolas III. abbot of St. Ouen, in the thirteenth century, we read—

"Abbas pacificus, humilis, pius, atque pudicus,
Justus, magnificus, fraternæ pacis amicus,
Prudens, facundus, patiens, pacisque secundus,
Non ea quæ mundus quærens, à crimine mundus."‖

The epitaph of Roger, abbot of St. Evroul, who died in 1126, ends with this line—

"Pacis amator erat, rogo nunc in pace quiescat."¶

That of John Inger, prior of St. Barbara, in Normandy, bears this testimony—

"Æmulus hic pacis."**

On the tomb of Henry, abbot of St. Laurence, at Liege, who died in 1258, and

* Pet. Bles. Epist. cxvii.
† Neustria Pia, xxii.
‡ Ibid. 511.
§ Dorlandi Chronic. Cart. iv. 26.
‖ Neustria Pia, xii. ¶ Ibid. 123.
** Ibid. 730.

was buried in the middle of the choir, were these lines—

"Abbas Henricus nigrorum flos monachorum,
Largus, pacificus, præfulgens lampade morum,
Justitiæ cultor, veniæ pater et pietatis."*

On that of William III., abbot of Bec, we read—

"Mitis, munificus, patiens, et pacis amicus."†

And, on that of Fardulf, abbot of St. Denis—

"Tranquillus, placidus, promtus ad omne bonum."‡

Thus the very sepulchres of monks were made to convey a lesson, enforcing the peculiar obligation of their state of life to be placid, tranquil, merciful, and pacific. But these preliminary observations, though necessary, seem to be leading us back to ground which detained us to weariness in the last book. Presuming, therefore, that the reader is already prepared to admit the justice of our view, in regarding monasteries as the abodes of men so eminently peaceful as to render a particular examination of their effects indispensable for the completion of our history, let us proceed at once to a new and magnificent subject, and endeavour to form an accurate estimate of these wonderful institutions, to the pacific excellence of which all that was holy and illustrious upon earth, in days of the highest intellectual glory, delighted to bear witness. Our object is not to give a scientific exposition of their history, which can be found in other sources; but to become practically familiar with the effects which resulted from them, that we may be able henceforth to feel ourselves as it were personally acquainted both with the places themselves, and with the men who inhabited them, with those who as Dante says—

"Did bare the feet, and in pursuit of peace,
So heavenly ran, yet deem'd their footing slow."*

CHAPTER II.

WHAT was monastic life in general? and what did it imply? It was simply a Christian life, according to the precepts and counsels of Christ, accommodated to peculiar circumstances and wants which are incident to some Christians in all ages of the world, and under every possible variety in the development of civilization. It implied also the fervour and devotion of the first ages, insomuch that even the most bitter antagonists admit, that "in the bosom of monasteries in the twelfth century might be found the austerity and sincere piety of the primitive church."† That community of goods, for instance, which originally characterized the whole Christian society, but which certainly was not intended to be perpetual in a literal sense universally, was observed in the monastic orders, without leading to any injurious results. In them it remained after zeal and charity had grown cold elsewhere, and also after it would have been impossible to have realized it in the ordinary society. Peter the Venerable, abbot of Cluny, accordingly exclaims—"What else is it to say, Omnia quæ habes da pauperibus, et veni sequere me," but "Become a monk."‡

* Hist. Mon. St. Laur. Leodiens. ap. Martene, Vet. Script. iv.
† Petri Divensis de Gestis Abbat. Beccens. ap. id. vi.
‡ Ap. id. vi.

* Par. xi.
† Capefigue, Hist. de Phil. Auguste, i. 39.
‡ Pet. Ven. Epist. i. 28.

ıonastic life, therefore, implied
ır the renouncement of personal
ıs: and in explanation of their
s on this head, there were not
hose who, to the uttermost, were
be followers of their divine Mas-
ɛr of Blois remarks, "that few
die who, at their departure from
lo not wish to have been most
There were in truth many con-
s which recommended poverty to
astic legislators. The love of
f the Franciscans seems to a
istorian to "have been an effort
alive from the conditions of this
the servitude of matter, to con-
anticipate here below the in-
ce of a pure spirit."† "O how
honest poverty to be desired,"
Alanus de Insulis. "To many,
e an obstacle to acting well.
ever ready and secure. If you
rve God you must be either poor
ɛ poor. Si vis servire Deo, aut
s oportet, aut pauperi similis."‡
he ancient world, as Cardan re-
all professed lovers of wisdom
; Plato and Aristotle having be-
only in their latter years."§
return. Writers of the middle
"that the monastic was truly
ılic life."‖ And, in fact, with-
ıonasteries with which Europe
covered, the manners of the pri-
ırch were perpetuated under the
circumstances above spoken of,
shall presently explain. Hence,
ırchbishop of Canterbury, in the
lenry II., writing to the Cister-
s: "It is the voice of all men
professors of the Cistercian
p the footsteps of apostolic reli-
ıoderation of food and raiment,
ng, in confessions, in discipline,
ıdy, in humility, in hospitality,
, and in all other fruits of love."¶
external distinctions of monks,
its, hours, and modes of life,
ıows that these were not the in-
f caprice, but merely the remains
t manners, preserved through
ɛ the rest of the world had under-
ıdigious change. The habit was

les. Epist. lx.
ɛt, Hist. de France, iii.
n. de Arte Prædicatoria, c. 4.
. de Consolatione, Lib. iii.
Abbot. Tuitiensis de Vita vere Apos-
lartene, Vet. Script. tom ix.
es. Epist. lxxxii.

holy from the prayers of the church and the sanctity of those who wore it. A conversion of the heart to God was, therefore, the primary and the peculiar want of some Christians, the secondary cause of all religious orders existing. "That of the Carthusians," says De Tracy, "owes its origin to a holy conversation between St. Bruno and two of his friends; the mouth of the just was thus seen, as the Scripture declares, to be a source of life."* Monastic life may be also represented as a restoration of the primal state of man, with the substitutions rendered necessary by the fall. So in the chronicle of Fontanelle the Benedictine rule is thus qualified, "status vitæ innocentis secundum eximii P. Benedicti normam."† "A convent of religious," says Hugo of St. Victor, "a congregation of monks, is a paradise, having the tree of life in the midst of it, yielding shade and fruit, that is, Christ giving life."‡ But it is that state still insecure and requiring defence. Therefore, St. Bernard says, "our order is humility, peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost: our order is silence, fasting, prayer, labour, and above all, to hold the more excellent way which is charity."§ St. Anselm defines it in still fewer words, saying, "the object of the monastic discipline is purity of heart, and the end everlasting life."‖ "But were not all Christians, whatever be their state, called to perfection?" as Rosmene says in the beginning of his maxims, "and might not the cloisters have sheltered men of very different intentions?" Assuredly, would have been the answer of the middle ages. Therefore, as Antonio de Guevara says, "a perfect man makes the world a monastery, and the profane man makes a monastery the world."¶ Still there were reasons why there should be monasteries, as we shall see in the issue.

The church had, from the first, some persons who aspired to follow the evangelic counsels, and who were styled ascetics, from the Greek word which signifies men that exercise themselves. Though they lived in the midst of men, and were distinguished only by their more austere and regular life, they were, in fact, the same as monks.** The monastic institute, in its

* Vie de St. Bruno.
† In Mab. Præf. in 2 Sæcul. Ben. § 1.
‡ Ex Miscellan. Lib. iii. tit. 60.
§ Epist. cxlii.
‖ Tractat. ascetic. S. Anselmi, ap. Dacher. Spicileg. iii. ¶ Epist. li.
** Bened. XIV. De Canonizat. Servorum Dei, 152.

regular form, is traced to the persecution under Decius, when multitudes fled to the mountains and woods, and were so enamoured with their peace that they refused to leave them when the persecution had ceased.* The monastic life began to be called a religious life from the word *relegendo*, either because monks continually read again the things relative to God; or, as St. Augustin and St. Thomas observe, "because they were bound together by peculiar ties of charity." For at least two centuries the monks were not ecclesiastics but purely laymen. St. Pachomius sent none of his monks to receive holy orders; and his monasteries were served by priests from without. As Peter of Blois observes, "Paul, Antony, Apollonius, Mutius, Hilarion, Paphnutius, both the Macarius', and Arsenius, Benedict, and other men of blessed memory, were never made priests."† It is no disparagement to the monastic institution that the justice of many of the views on which it was founded had been recognised and enforced by sages of the ancient world; the fact is certain. Pythagoras and his disciples at Crotona led a life in community, and were styled in consequence Cœnobites.‡ The Pythagorean life required community of goods, a noviciate, piety, erudition, silence, abstinence from flesh, and continence.§ Of course, the gulf which separates all heathen from Christian philosophy is ever the same; but still the former very often laid down principles which wanted only the foundation of the latter to be identical with the monastic views. Such are many of the precepts of Epictetus,‖ and the distinctions of Cebes, where he shows how many philosophers, and poets, and orators, mistake the false for the true discipline, and that the two guides which enable men to attain to the rock of true discipline are continence and endurance, two sisters, who stand on the summit and encourage those who attempt to mount, saying, "Endure but a little more and you will find the ascent easy and safe." His description of the entrance to this way might remind one of our old monastic buildings. "Do you see that little door, and the path to it bearing no marks of having been trodden by many. That is the gate." Plato, with this reservation, is also thoroughly monastic. As when he says, "that there remains but a small number of men consortin philosophy in a worthy manner: s either magnanimous by nature lool upon the dignities and affairs of th as beneath them; or else as abando other art which they had learne which they now despise in comparis the love of wisdom, and who therefor to it."* He shows that men wl accustomed to the shades of the ea incapable of sustaining celestial ligh on the contrary, that those whose c sation is in heaven by their holy li the knowledge of the malice of this insupportable. Most remarkable, i is the similarity between the spirit monastic institute and that ideal an nition of good which was announ Cleanthes in the lines recorded Clement of Alexaria:—

Τἀγαθὸν ἐρωτᾷς μ' οἷόν ἐστ'· ἄκουε δή.
τεταγμένον, δίκαιον, ὅσιον, εὐσεβές,
κρατοῦν ἑαυτοῦ, χρήσιμον, καλὸν, δέον,
αὐστηρὸν, αὐθέκαστον, αἰεὶ συμφέρον,
ἄφοβον, ἄλυπον, λυσιτελὲς, ἀνώδυνον,
ὠφέλιμον, εὐάρεστον, ἀσφαλὲς, φίλον,
ἔντιμον, ὁμολογούμενον—
εὐκλεὲς, ἄτυφον, ἐπιμελὲς, πρᾷον, σφο
χρονιζόμενον, ἄμεμπτον, αἰεὶ διαμένον.
ἀνελεύθερος πᾶς ὅστις εἰς δόξαν βλέπε
ὡς δὴ παρ' ἐκείνης τευξόμενος καλοῦ τι

Abandoning, however, these observ let us inquire from Christian monu respecting the views and motives o who founded or embraced the mo order, who themselves challenged i into its origin. "For as no one," Salvian, "does any thing unless f sake of safety or advantage, so we take this mode of life because we th convenient, reflecting on the shortn present and the duration of future t considering how little are the firs great the latter, that the judgment tremendous, and the life with God a saints most blissful."‡ "We con says another, "the narrowness of th the numbers who perish, the dan the world, of its idle conversation, many trials, and the comparative s of renouncing all things for Christ. reflect on the importance of asso with the holy, as David said, sancto sanctus eris, et cum viro inn innocens eris: cum electo electus eri perverso perverteris.' 'They rem

* Joan. Devoti Institut. Canonic. Lib. i. tit. ix.
† Epist. cxxiii.
‡ Jamb. de Pyth. vit. 5.
§ Ib. 6. ‖ Manual. 20. 30.

* De Repub. vi. † Protrepticus,
‡ Salviani Timoth. Lib. 2.

linal Bona says, 'that the abun- of cares and solicitudes which must to all who mix much with the world bstacle to that devout contemplation h they wished to pass their lives;'"* rk not unnoticed even by the ancient ying,

Αἱ δὲ φρενῶν ταραχαὶ
Παρέπλαγξαν καὶ σοφόν.†

Venerable Bede observes, "that a obstacle was furnished by much ation with people in society."‡ "Ex- e proves," says another, "that the ssipated by the curiosity of secular can with difficulty recollect itself urn to the meditation of heavenly "§ The reply made to Charles VII. ce might, with the change of a word, that of monks when their opinion ked respecting the life under a d formally opposed to theirs: "One se one's crown with more gaiety." naventura says, "that he who is with temporal things cannot readily Christ."‖ Now the following Him, love is the source of all beatitude, e most important of all occupations ir judgment. Their strongest con- is thus expressed by Dante:

ith in sooth good cause for endless grief,
for the love of thing that lasteth not,
ils himself for ever of that love."¶

y renounced, therefore, the former nd in the cloister sought peace from cupiscence; for to their state almost we may truly apply the poet's word,

"Hæc est
solutorum misera ambitione gravique."**

ace, all those injunctions, as in the encement of the rule of Fontevrauld: culi actibus se facere alienum, nihil Christi præponere."†† Hence, those tulations of St. Bernard, "You have well, alienating yourself more and from the acts of this world, which is nd spotless religion."‡‡ "The first al cause of all monastic life," says a of the fifth century, "is the desire id the occasions of sin, to declare rith the perverse world, and to be delivered from the danger of its snares."* In effect, by their triple vow, the monks extracted from themselves the roots of all disorders that fill the world with discord, the concupiscence of the flesh, the concupiscence of the eyes, and the pride of life. To extirpate these was to uproot the germs of war and misery from the human heart.

Let us hear the reflections of Mœhler on the ascetical life suggested by the work of St. Athanasius on the life of St. Anthony: "Continence, and an indifference for the goods and pleasures of the earth, sublime gifts of some souls, and in their will, the power, or at least, an ardent desire, to break the bonds which attach us to a world that passes, have been the first elements of the monastic life. By means of divine grace the spiritual man predominates to such a degree in these privileged souls, and they are drawn with such force towards things unchangeable and holy, that the bonds which attach them to the things of this world are hardly felt; in them the spiritual almost entirely eclipses the animal life. Their life is hidden with Jesus Christ in God. The expression is not exact when we say that men have formed the resolution to disengage themselves by degrees from the bonds which attach them to things temporal, in order that they may more freely occupy themselves with things eternal. If they do not marry; if they only take the nourishment which is absolutely necessary; if they hold themselves at a distance from the pleasures and vanities of the world; it is not because they have recognised beforehand that these are good means to raise themselves to perfection. Their manner of life is less the cause than the consequence of the perfection which shines in them. They do not banish terrestrial thoughts from their souls in order to find room for celestial thoughts; but all place being already occupied by these, it is impossible for the former to find access. Here then we learn to explain the origin of the first monks called the ascetics. They did not invent the spiritual life to form an opposition to the wholly sensual life of the majority. The ascetics were distinguished by a profound knowledge of sacred truths, and by a great piety, often also (in consequence of the purity and strength of their mind, and of their elevation above the external influences which trouble and obscure the intellectual

Divin. Psal. 502.
id. Olymp. vii.
Templo Salom.
an à Jesu instruct Magist. Novitiorum.
. Bon. Meditat. Vitæ Christi, xxi.
r. ** Hor. Sat. i. 6.
a Reigle de l'ordre de Fontevrauld, chap. i.
pist. cccl.xxxv.

* Consultatio Zachæi et Apollonii, Lib. iii. 3. 4. ap. Dacher. Spicileg. x.

eye) by a just appreciation of things and by a consummate prudence; in fine, sometimes by miraculous gifts, by the power of healing maladies in a supernatural manner, of dispelling demons, and of predicting the future. Now man is naturally inclined to venerate what is pure, great, and holy. These monks were then regarded as the friends of God, and the crowd pressed from all sides to approach them, and often came from distant countries. This is the state of things described by St. Athanasius in his life of St. Anthony. The inhabitants of heaven seemed to be descended into the cells of the mountains; they chanted, they cultivated sciences, they taught, they prayed, they rejoiced in the glory to come, they worked to do good, and they adorned their lives by friendship and concord. It was, as it were, a country separated from the rest of the world, a kingdom of piety and justice; to injure any one, or to suffer injury from any one, were two things equally unknown. A multitude of monks peopled the heights, but all were only of one soul, and desired only one thing—their sanctification and their salvation. Whoever visited these cells of the ascetics and contemplated their lives ought to have cried, 'How lovely are thy pavilions, O Jacob! and thy tents, O Israel! They are like the valleys which are spread to a distance, like the gardens on the banks of rivers, like the tabernacles raised by Jehovah.'"*

"To be a philosopher," says Cowley, "is but to retire from the world, or rather to retire from the world as it is man's, into the world as it is God's."† The monastic writers say no more than this. "Populus solus habitabit et inter gentes non reputabitur." "A great praise, brethren," adds Hugo of St. Victor, after citing these words, "when the people dwell alone, and are not reputed among the nations, all of whom follow the desires of the flesh and the glory of the world."‡ "There is the world, of which God is the Creator," says Richard of St. Victor; "mundus per ipsum factus est: and there is the world, of which God is the Saviour; sic Deus dilexit mundum, ut Filium suum unigenitum daret: and there is the world, of which the devil is the prince, of which we read, nolite diligere mundum."§ It was of this last alone that the monastic life implied the renouncement. "To fly from in its language, as in that of the meant to fly from the city of this w the society of wicked men and This is what St. Bernard had in v he cried, "Fly from the midst of fly, and save your souls." All th only for greater security; "for risks," as he proceeds to say, "for i in delights, for humility in r piety in business, for truth in for charity in this perverse world. the monastic life implied retreat, the world in which continued ma elect; but for many souls this v sary; and there are not wantin philosophers who have acknowle it was. "Though a wise man," say "could pass never so securely thr great roads of human life, yet he perpetually with so many objects sions of grief, shame, anger, hatr nation, and all passions, that he h strike into some private path, r far, if he could, out of the com 'ut nec facta audiat Pelopidarun the monasteries, more than in of Virgil, men were delivered fro ing the affairs of empire, and t kingdoms; there they might live neither lamenting their wants, no those who had possessions; seein the iron laws, nor the insane fo the decrees of senates.§

Why are devout Christians to be for expressing desires which are on the lips of Cowley and Virg Catholic philosophy admitted of inconsistency. Cowper, indeed, praising retirement, adds,

"Not that I mean to approve, or wou A superstitious and monastic course.'

To enforce it no Catholic pr but in what the distinction consi renders the monastic retiremen ception, I believe it would hav him to tell. "Beatæ aures qu divini susurri suscipiunt, et d hujus susurrationibus nihil ad Such was the monastic principle. oculos meos ne videant vanitatem. lucem tuam et veritatem tuam." the monastic prayer, and "nev cease praying thus," adds Richa

* Num, xxiv. 5, 6. † Essays.
‡ Serm. lxxvi.
§ Ric. S. Vict. super Apocalypsum, Lib. iii. 8.

* S. August. Civ. Dei, xviii. 18.
† De Conversione. c. xxi. ‡
§ Georg. Lib. ii. 500. ‖ De Im

, "till vanity hath passed and light hone."* In fine, the monastic life reducing to practice the mystery of Saturday; it was the life hidden us Christ; a perpetuation of the l instituted by St. Paul in the e read on that great day. "Mortui estis, et vita vestra abscondita est Christo in Deo." The monastic :. that profound, tranquil acquies- in a life of abnegation and of insen- r to human praise or blame, saving r, was a life so contrary to that of rld, that it might truly be compared quiet and repose of the grave. But a true life: "Cellæ et cœli habitatio æ sunt," says St. Bernard, "quod in cœlis, hoc est in cellis. Quidnam ? Vacare Deo, frui Deo."

monastic life, we might have added, l celibacy; which as a French Domi- observes, was not the invention of ; it existed before there were monks, ey only raised it to the dignity of a : but having in a former book ex- l the sentiments of men in ages of with respect to that discipline in regard to the clergy at large, there was no necessity for our dwelling upon it here. John Gerson, in his discourse upon that state, refutes in advance all the objections that have been urged in latter times; and to that unanswerable treatise those who demand further argument may be referred.* St. Chrysostom, it is true, had already done the same, when he examined with eyes fixed upon the eternal world the happiest and most successful life of those who were not called to observe it;† but further citations are needless in this place. "Not vain or void of truth," says St. Bernard, "is that form of life."‡ Within the cloister it implied days passed in the contemplation of the highest truth, and of ideal grandeur, a converse with the glories and solemnities of universal nature, thoughts of sages and heroes, unmixed with minor things, the fiery consciousness of activity, for, as we shall see, labour was of obligation, and at the same time, what could hardly perhaps elsewhere be united with it, cloudless serenity of mind, uninterrupted peace.

CHAPTER III.

FTER solution of this first inquiry, we shall be asked by those who lack experience to direct them, in their old errors blind, to what purpose of utility the monastic orders? For many re now afflicted with distorted vision, rsuaded that they were vain, if not ious institutions, following the so- who, lamenting that the times of n philosophy are past, say, in allusion Academy, that "the walks which a genius had immortalized, were ned to the most deceitful as well as nost useless of men." And, indeed, rightly do they say that the monks were useless, if we understand and use the distinction pointed out by the sage whose genius they extol, who said that the true philosophers are useless in the state, adding, "but it is not through their fault that they are useless, since it is through that of the evil men, who do not make use of them."§ Although it will be necessary to have arrived at the end of the present book, to understand completely the use of monasteries, we ought not to proceed without endeavouring to give some reply to a question that is sure to be urged from

Ric. S. Vict. Annot. in. Ps. xxv.

* Gersoni Opera, tom. iii.
† St. Chrysost. Tract. de Virginitate, cap. xxvi.
‡ De Conversione, xxi.
§ Plato, De Repub. Lib. vi.

the commencement; for which purpose let us endeavour to discover what answer would have been immediately given in ages of faith, had such an inquiry been made. It is recorded in monastic history, that St. Bernard coming to make the foundation of the abbey of Villers, in Brabant, and looking down from the mountain upon the gorge in which it was to stand, said, "In this place will many souls be saved." Such was the utility which he expected from it. Now this was the chief and primary use of monasteries, according to the judgment of men in ages of faith. In them many souls were saved; placed and retained in harmony with God and man, in that divine peace from which in the last book we traced all earthly peace. This is beautifully expressed in these words of St. Bernard, which we find usually inscribed on some conspicuous part of the Cistercian abbeys, "Bonum est nos hic esse, quia homo vivit purius, cadit rarius, surgit velocius, incedit cautius, quiescit securius, moritur felicius, purgatur citius, præmiatur copiosius." The blessed Otho bishop of Bamberg, confessor and apostle of Pomerania, being asked familiarly by some in 1150, why he founded and built so many monasteries, replied, citing the evangelical parable of the Good Samaritan, who conveyed the wounded man to an inn, adding, "The world is all a place of exile, and as long as we live in this world, we are at a distance from our Lord. Therefore, we need inns and stables. Now monasteries and cells are inns and stables. These are then of great utility to us poor wanderers; and if we fall among robbers and are stript and wounded, and left half-dead, certainly we shall find by experience how much better it is to be near an inn, than at a distance from one; for when sudden destruction comes upon us, how can we be carried to a stable if it be far off? So it is much better that there should be many such places than few, seeing how great is the danger and how large the number of persons exposed to it; and now especially that men are so multiplied on the earth, it is not absurd that monasteries should be multiplied; since the abundant population admits of numbers embracing a chaste life. Finally, it is well to have these built, that in all things God might be honoured and man assisted; and how great is the honour to God and the utility to man, which daily result from monasteries? The spiritual is even greater than the temporal utility; for there the blind see, the lame walk, the lepers are cleansed, the dead are raised, and the poor have the gospel preached to them."*

Not, however, to press men with avowals which would in an instant render evident the inutility of our attending further to their objections, let us descend from this elevation, and endeavour to show by obvious reasons, drawn from principles which all will admit, why such important results followed from the institution of the monastic orders.

In the first place, then, the advantages of a life in community, as set forth by St. Basil, in his great rules, are great and incontestable. That life, one of "the rights of man," as well as a want incident to humanity, corresponds with an intimate sentiment of our nature, which shrinks from the sad issue described by a great modern writer, where he says, that to advance towards the grave, growing each day more and more isolated, is the lot of man. As doubtless it is in the present age, when the passion of individuality devours the human heart. How different is it from that life in a monastery, so beautifully described by St. Basil! The Stagyrite remarked the want which human nature felt for such association. "Men," he says, "love to do things in company with others. They love to take exercise together, and to philosophize together; and it is with friends that they wish to pass their days."†

"Those men," says Plato, "who are of the best natures, devote themselves to continence and friendship, conversing with men only, and living without marriage, but being susceptible of the most firm and indissoluble affection for such as are of a like nature, from whom they wish never to be separated through life, though they are never able to say what they wish to happen to each other, while it is evident that their souls are filled with some desire which they are not able to express, and that they divine what is desirable. And if Vulcan should come to them with his instruments, and say, 'O men, what is it that you wish should happen to each of you?' and if they still doubting, he should again ask, 'Is this what you desire, that you should be united for ever, and never be separated from each other? for if this be your desire, I am willing to unite you, not only as long as you live, but in such a manner that you shall not be separated even after death,' hearing this, it is certain that they would seem to wish for nothing

* De S. Ottone, Pommeran. Apostol. Lib. i. ap. Canis. Lect. Antiq. iii.
† Ethic. ix. 12.

d they would feel that this was what
ad long desired, the cause being in
:ient primal nature of man before he
lated, to which this highest love
them, yielding them many benefits
present, and the greatest hopes for
ire, inspiring them with piety, and
them happy and blessed."* Now
natural reason of men could thus
ite the advantages of a common life,
ch more will not the Christian wisdom
it! for as an English author says,
y be truly affirmed, that there was
ny philosophy, religion, and other
ie, which did so plainly and highly
e good which is communicative, and
the good which is private and par-
as the holy faith." Hence we find
ociations of pious men, who gave
ves to retreat and prayer, arose in
days of the church, and were spread
r the gospel was announced; in
to which St. Chrysostom says, that
has renounced earthly affections or
ous for the discipline of Christ, in
advance more in his love, on that
will find more who will receive him
ernal affection, and rejoice to support
h their substance. The angel of
ol pronounces this sentence, "Man
ell wants the assistance of friends,
d to works both of the active and of
templative life."† "In a commu-
ays Thomas à Kempis, "a man lives
ecurely; and if sometimes he is
l by one, on the other hand he is
l by another. There he is excited
by example, and warned from evil.
he finds persons he can love; the
ou another is an admonition to
: there each one guards the other.
are diverse offices and one spirit of
There the sound visiting the sick
to serve Christ in so doing; there
ing weary of attendance, another
his place. There while one reads,
re edified; there each one having
kly course, they all are mutually
. There a man has many to pray
and at his last moments to protect
inst the devil; there he has as many
es as he has companions. There
ily sleeps in the Lord, and has many
ors to deliver him the sooner from
y: there after death he leaves heirs
be mindful of him: there his labour
l conversation will not be forgotten,
profit many in future times for an

iv. c. 16. † Quæst. iv. art. 8.

example. There he participates in the merits of all: there he lives for a time with those with whom he will hereafter rejoice for everlasting ages."* Clemens Alexandrinus thus describes it, "Here all are soldiers and guards; no one is idle, no one useless. One is able to pray for you to God, another to console you when sick, another to weep and sympathise with you, another to teach you what is useful to salvation, another to correct you with boldness, another to consult together with you like a friend; and all, to love you truly, without guile, without hypocrisy, without flattery. O sweet attendance of friends, O blessed ministry of comforters, O the faithful services of those who fear only God, O the true simplicity which is incapable of a falsehood, O the honourable labour which is in obedience to God, to please God!"

The conviction of men in ages of faith, that the interests of the soul required them to associate with devout persons, rested upon solid principles, some of which were not unknown to the ancient world. Socrates relates in the Platonic dialogue, that many of his disciples who made great progress in wisdom while with him, had not continued to retain it when they left him. This was the case with Aristides, son of Lysimachus, who confesses it in these remarkable words, "I say the truth, though it may seem incredible, but what I learned from you was never in the way of instruction, but merely by being with you. I seemed to advance from being in the same house with you, though I were not to be in the same room, but still more when I was also in the same room with you, so as to be able to see you while speaking; and above all, when I sat by your side and held you; but now, since my absence on the naval expedition, all this faculty has left me and passed away."† Here is a beautiful illustration of the necessity to which so many of the ancient sages and poets bear witness, as when Pindar exclaims, "But may it happen to me discoursing to be conversant with the good;"‡ and Maximus of Tyre, "nothing is more hostile to the virtue of a man, than the being surrounded with wickedness;" and Æschylus, "I mourn the destiny that blends the just with the unhallowed. Nothing worse in whatever cause than impious fellowship: nothing of good is reaped. If midst a race, inhospitably bent on savage deeds, regardless of heaven, the just man fix his seat, the impending

* Quæst. Serm. i. p. 2. † Plato, Theages.
‡ Pyth. Id. 11.

wrath spares not, but strikes him with vindictive fury, crushed in the general ruin."* Hence the wise old man in Plautus addresses these words to his son:

"—— Nolo ego cum improbis te viris,
Gnate mi, neque in via, neque in foro ullum sermonem exsequi.
Novi ego hoc seculum, moribus quibus sit. Malus bonum malum
Esse volt, ut sit sui similis:"†

But let us hear the old Christians speak. "Saul, being among the prophets," says Father Diego de Stella, "became a prophet and did prophecy, and among fools he became a fool. St. Peter, being among the apostles, confessed Christ to be the Son of God, but afterwards in Caiaphas's house, where he was with the wicked, he did deny him. It seemeth hereby that a great alteration was made in the man by reason of the company that he was with. If thou puttest dead among quick burning coals, they will soon be set on fire. Draw thou near unto the burning coals which be the virtues of good men, for though thou be never so much wasted and consumed by thine own evil life, yet good men with their virtues will revive and quicken thee again. St. Thomas, because he did separate himself from the rest of his followers, did not see Christ when he rose again; and when he joined himself in company with them again, our Redeemer appeared unto him, and so, of an unbelieving disciple, was made a faithful and true disciple. It is a dangerous thing to forsake the company of them that fear God. The Holy Ghost descended upon Whitsunday when the disciples were gathered together, and if thou wilt continue among good men, thou shalt receive the Holy Ghost as they did."‡

"He who adheres to a holy man," says St. Gregory the Great, "from the custom of seeing him, and of speaking with him, and from the example of his works, will be kindled with a love of truth." "Since you know that many are called, but few chosen," says Pope Adrian, writing to St Hildegard, "join yourself to the number of the few and persevere to the end in holy conversation, that with your sisters you may come to those joys which 'eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, nor the heart of man conceived.'" "As in the world," says Dionysius the Carthusian, "one draws another to sin, so in a religious community one attracts another to virtue. 'A brother who is assisted by a brothe Solomon, 'is like a fortified city.' C deeply the quality and quantity of th in the world, and act for your soul would in case of a temporal dang what you have to fear is the loss highest and incommutable good—the God—irrecoverable and everlasting f Now this was one of the advanta nished by monastic life. "Holy me read, "attend not to good places, good conversation in places." "Th of the just," says St. Gregory, "is conversation: the place of the just Lord." Hence, in the formula of the made by strangers on applying for tion into a monastery, extracted t billon from a very ancient commen the rule of St. Benedict, by Hilde find these words—"Coming from provinces to this monastery, beca conversation of the brethren of th pleases me; and because my conv pleases them: therefore, I promise in this monastery, and by this writi my own hand pledge myself that be perpetual."*

If we refer to facts, there will be culty to find the verification of thes "In all ages," says a modern histori is not Catholic, "the clergy who le separate in the world have been effe the influence of the passing current the regular or monastic clergy, thoug ing the storm of human passions r distance, escaped its fury, and pursue out any important revolution, the ev of its way." And in another history told, that the experience of all a shown the evils and dangers to which priests are exposed. Without doul is the purport of historical testimony Saxon chronicle, in reference to En the year 1087, says, "So it was days that little righteousness was land with any men but with the alone, wherever they fared well."† Pasquier observes, "that the monast tute was the principal instrument b the church in France was reformed great disasters under the race of magne."‡ In effect, every where el the same. Michelet goes so far as "that at one epoch the spiritual g the Church took refuge in the mo that the monastic state was an asy

* Sept. cont. Theb. † Trinum. ii. 2.
‡ On the Contempt of the World. St. Omer, 1622.

* Præfat. in IV. Sæc. § 4.
† P. 292.
‡ Recherches de la France. Liv. iii. 1

Church, as the Church had been for
in society."*
ter of Blois, archdeacon of London,
a secular, supplicating the sovereign
ff to convert a certain parish church
a Cistercian convent, on account of the
rigible manners of the secular clergy
e place, uses this strong language:
vert this stye of swine into a temple of
and let this den of shameless sinners
ne a dwelling for those who seek the
f the God of Jacob, and who will make
paradise of pleasure, and a sanctuary
Holy Ghost."†
e monastery of Lerins alone gave to the
ch twelve archbishops, twelve bishops,
ore than one hundred martyrs. Three
e greatest popes, St. Gregory VII.,
n II., and Pascal II., came from
r. The Church of God venerates no
an twenty-two saints who were monks
e monastery of St. Bertin, at St.
‡ The archbishops of Mayence used
t always to be drawn from the abbey
ilda.§ On entering the court of the
stery of St. Gregory, on the Celian
Rome, you read inscribed the names
e great and holy bishops who issued
that house; amongst which, are those
Augustin, St. Laurentius, St. Petrus,
onorius, all archbishops of Canterbury,
Mellitus, bishop of London, St. Justus,
p of Rochester, and St. Paulinus, arch-
p of York. In the tenth, eleventh, and
h centuries, it was almost exclusively
onasteries which supplied men worthy
episcopacy. These pontiffs retained
abit, and persevered in the regular life,
read of St. Cæsarius of Arles, St.
ain of Paris, St. Ælbert of York, and
. So renowned was the abbey of St.
, at Paris, for its discipline and science,
many French bishops sought to procure
ir canons of that house to place in
cathedrals in the room of seculars. The
sh Church regarded St. Victor's as the
ary of her bishops. Seven cardinals,
rchbishops, six bishops, and fifty-four
, in the course of the twelfth century
came from that monastery.|| How
se again was the number of saints
to the Church by the abbey of St.

st. de France, i. 261.
t. Bles. Epist. clii.
ronic. S. Bertini, Prolog. ap. Martene,
r. Anecdot. iii.
nnat. Hist. Fuldens. p. 111.
læus, Hist. Univers. Par. ii. Liebner Hugo
Victor und die Theolog. Richtungen seiner

Maximin, at Treves? How many illustrious men by the monastery of Hirschau?* Melrose abbey gave St. Eata to the see of Lindisfarn, St. Edilwald to that of Durham, St. Boisilus to that of Worcester, and Wallen, the uncle of king Malcome, to that of St. Andrew, who, however, refused the invitation, and died here as the humble disciple of St. Bernard, in the odour of sanctity, in 1155.†

Abeillard himself pointed out the reasons of the monastic state being so recommended, and contrasted the danger of the life of clerks in the world with the security of the monastic life.‡ "Such was the esteem of the latter from experience of its utility," says John Devotus the canonist, "that to canons was prescribed a life in community under a rule, Peter Damian in Italy, Ives of Chartres in France, and Egbert, archbishop of York, in England, adding monastic vows to the canonical institute."§

By the institution of St. Chrodegang, bishop of Metz, in 760, the secular clergy were appointed to live in community like monks. Such, however, was the notoriety of the monastic pre-eminence in regard to religion, that in many dioceses the cathedrals were served by monks. In Germany, from the time of St. Boniface, they possessed the cathedrals of Saltzburg, Eisted, Freybourg, Ratisbon, Mayence, and two others, whence the very name of Munsters was derived. Nine cathedrals in England were similarly served, as those of Canterbury from the time of king Ethelbert to the revolution of the sixteenth century, the archbishop being necessarily a monk, of York, Winchester, Sherbourne, Rochester, Norwich, Lindisfarn, Durham, Ely, and Coventry. In France the episcopal church of Toul was served by monks, as was, in Spain, that of Toledo, and some others. At the very head of all the churches, in the Lateran Basilica itself, Benedictine monks of Mount-Cassino were established in the time of Pope Innocent II., after the slaughter by the Lombards, and in the church of St. Peter, by order of Pope Gregory III., Benedictines having served the basilica of St. Paul from an early age.|| The same services were rendered by the mendicant orders in later times. Sixty-six cardinals, 460 archbishops, and 2,136 bishops have worn the habit of St. Dominick; simple friars, without birth or fortune, who had

* Trithem. in Chron. Hirs.
† Jongelin. Notitiæ Abb. Ord. Cisterciens. viii. 15.
‡ Vie d'Abbeil, iii.
§ Instit. Canon. Lib. i. tit. 3. § 7.
|| Mabil. Præf. in III. and V. Specul. Ben.

been chosen only through regard to their virtue.

Over the door of the Capuchin convent at Altorf, I read an inscription, which stated, that this house was founded by the inhabitants of the town "for the augmentation and service of the Catholic religion." No happier expression could have been selected. Pope Benedict XIV. styled the abbey of St. Gall, "Validissimum stabilimentum veræ religionis;"* and six years afterwards he called it, "Illustre monasterium S. Galli, validissimum istud propugnaculum veræ Dei religionis." When by persuasion of the good and great king James of Arragon, Barcelona and Saragossa first received the two holy families of St. Dominic and St. Francis, the object of those cities, as the Spanish historian says, was to make head against the two great evils of ignorance and avarice.†

It is a problem yet to be solved, whether religion can long continue effective and in purity, where such bulwarks are wanting. In England, it was thought in the reign of Mary, that the Catholic religion was permanently restored, and that every thing would be well again, although there were to be no more monasteries. The oaths of the nobility, (doubtless all honourable men, as we should now style them,) in the name of the whole kingdom to defend that faith, were not, however, found quite sufficient to answer the purpose of such stability. But to proceed. The utility of the contemplative and interior life being recognised in ages of faith, as a necessary consequence, monasteries were known to be indispensable. "How necessary it is to provide for the quiet of monks," says Pope Eugene III., writing to Wibald, abbot of Corby, "appears from what was done by the Creator of all things, when He defended the cause of Mary against Martha."‡ "If it be true in general," as St. Bonaventura remarks, "that more circumstances are required for good than for evil,"§ it is in a particular manner certain with regard to this highest and most divine virtue, "for," as Richard of St. Victor says, "it is to be noted that the grace of the contemplative life escapes from us more easily than that of the active, but it is repaired with much more difficulty."‖ While then all those who would seek no other worth in life, but the inner the soundness of the soul, must pro circumstances as will enable them, within their minds to construct a peace, those who aspire to the hi must leave nothing undone that duce to security—that they may others, be subject to pass alternat Jerusalem to Babylon, or from a peace and quiet to one of confu captivity.* "For the world," says à Kempis, "knows so many modes and wickedness, it contrives so r ventions, and has so many quarrels one's peace can be safe, no one's fi nor can even any one easily be unless he separate himself from tl of men and seek Jesus Christ, to h teach his Gospel in desert places." fore," addressing novices he adds, with Abraham from your country, your father's house, and come into land, that is, into the monastic life, may learn discipline, and serve t your God faithfully all the days life."† "How can any one re soundness of peace," exclaims St. A "who is fed with discords and con Therefore, even the adversaries of life exclaim with Cowper, "O bless sion from a jarring world! Retreat h and much secures the mind from al of evil." Moreover, monasteries p in a high degree, that influence of pla was not unobserved by the wise me tiquity, as when Cicero says, "tant monitionis inest in locis, ut non si ex his memoriæ ducta sit disc Hence, even occasional visits to th deemed salutary: in allusion to which Michelet exclaims, "Why should w these candid ages which believed could fly from evil by changin travel from sin to sanctity, leave S the dress which was laid aside fo the pilgrim? Is it not someth adds, "to escape from the influence and customs, to change one's cou orientalize one's self to a new life? not a bad power of infatuation, and ness in some places, whether it Charmettes of Rousseau, or the H Voltaire? Let us not wonder if ou tors loved pilgrimages, and attril them a virtue of regeneration."‖

"Hence, from knowing what mo

* Breve, 1749.
† Bernardini Gomesii de Vita Jacobi I. Arag. Lib. ii.
‡ Ap. Martene, Vet. Script. Coll. tom. ii. 293.
§ St. Bon. Compend. Theol. Verit. Lib. iii. c. 10.
‖ *De Eruditione Hominis Inter.* i. 1.

* Rich. St. Vict. † Dialogus N
‡ De Catech. Rud. § De Fin
‖ Hist. de France, iii. 55.

hed," St. Bernard says to those who within them; "I beseech you, brethren, common safety, studiously profit by portunity given to you of working out alvation. Here you have no solici-

You have no need of thinking about ts or secular affairs, or even about and clothing. Procul a vobis, magna m ex parte diei malitia et sollicitudo

Sic abscondit vos Deus in abscondito aculi sui. Vacate itaque dilectissimi, ete, quoniam ipse est Deus."* Thus upplied by monasteries, what the rite admitted was necessary to the nplative life; for after saying that alone, of all other animals, can be , inasmuch as he has the power of nplation; and that, as far as there is nplation, there is also happiness;" he "yet there will be something external ; for nature is not sufficient of itself templation, but the body must possess d other necessaries,"† which necessity onks themselves recognised, for "the mpediments to contemplation," says onaventura, "may be from the body, n it suffers violent hunger, or thirst, d."‡ Monasteries were intended to e this external supplement, and, con-ntly, by enabling men to adopt the nplative life, conferred benefit upon nense class of society. For how many ere unfitted for any other life, but ongenial with the true philosophy of ient and prayer, "and who feel," as says, "*οὐ βιωτὸν ἄλλως ποιοῦντι.*'§ The ide is composed of men adroit in , and for communion with the world olished; "but," as the poet says—

——"Others too
are, among the walks of lonely life
higher, men for contemplation framed;
nd unpractised in the strife of phrase;
men, whose very souls perhaps would sink
ith them, summoned to such intercourse.
s is the language of the heavens, the power,
hought, the image, and the silent joy!"

t an asylum do monasteries furnish g men of this character, shrinking e gaze of cold worldly wisdom, "in-nced in its calculations, unsullied by nish of its vulgar wants, sick of its ies, and anxious to cast off the mean ons it imposes, which bind so firmly r number, though singly so con-le?" The ancients had examples to a certain degree analogous to what might be offered here. Nicias was not made for a cruel and unjust invader, and when he undertook the office, and perished after such long suffering, there is no one who does not lament his fate. But in Christian times we find instances at every step. In the poem of the Lord of the Isles, when Edward proposes to adopt a certain young man as his page, Bruce interposes, saying,

——"gay Edward, no,
This is no youth to hold thy bow
Or fill thy goblet,
Or bear thy message light.
Thou art a patron all too wild
And thoughtless, for this orphan child.
Seest thou not how apart he steals,
Keeps lonely couch and lonely meals?
Better by far in yon calm cell
To tend our sister Isabel,
With father Augustin to share
The peaceful change of convent-prayer,
Than wander wild adventures through
With such a reckless guide as you."

And so when Bruce with this page were in the convent of his royal sister, he says to her,

"He is a boy of gentle strain,
And I have proposed he shall dwell
In Augustin the chaplain's cell,
And wait on thee, my Isabel.
Mind not his tears: I've seen them flow
As in the thaw dissolves the snow.
'Tis a kind youth but fanciful,
Unfit against the tide to pull.
And those that with the Bruce would sail,
Must learn to strive with stream and gale."

Age too, after a laborious life, might feel this want more keenly still, as when Bourdaloue begged the general of his order to permit him to retire from the world to solitude; and souls by violence converted, and risen above the waves which had whelmed and sunk them down, would need the same shelter; for, as Dante sings,

——"It may not be
That one, who looks upon that light can turn
To other object willingly his view.
For all the good, that will may covet, there
Is summ'd; and all, elsewhere defective, found
Complete."•

For all such persons, life in the world would have been unmingled bitterness, contrasted with what Petrarch writing to his brother Gerard, styles "the quiet poverty, the sweet leisure, the united fellowship, and the celestial peace of the cloister."†

n. 2. † Ethic. x. 8.
it. Vit. Christi, lvi.
t. viii.

• Par.
† Var. Epist. Lib. xix.

A great English philosopher had the courage to acknowledge some of these advantages, "for some," he remarked, "have little power to do good, and have likewise little strength to resist evil. Many are weary of their conflicts with adversity, and are willing to eject those passions which have long busied them in vain; and many are dismissed by age and diseases from the more laborious duties of society. In monasteries the weak and timorous may be happily sheltered, the weary may repose, and the penitent may meditate. Those retreats of prayer and contemplation have something so congenial to the mind of man, that perhaps there is scarcely one that does not purpose to close his life in pious abstraction, with a few associates serious as himself."*

But it was not alone to men who embraced the contemplative life, that monasteries were deemed useful; for as they lived not for themselves alone, the whole world it was believed, received benefit from the prayers and worship offered up within them. St. Augustin in many places remarks, that those who are devoted to the contemplative life, conduce not a little to the good of the republic by their prayers, and many felt this as personal to themselves. Thus Ives de Chartres, writing to a monk, says, "Remember me in your prayers, vestræ enim orationes quanto quietiores, tanto saniores."† When John Francis Picus of Mirandula was deprived of his territories, Baptist, the Mantuan Carmelite, having written to him, saying, "I have heard of your misfortune, illustrious man, and to speak ingenuously what I feel, you now seem to me greater than when you reigned; for it is greater to prove one's self worthy of a kingdom than to be a king; therefore, I love and honour you, and in my prayers am always with you. And so likewise are all the brethren who are here with me in Christ. I deem that a wretched kingdom which would deprive one of the sweet delights of study, and of friends united in the study of philosophy; and before all the kingdoms of the world, I would prefer, Diocletian like, the silence of the woods, and the beauties of a garden."—The prince acknowledged the benefit gratefully in these words: "I can no more believe that you do not assist me with your prayers, than that fire does not burn; for this is the property of you, and of all like you, who more immediately wait on Christ. By your assistance I think it must have come to pass, that the weight of so many calamities

* Johnson's Rasselas.

presses me so much more lightl could ever have hoped or expected.

"The Carthusian order," say Sutorus, "confers advantage on the by its prayers, by its merits, by its by its writings, by its counsels, a temporal assistance."† "The C monks," he adds, "use daily in t certain peculiar prayers for all sorrows and necessities that belor human race; sedulously they ref the delusions and miseries of lif pomps of prelates, the ambition the curiosity of students, the elati learned, the exactions of princes, of the litigious, the adulations of the pride of nobles, the violence of the corruptions of judges, the dish merchants, the tribulations of the the avarice of the rich, the wan poor, the pains of the sick, the g prisoners, the afflictions of wid orphans, the oppressions of trave tribulations of the just, and on inn other evils for which they incessantl Perhaps, says a modern poet, wh apply to monks, although he th the self-approving world, that scar to notice him, or deems him but in the works of God, receives adv which she little dreams, from his hours. Perhaps she owes her sun her rain, and plenteous harvest prayers he makes, when, Isaac meditates, and thinks on her who for herself. Forgive him then, th in concerns of little worth, an id best, if author of no mischief a good, he seeks his proper happ means that may advance, but cann thine. Account him not then ar brance on the state, receiving ber rendering none; for by his prayer as by his fair example and his spent in soothing sorrow, quenchi and aiding indigence, he serves hi and recompenses it well for its pro

"It was," says another of his lately "to set forth the pattern of a life upon earth, that men who entere far more deeply than ourselves, gloriousness of Christianity, planted out the land, and resolved to perp ever communities of its ministers, wl ness and profession should be praye wished to reserve some spots, where

* Mirand. Epist. Lib. iv.

† Pet. Sut. De Vita Carthusiana, L c. 2. ‡ Id. Lib. ii. t. ii. c

§ Cowper.

ıe trammels of the world, might live in ural state of constant communion with aker. They knew that over the part of the world, men's sins make ry heavens as it were of brass, that ws of God's blessing cannot pass h them; and they kept open, in the of each nation, some accesses to God, of these golden ladders of prayer by men's hearts ascend to Him, and ınties descend upon us. They heard ı ear of faith, which in us is deaf or ıe songs of all created things morning rening rising up before the throne of Creator, and they thought it shame ıo voice should join them from men, n chosen children; and they kept up communion with angels and past ıtions of saints, and the host of spirits hich they were about to dwell, by g their hymns of praise, in time, in in the very words themselves, with raises and thanksgivings of a world "

regard to philosophy and literature, it be long to describe the advantages re- g from the monastic institution, which ed houses in cities and in the country, ich were men living apart from the and above it. "It is sinful," says n, who however always takes the lowest d in his reflections, "to think men in ıtic orders unfortunate: for what calu- can it be to serve God, to apply to and studies, to live without solicitude, ve so many excellent companions, l in many things, and, as I may say, ng the secrets of all mortals, to be om the anger of princes, from the in- y of magistrates, from the injuries of ıtulant, to travel through all countries expense of others, and to find a house ed every where to be revered by all s sacred, to be delivered from all per- ions and sins, and cares, and cupidi- If you are in health you have many ınions of cheerfulness, if sick you see e weeping, but many encouraging and ing you."*

ose who desire to reflect on the more al benefits arising to the learned men elves, who enter monasteries, should be first epistle of Petrus Delphinus, f the Camaldolese, to Petrus Dona- lating the motives which induced him race that state;† and to discover the tance of such retreats, in regard to studies and to society in general, one need only cast a glance around us at the consequences of abolishing them, at what Plato describes as ἄλλοι ἀνθρωπίσκοι, seeing the place of philosophy deserted by those who should cultivate it, and jumping into it, which is the sad exhibition now presented here; "for as these studies are still the most glorious, men," as he says, "of imperfect and unfinished natures, desire to partake of them; though, as their bodies are degraded by their labours, so their souls, are worn down and reduced to dust, as it were, by their mechanical arts."* Philosophy, comparing the foundations of our age and those of Catholic times, will, therefore, use words like those of Raumer, who, on visiting the ruins of Fountain's abbey, exclaimed, "How miserable, stunning, and stupifying, is all the noise of your machinery compared with the sanctus, the gloria, and the requiem eternam, which still echo from every stone of these silent ruins!" Not to return to Aristotle, who says, that perfect happiness is in contemplation, and that men are happy only as far as they participate in that divine life,† the holy Scriptures declare, that retreat and leisure are required for wisdom. "Sapientiam scribe in tempore ocii: et qui minoratur in actu ipse percipiet eam." After citing which words, Peter the Venerable, abbot of Cluny, demands, how can any one write things pertaining to wisdom who has no peaceful leisure, and whose whole life is one perturbed business.‡ The custom of troubles, as Cicero says, deprives the gentlest men of mercy, and consequently unfits them for the human studies—"Nam cum omnibus horis aliquid atrociter fieri videmus, aut audimus, etiam qui natura mitissimi sumus, assiduitate molestiarum sensum omnem humanitatis ex animis amittimus."§ When all the clergy being exclusively occupied with affairs of men, there are left no persons of pacific order, with leisure to cultivate the gentle studies that cast such a delicious light of ideal beauty upon the human existence, when there are no priests to converse with nature in the woods, or to draw rich men thither for a moment who might there be awakened to a sense of eternal things; when poetry, and all works of imagination, as of wisdom, become the domain of legists or literary slaves, or traders in writing, or proud, sullen, spiteful, disenchanted senators, who,

ex. Card. De Utilitate ex Advers. cap. Lib. 1.
ı. Martene, Vet. Script. tom. iii. p. 915.

* De Repub. vi. † Ethic. x. 8.
‡ Epist. i. 20.
§ Pro S. Roscio Amer. 53.

whatever they may pretend, are disgusted at the emotions of the soul, as well as at the enjoyments of mind and of sense, men often sworn and forsworn, unfortunate beings, who have no longer the thoughts of youth, of virtue, or of freedom; whose hearts are withered; whose lives are worn out; who live only to three impressions, egotism, cupidity, and pride,"* will not the ruin of literature follow, and must not philosophy mourn the suppression of those asylums in which the men that were to introduce her to the world were trained up from their youth in the heroic love of God, within the abodes of true peace? Cowper says of the men of England, which was the first nation to abolish monasteries, "that doing good, disinterested good, is not their trade." What becomes of philosophy in such hands? It was from monasteries that came forth men whose trade was doing disinterested good; and, therefore, circumspect and holy men, who sought to benefit the world, have always desired their propagation. One of the three things which Raymond Lully had at heart, before laying down his life for the love of Christ, was that monasteries might be established in all parts of the habitable globe.

With respect to social amelioration in general, the use of monasteries was no less evident to those who founded them, and to all who had experience of their effects. The testament of William the pious, duke of Acquitaine, speaking of his motives for founding the monastery of Cluny, in 910, will prove the first part of this proposition; for after saying that he makes this foundation, in order that there may be a venerable house of prayer, faithfully frequented with vows and supplications, with a heavenly conversation and all desire and internal ardour, and ceaseless intreaties to the Lord, he adds, "We prescribe especially that this our donation may be for a perpetual refuge to the poor who leave the world, who bring away nothing with them but a good will, that so our provision may be made their abundance. We desire also, that as opportunity and power may be afforded, there may be from this time forth, for ever, daily exhibited works of mercy to all the poor, to strangers, and to travellers; and I conjure all secular princes and others, by God and by the saints, and by the day of tremendous judgment, to refrain from invading or diminishing the

* Timon.

substance of these servants of G
beseech the holy apostles, Peter
to guard this house from evil m
invoke the wrath of the Almi
whoever shall invalidate this
which is made for his love and
of his holy servants."* The l
tion is verified by the moderns t

"Here is a convent of twelve
says a keen observer of the m
nations, speaking of Spain,
eldest are occupied as priests,
fession, preaching, worship, and t
tion of youth; two others have
the church of the house; the
go out to beg through the city o
from which they bring home w
or vegetables. The gifts are so l
wants of the convent that every
monks nourish abundantly fifty
neighbourhood. I have often
these distributions, and I have
the superior fail to ask after s
guests as were absent, in order to
provisions. Such is the source c
tended superstition of the peopl
and Italy, and I conclude by as
possible that twelve men could
employed for the good and s
society? Besides the material
in respect to agriculture, how m
village ennobled by the living
afforded by monks in preaching, c
catechizing, and encouraging c
ties, and instructing children."†

It was no wonder that the rui
houses was lamented by the peop
ing of the suppression of the smal
teries in England, Weever say
a pitiful thing to hear the la
that the people in the country
them; for there was great hospi
among them."‡ The loss of only o
tery—that of Oliva, in 1360, w
burnt—is recorded by the north
rians as a national calamity, equ
of the pestilence of that dreadful

Now hear the testimony of one
them not: "Half a league fro
says Bourgoign, "is one of the m
Carthusian monasteries in Sp
taining some of the finest pai
Zurbaran and Luc Jordanus. T
inhabitants of this charming asyl
us almost pardon their opulence
indolence by their tender solicitu

* Biblioth. Clun. 2.

† Rubichon du Mécanisme de la
France et en Angleterre.

‡ 105. § Voight G. Pr

ost interesting ages of life; they
he education of thirty poor children
neighbouring town, and twelve old
ast working come to finish their days
ɔly amongst them."* "The monastic
says a modern historian, speaking
land in the time of Lanfranc, "be-
blessing to the nation; not only
arity exercised, agriculture extended,
ı and morality inculcated, the neigh-
od kept in peace, but, as schools
pened in every diocese, civilization
ɔidly and widely diffused throughout
ntry."†
ellers at the present day are struck
e useful effects of a material order
ɛd by the neighbourhood of a con-
"The approaches to Huerta," says
ign, "on the road from Madrid to
ssa are an exception to the frightful
ance of the country; for this village
ı to a monastery of Benedictines,
causes to reign round it comfort,
ion and shade; striking difference
n between the possessions of ecclesi-
nd those of the richest lay proprietors,
is explained by the perpetual resi-
ɔf the one and the absence of the
Yet these, we must remember,
ıe least advantages; for it was with
to the religious benefit resulting
heir neighbourhood, that men, in
f faith, desired to live near them.
d in the annals of the Capuchins,
1580, when a convent of that order
be built in the valley of Lagano, the
ıding towns contended with each
especting the site to be chosen, for
ished that it might be built in its
iate vicinity." Who can doubt, but
ɛ illustrious men, who, like Cosmo de
s, founded or rebuilt abbeys, were
d no less with a view to utility than
isplay of their own magnificence?
ɔn, after remarking in what a reve-
light monks were regarded by
an and by the great and learned
primitive times, continues thus:
ho is there that has a just sense of
an piety, and who examines the
efore God, but must esteem those
ry useful to the church, who en-
to conform assiduously to the life
st; who celebrate the worship of
h all the devotion of which they
able, offering their body and soul
as a constant sacrifice of praise; who retain the ancient vestiges and specimen of Christian penitence in the church; who opened public schools of virtue; who, by their labour, transmitted the monuments of ancient writing to posterity; who gave example to clerks to institute laudable societies; who erected as many hospitals for the poor as monasteries, in which the diseases of the soul were cured; in which baptismal innocence was preserved inviolate, or restored when lost, and in which the wants of all the needy were supplied? Monasteries are hostels, in which not alone the cloistral flock, but, as Leodegavius testifies, the whole world is delivered from the corruptions of the age. Finally, who can say that they were useless to the civil and Christian republic, who covered with towns and villages so many provinces before uninhabited and desert, adorned them with edifices, enriched them with letters, and by giving episcopal and pastoral institutions, brought so many millions of pagans to the faith?"* A Pythagorean said of old, "that those who constituted mysteries are not to be despised, for that these admonish men secretly, that whoever shall depart to Hades unexpiated and uninitiated will have to lie immersed in ordure, but whoever goes away purged and initiated will dwell with the gods."† Now, we may affirm, that monasteries, in a most effectual manner, answered this great end; while, as Petrus Sutorus remarks, "the corrupt manners of men sufficiently show what verbal preaching can do in this age."‡ "Seculars," says this author, "who perceive what Carthusians undertake through desire of the celestial country, are led to consider that the entrance to heaven is not so easy, but the narrow way."§ Useful then was the mere remembrance that a monastery was near; and mark now the effects of substituting lay proprietors for the poor of Christ that were in Rievaulx, Glastonbury, or any other of these celebrated spots. Shall I call old philosophy, and demand what she thinks of the change? Her words would be, "not with a life than which I can conceive nothing more foul, wretched, or contemptible, will I compare that of an Anselm, or a Thomas in the cloister. Who that has ever had any commerce with the muses, that is, with humanity and with learning, would not

eau de l'Espagne, iii.
ɔp. in the Mid. Ages. Cyclop. vol. iv.
2.

* Præfat. in IV. Sæcul. § 4.
† Jamblich. Adhortat. ad Philosoph. 13.
‡ Pet. Sut. de Vita Carthusiana, Lib. ii. c. 2.
§ Id. ii. t. ii. 2.

rather live near that monk than this lord? Come now, prepare Scotus, Bonaventure, Dominick, Francis, what domains, what palaces, will you prefer to their delights?" How useful is it to see pass through the streets of some great capital one wrapt up in sable weeds, which of themselves proclaim so many unutterable things, and above all, faith! Truly I felt it so in that happy Florence where, amidst the din and pomp of the gay throng, you see the barefooted friar, or the solemn hooded man, conveying by their sole aspect such a solemn lesson to the rich, and such sweet consolation to the poor. "The mere sight of one of these monks," says St. John Chrysostom, speaking of the hermits who came into Antioch, "could reconcile men to the calamities of this world. Who would not laugh at death when he saw them?" Ask now any of the unhappy exiles who have fled from the persecution in Spain and Portugal, what is it of which they most feel the want in London, where, as the poet says of his countrymen,

"we grow early grey but never wise,"

they will tell you, as I was assured by one who said Valentia was his home, that it is of monasteries. That is the want of wants: it is the conversation with these pious recluses: it is the peace which flows from the mere sense of having access to such men. But there we find them not. So disconsolate these poor exiles pass through the long streets of the million-peopled city, which is to them a fruitless desert, where, as the poet says,

"each one seeks his mate, yet his alone,
Beloved and sought and mourned of none."

Moreover, in estimating the use of monasteries, we must take it into account the interest which they imparted to a whole country, counteracting, by their local influence, the baneful effects of that policy of Theseus in Attica, which men in modern times cannot even boast of as their own, which consists in centralizing a nation, drawing all interest to one spot, and making it supreme.* What an interest is given to Burgos, Valladolid, and Toledo, by the monasteries which they contain! To what a distance around does the Chartreuse of Miraflores, with its magnificent sepulchres, shed lustre! It was thus that, in ages of faith, the attraction and the charm diffused every where by means of the stitutions; for the monasteries had for all; the traveller might well lo hospitable gates, the poor their co dispensing charity, the antiquaria buildings, the scholar their librari artist their paintings, and the sain churches. Truly it was well for all when there were those holy mo "where were heard the last murm earth and the first sound of h There is a poetic influence in the ve tences which record their existe when we hear of the Irish monks w the first sound seems as if to disp the face of that glorious island cloud of low prosaic association which it has been enveloped by th who understand not its destiny, or tongues it is associated with no image but that of lord lieutenan policemen. But let us attend to th tical results. What is the first conse of a religious order being received city? Immediately there is a st discovered with a door which open comers, the poor man, the student, tired officer, all the unassisted and less have thenceforth a point of where the countless sentiments o connected with beauty and gran locality, are enlisted on the side o to destroy sin within them, and to the glorious throne of Jesus. No a solitary curate confer the same benefit as this? Leibnitz, avowi love for the monastic orders, after rating the services which they adds, "whoever is ignorant of these or despises them, has only a narr vulgar idea of virtue, and stupidly that he has accomplished all his obli to God when he has externally disc some usual practices with that h coldness which is never accompani any zeal or any sentiment." T censure the illustrious men in C times were seldom obnoxious. P speaks of his own happiness in livi the house of the Carthusians, wh can enter at all times as if one family.* "I and Picus of Mira says Marsilius Ficinus, "lately wall the hills of Fiesole, surveying the plain of Florence, and discoursing the best site for a house, beholdi place where the wise Leonard Areti

* Thucyd. ii. 15.

* Epist. Lib. x. 12.

Pandolphino, and Peter Philippo, had chosen for their villas. O happy Pandolph, cried Picus, who, leaving public affairs, inhabited a sacred house—I say sacred, for near this spot is a grove surrounded by twenty houses of religious orders."* "The neighbourhood of a monastery wins me still," would many say in the language of the poet, "I never framed a wish, or formed a plan, that flattered me with hopes of earthly bliss, but there I laid the scene."

Thus useful to all, we may remark, in fine, that monasteries conferred benefits in a more especial manner on a class of men suffering from irremediable wounds, who, without that resource, would have been temporally and probably for ever wretched. "The suicide of the middle ages," says a late editor of the chronicles of St. Denis, "was to enter a monastery;" for the monk was not like Æolus, who sends Ulysses away from his shores merely because he observes him to be most miserable.

"Ἐρῶ" ἐκ νήσου θάσσον, ἐλέγχιστε ζωόντων·
Οὐ γάρ μοι θέμις ἐστὶ κομιζέμεν οὐδ' ἀποπέμπειν
Ἄνδρα τὸν, ὅς κε θεοῖσιν ἀπέχθηται μακάρεσσιν."†

In ages of faith, when men were thus prostrated without hope of recovery, not self-slaughter, as Mortimer says, nor just death, nor war, the arbitrator of despair, the kind umpire of men's miseries, nor the flying to intentions savage wild, more fierce and more inexorable far than empty tigers, or the roaring sea; but the cowl, the harbinger of peace, with sweet enlargement did dismiss them hence. Youth, indeed, has often little thought for what the future may bring forth, and the world seems made for its enjoyment.

"Quand j'estois jeune, ains qu'une amour nouvelle
Ne se fust prise en ma tendre moelle,
Je vivois bien heureux:
Lors je vivois amoureux de moy mesme,
Content et gay sans porter face blesme,
Ny les larmes à l'œil.
J'avois escrit au plus haut de la face,
Avecques l'honneur, une agreable audace
Pleine d'un franc desir:
Avec le pied marchoit ma fantaisie
Où je volois, sans peur ne jalousie.
Seigneur de mon plaisir."

Thus sings Ronsard of his youth, but how changed was he when he sung thus! The world was no longer the same for him.

What is its society to those who have stained the childhood of their joy, or who are dragging after them the long chain of disappointed hopes?

"A good society," as a French author says, "provides for every thing, even for the wants of those who detach themselves from it by choice or by necessity."* "Omnia duplicia, unum contra unum, et non fecit quicquam deesse," says the holy text.† God provides a contrary thing for each, that there may be a remedy for it. How consistent then was it with the order of divine Providence that there should be for those written in sour misfortune's book, to whom the world is not a friend, nor the world's law, a refuge such as monasteries, where they may exclaim on entering, "Oh, here will I set up my everlasting rest, and shake the yoke of inauspicious stars from this world-wearied flesh!" For, as the poet says, "The beast has his asylum in the rocks, the slave at the altar; a city can appeal to another city to defend it; for there is nothing of mortals which is happy unto the end."‡ Moved by these considerations, a great French philosopher of the present day, desiring the re-establishment of the religious orders in France, exclaims, "Let us grant to virtue that right of asylum which crime had formerly. There are always upon earth men who are fatigued with life's journey, and no one can be sure that some day or other he will not be of their number."

Such then, in brief, were some few of the useful ends to which monasteries served in ages of faith; and, in conclusion, are we to be told, that the time for such institutions to be valuable is for ever past, and that they fulfilled their destiny? But as St. Gregory says, "Is not eternity still at stake, and can there be then too great security for man?" Because the world puts on new attractions, does wisdom require her children to be less and less removed from it? Are there no contemplative souls now in these giddy times, who would best thrive in sanctified retirement? Does the human heart no longer in any instances require association with the faithful? Are all men now fit to struggle against the stream of the life which is at enmity with God? And when St. Jerome paints the charm of solitude, the sadness of the world and its dangers, is this an unintelligible language recalling

* Mars. Ficini Epist. Lib. ix. † x. 72.

* C. Nodier, Méditations du Cloître.
† Ec. xlii. 32. ‡ Eurip. Supp. 267.

nothing that we see and feel? Was there ever an age in which all flesh had more corrupted its way, when the friendship of the world was more dangerous, and when it was more expedient for many to separate themselves from it? Yet there are even poets now who seem to think that the age of monasteries is past, as if they could no longer serve any useful purpose. But this is a great error; for were one of our ruined abbeys to be rebuilt and peopled again with monks, its old inhabitants, after sheltering only the owlet and the bat for full three hundred years, the new c on the first day of opening their s might begin with the formula, Her bamus. It would seem as if bu dreary night had intervened since had last met there. There would thing to retract, nothing to chang the monastic life springs from a which lies deep in the human hea that such institutions, however n may rage and contend against then but fulfil their destiny with the worl

CHAPTER IV.

DISMISSING now the thoughts of men at variance with the truth, and thus prepared against gross errors, our purpose may be resumed with unguarded simplicity, as if we talked with friends who understood us. So let us mount, reader; for the way is long and much uncouth the road, perhaps, even threatening what Achilles so much feared, the being carried away by a mountain torrent, like a shepherd lad by wintry floods. I have read in the annals of Corby, in Saxony, how, in 858, Abbo, chamberlain in that abbey, perished in a river while only proceeding to visit his mother at Hilleneshem. The stream, being swollen with the rains, carried away the incautious monk.* Holy hands, however, like those of St. William, have often contrived a safe passage for such poor pilgrims to the desert. So take we courage, for one will is in us both. Let some guide lead on to the abbey! we enter, at all events, on unfrequented ways. Ah! how does the setting forth on such a quest remind one of happy wanderings among the vast and noble scenes of nature! for amid such, in general, were monasteries Is there a wild solemn desert, or a s beauteous spot, far away amidst the and mountains, which would have bound a Salvator Rosa or a Claude? we are almost sure to find the p abode of monks.

Semper enim valles, silvestribus undique c
Arboribus, divus Bernardus, amœnaque pr
Et fluvios; juga sed Benedictus amabat, e
Cœlo surgentes è quarum vertice latè
Prospectus petitur, secessum plebis uterqu
Sacrarum scripturarum studiosus uterque
Musarum et Phœbi: non quem colit
turba,
Sed quem Christicolæ natum de virgine cr

St. Basil, indeed, who was the f establish a regular and constant disc by a general institution for all m ordered that monasteries should be i neighbourhood of cities, in order to assistance to men. St. Benedict, w the west supplied a similar instit from the same motive gave monks mission to establish their houses in and towns, which before that time been interdicted to them. The cour Trent advised that monasteries, espe of women, should, wherever it was ble, be transferred to towns for the of many advantages, which gave rise,

* Ap. Leibnitz. Script. Bruns. ii.

abbeys in the heart of cities, re-
he title of the wood in which they
re been situated. But still innu-
monasteries continued to exist in
aces, in spots where every thing
o call the soul to contemplation
rimitive times, in the deserts of
and amidst the caves of Cappa-
For after the apostles, the first
etired to vast solitudes, for the
prayer and meditation, observing
ommon rules, as may be collected
ilojudæus. St. Jerome argues from
name Monachus, that the pro-
ould withdraw from the common
f men; and St. Chrysostom reminds
bitants of a great city that they are
o admire often the happiness and
the holy men who live a solitary
e mountains and deserts, where
far from all worldly cares: and
ırsing to the people of Antioch,
the mountains and woods the
les of the saints.* Celebrated
cloistral communities in Egypt,
, on the mountain, and at Cellia,
lesert. From the latter, at a day
ght's journey father into the wil-
was Scethe, where Macarius lived,
rack led to it, and there was no
the way, so men could only be
o it by the stars.†
time of St. Jerome the cœnobites
ceeded generally to the hermits,
companies of nine together, with
o govern each community. The
uilding these little asylums was
Dorotheus the Theban used to
hole days in collecting stones from
hbouring sea-shore, with which he
monastery every year for those
d not build for themselves.‡
dvice of Cowley, "that we ought
oice of a situation to regard, above
gs, the healthfulness of the place
mind rather than for the body,"
that of the monastic founders.
est monasteries of the south of
built in times of peace and security,
stly placed on the sea-coast, or on
s of rivers, and in places easy of
These monasteries, as Fauriel ob-
ecame focuses of commercial ac-
ut those which were built in times
ion and terror, during the invasion
rbarians, or that of the Arabs in
Aquitaine, were constructed in the most hidden gorges of mountains, or other desert places, where they became the kernel of an agricultural population in places that had before only seen wild beasts.* In general, however, under all circumstances, great attention was shown to the choice of locality; for the influences of nature were known to be the chief source of a feeling which is closely allied to piety: and in this respect the monks did but follow in the track of all lovers of peace and wisdom in the ancient world. The Pythagoræans retired to dwell in lonely desert places. The Platonicians and Stoics used to frequent groves and porticos, that being admonished by the gravity and beauty of the place, they might think of nothing but virtue. When Plato taught his disciples, he was seated not in a busy city, or a luxurious cabinet, but under the aerial portico of the temple of Minerva, on the promontory of Sunium, whence you have that superb view of the mountains of Attica and the vast expanse of the sea—of that great and beautiful nature which can of itself, without the eloquence of words, exalt the soul towards its Creator.† When Cicero and his friends proposed holding a discourse on philosophy, they repaired to the groves of the academy, "maxime quod is locus ab omni turba id temporis vacuus esset."‡

In the first century of our æra, men had begun to read the Gospel of St. Matthew in the gardens of Academus, and soon after we find the monks in such beautiful groves as that in which the lessons of Plato were imparted, or else in wild and solemn regions still farther removed from the perturbations of men.

"O happy desert!" exclaims St. Basil, "refuge of those whom the world perse-cutes, and whom it cannot endure, consolation of the afflicted, rest of those who are weary with the travail and misery of this life, place of refreshment and of peace against the ardour of passions, of safety for the body, and of freedom for the soul! Thy remembrance shall never depart from me! O Jacob, how rich and beautiful are thy tabernacles, and thy tents, O Israel! O solitary life, holy, angelic, blessed! No tongue can express the sentiments of love which I feel for thee! no voice can paint the joy with which thou dost fill my heart!"

. 58, 59.
es, die Christliche Mystik, i. 190.
n. vi. 29. Niceph. ii. 35.

* Hist. de la Gaule Mérid. iii. 484.
† Michaud, Correspondance de l'Orient
‡ De Finibus, v.

"It was in the solitude of Thabor," remark the monastic authors, "that Jesus Christ was transfigured; it was in the solitude of the garden that He prepared Himself for his passion; it was in the desert that He combatted Satan and was served by angels; it was in solitude that His precursor prepared for Him the paths of justice: it was from the solitude of paradise that Enoch was translated: it was in a solitude that Agar beheld the angel; it was in a solitude that Abraham saw the mysterious representation of the ineffable mystery of the holy Trinity; it was in a solitude that Jacob had the vision of angels; it was in a solitude that Moses saw the burning bush, and that he received the law."* "If we search the Scriptures," says Hugo of St. Victor, "we find that God has scarcely ever spoken in a crowd; but whenever He wished to instruct men, He manifested Himself not to nations or to the people, but to some few individuals, separate from the common herd of men, in the silence of the night, or on plains, deserts, and mountains."† Hence Cardinal Bona sings—

"O solitudo mentibus
Orantium gratissima!
O vera cordis suavitas
Ignota vulgi sensibus!"

The emperor Lothaire wrote to Raban Maur, when that abbot had retired to a hermitage, and though the object of his letter was to induce him to visit his court, he admits the wisdom of his choice: for "the rustic solitude of mountains," he says, "delights the interior man more than the regal splendour of cities; for there no envy deceives the tranquil breast with a cheerful aspect, nor language adorned with flattering colours, with mutual wickedness, fabricates deception." For how many in fact must it have been relief "to quit the busy haunts and the inquiring looks of men, and walk in solitude?" Religion in the cloister did but sanctify the peace such mourners sought, permitting each still to retain his predilection and to say—

"This shadowy desert, unfrequented wood,
I better brook than flourishing peopled towns.
Here can I sit alone, unseen of any,
And to the nightingale's complaining notes
Tune my distresses and record my woes."

She knew, in fact, that a retreat amidst the lovely or the solemn scenes in which monasteries were placed, can often s
the bitter unquietness which the
course of men occasions in the soul.
says of St. John the Baptist, "flyi
world, he went into the desert, wh
air was purer, and heaven more ope
God more familiar." "Whence, C
is this peace which flows upon me
claims a French poet, describing the
benediction in solitude, "whence th
with which my heart overflows? S
a few days have elapsed, and it se
if an age, as if a world had passed
separated from them by an immense
a new man had commenced with
Ah, it is because I have found th
of the desert, and left that crowd wh
peace perishes! It is because the
man is like a limpid wave, whose a
tarnished by every breeze that ru
but when the wind dies away, the
resumes again its smooth placidity
you not perceive in effect, companio
a peaceful influence pervades this
region? The moment we enter thi
forest of sombre pines, we seem to l
recollection of the world's discord,
catch distant harmonies from th
music of heaven!

"O ever-pleasing solitude,
Companion of the wise and good,
Thy shades, thy silence, now be min
Thy charms my only theme;
My haunt the hollow cliff, whose pin
Waves o'er the gloomy stream;
Whence the scared owl on pinions gr
Breaks from the rustling boughs,
And down the lone vale sails away
To more profound repose!"*

To monks the wilderness has a
rious tongue. "I assure you, F
says Antonio De Guevara, the Fran
writing from Valladolid, in 1535,
abbot of Montserrat, "that I never
myself amongst the great rocks and
heights, and pathless woods of Mont
without determining to lead a bet
in future, and without feeling sor
my past sins. I never passed by it w
going to confession, and celebratin
tears, and passing a night in wat
and making alms, and resolving to
my life. O, would to God that I w
this country what I promised to be i
holy place!"

In general it suffices to hear the
of the ancient abbeys, to know ir
sort of scenery they are placed. C
amabilis, as Camaldoli is called

* Dosithée, Vie de St. Jean de la Croix.
† De Arca Morali, Lib. iv. 4.

* Wordsworth.

f its institution—Vallis umbrosa, that
' of sweet shades to which St. John
bert retired in 1038. Monte Sereno,
rofonde, Haute Rive, Beaulieu, Foun-
Clairvaux, Sept-Fontaines, Clairlieu,
-Fontaines, Fontfroid, Bonne-Fon-
, Beaupré.—Such are the sweet,
onious names of monasteries, derived
fountains, rivers, woods, islets, moun-
, valleys, high cliffs, and caverns hoar
in the shade of pines; names which
in themselves a power to charm the
ike those of the Nereides in the Iliad,
ı recall the beautiful translucid things
ıe dim, cool grottos of the ocean
ıhs.* The Spanish writers cannot
upon the rivers and mountains of
ı without mention of the monasteries
ı render many of them so illustrious;†
indeed, if the poetry and science of
ncients could associate them every
: with occult virtues, it was easy for
ıinds of holy men to fall in with their
ıful suggestion, that wherever a spring
or a river flows, sacrifices should be
d, and to feel a strong desire to im-
to them the true holiness of sweet
beneficent religion. Who in ages of
could write a history of woods and
mention of the monks and hermits,
scribe the mountain full of springs,
ı θηρῶν, and not make mention of the
on its side or summit? The foun-
ıs made by faith obliged old authors
to blend with geography philosophy
sceticism. It often suffices to hear
ames of the places adjacent to monas-
, to know the savage wildness of the
y, at least, in early times, when not
wolves and bears, but enormous wild
wandering in bands by night through
ods, almost as dangerous, made high
necessary for the enclosure. Thus,
e immediate neighbourhood of St.
here are places with such names as
Wolfhalden, Baernegg, Baerenbach,
statt. Waldshausen.‡ The house
s of the abbeys expressly mention
isits of such neighbours. Thus, in
ırious annals of Corby, in Saxony, we
as follows: "This year, 923, on the
of St. Vitus, two stags came of their
ccord into the monastery, of whom
vas taken and the other dismissed.
e we have our Porta Cervorum. This
1131, a wolf was caught in our
orchard. It had come from Sollingen. In
1140 our huntsman met a bear in Sollin-
gen holding in its mouth a naked crying
child. Being alone he could not kill it.
This year, 1213, on the feast of the three
kings, while matins were singing, a dog-
wolf entered the church, without injuring
any one; only on going out he killed a
goose. In 1275, a she-wolf with her whelps
was found one morning very early in the
church of Boffezen, near the altar, the
porter not having shut the door."* The
venerable father who showed me over the
hermit's convent of Camaldoli, said, "We
keep these dogs to defend us against the
wolves; for, in winter, when the snow lies
deep, they could overleap the wall of our
enclosure, and fall upon us at night, as
we went to matins in the church. The
cold, indeed, is severe; but we are happy
in serving God, and then we enjoy the
glorious view from this high mountain.
We see the stars, perhaps, more bright at that
solemn hour, and we admire the works of
the Creator." Nothing, in fact, can exceed
the beauty of the spectacle from that hill
of Scali, on which St. Romuald saw the
angels. The hermit, as he looks down
upon the vast wild tract of the deeply
channelled and yet unvaried Apennines,
can discern beyond them the plains of
Ravenna and the line of the Adriatic, like
a golden thread beneath the rising sun;
while on his left the Mediterranean is at
times discernible. When monasteries were
abandoned after being plundered and de-
molished by barbarous invaders, the wild
beasts soon recovered undisturbed posses-
sion of the ground as the lawful proprietors.
Thus after the death of the only monk
who remained at Ouches, within the space
of 50 years, the trees having grown over it
and choked up the oratories and buildings,
it became the abode of ferocious animals.
After that interval a certain priest, Restold,
from Beauvais, being admonished in a
vision to seek out the place of St. Evroul,
came into Neustria, and after many days
being at Montfort, discovered the ancient
church, by means of certain shepherds,
who were led to follow a strayed bull into
the depths of the forest, where they found
the old walls covered with moss and ivy,
with great trees growing both within and
without the ruins. The old men then
agreed that this had been the retreat of
St. Evroul. So Restold came and fixed
his habitation there; and Guazon de Mont-

viii.
ndreæ Resendii Eborensis Antiquitatum Lu-
r, Lib. i. and ii.
defons Von Arx. Gesch. der St. Gallen, i.

* Ap. Leibnitz, Script. Brunsv. ii.

fort, a noble knight, who had piously proposed to restore all the churches and abbeys that had been ruined in the times of calamity, rebuilt at his own expense this abbey of Ouches; the workmen making use of the ancient stones which they found there in abundance, along with the tombs of many noble persons; for kings and bishops had been laid to rest there in the olden time.* So also when the Danes mounted the Seine, in 851, and burnt the abbey of Jumièges, the wild animals returned to the spot, and resorted to it for thirty years, during the time it remained desolate.† Sometimes while admiring the sylvan beauty of their site, the visitors to monastic ruins say, with an intention that savours more of hate than love, "The monks knew well how to choose their ground." But not to observe that it was their labour which first made it fruitful, it is certain that they seldom chose what men like these would covet; for it was either pious and generous laymen who chose it for them, or else it was to regions wild and desert, often marshy and covered with wood, far beyond the bounds of social haunts, that they retired to build their monasteries. Such was the savage desolation of the island of Lerins, and so infected was it with poisonous animals, that St. Honoratus, bishop of Arles, who built the monastery there in 426, was afterwards induced to leave it, when he built a convent near the summit of the Alps. Though notwithstanding the inconveniences of that island, it became dear to monks, and one of their most celebrated abodes.

Those Lincoln washes, when Ramsey Abbey was on an island,‡ or that Romney Marsh, where the Franciscans had a convent in 1264,§ though now the reformed ministers are dispensed from residence on it, in consideration of its insalubrity, would not, assuredly, have been chosen by our sagacious speculators for their abode. We should find to such men no grants of forest in the original sense of tracts lying out, rejected-foras, including marshes, desert hills, and even waters, as we do to the abbeys. In the charters of Chilperic to the abbey of St. Vincent, afterwards of St. Germain, and of Charles the Bald, to St. Denis, and to St. Benign, at Dijon, we read of the forests of the water;‖ for in old French the word was applie wood and water.

What is the donation of Hugu of Burgundy, on setting out for sade, to the abbot and brethre Holy Cross? It is the desert of that they may cultivate it and li What is that of Raoul, Sire de Cou consent of his wife Elide, and dren, heirs of his barony, to the r Prémontré? It is an uncultiva called the Haie de Blaissecourt. land of Croyland," says Orderic "being marshy and hollow, as t imports, king Ethelbald, being construct a stone church and mo on the site of the wooden hermita Guthlac, caused an innumerable of oak piles to be sunk down, a from a distance of nine miles from called Uppalonde, he caused firm to be carried, and so laid the fou of this noble monastery, which l during all his life, and which from foundation to this day, has be stantly inhabited by monks full gion."* The Abbot Ingulphus similiar account of this foundatio resembled that of St. Frobert seventh century, of whom we re "desiring to find a place for retr the world, and many great lord anxious to honour and serve h nevertheless, judged it inexpedie them to give any portion of their favour of his projected monastery, solitary life of his monks might wards disturbed by the too freque of secular benefactors. Therefore, tial inspiration he went to the court Clovis, who gave him a marshy in the suburbs of Troyes, called th Germaine. This marshy place be of the royal domains was full of la weeds, and brush wood; but the ho by dint of great diligence, succe draining off the water, and clear ground, and then he constructed h cells and oratory."† The origin of was similar. Robert the Norman, and Stephen Harding, an Engli after remaining some time in the Molesme, where they had erecte huts in 1098, and observed stric Benedictine rule, removed with one brethren to a spot called C marshy and woody, and desert. N

* Ord. Vit. Lib. vi. † Will. of Jumièges. i. 6.
‡ Hist. Ramesiensis, i. ap. Gale, ii.
§ Walding, iv.
‖ Pasquier's Recherches de la France, ii. 15.

* Lib. iv.
† Desguerrois, Hist. du Diocèse de p. 204.

which surrounded it, was a little
ı for the convenience of the husband-
ho tilled the lands adjoining. Here
rivulet from a source said to be bot-
s, which flowed over in dry, and
n wet weather, like the fountain of
rthusians. First they cut down the
cleared away the trees, and then
huts with the boughs. By their
the place became wholesome, and
und was given to them by Viscount
d. and Odo, duke of Burgundy.
ke subsequently built a lodge for
adjoining the monastery, to which
to retire on the festivals. Henry,
nd son, took the habit: the duke
ed in their church. They assumed
te under-habit in honour of the
Virgin. Few, however, came to
n until the arrival of St. Bernard
seventh year.* In the ancient
: diplomas and charters of Italy,
notice of many woods, of which
ıce now exists. Cassino, Farfense,
Vulturno, Bobbio, Pomposa, and
la, were all constructed in wilder-
The annals of Corby, in Saxony,
the foundation of that abbey in
ords, "In the year 818 religion
glow in a woody solitude."†
oniface, writing to Pope Zachary,
ention of Fulda in a way not more
d to excite the envy of our con-
ries. "There is," he says, "a
lace in a desert of vast solitude, in
st of the nations to whom we have
l, where, having built a monastery,
placed monks who live under the
St. Benedict, men of strict absti-
content with the labour of their
nds. I have dedicated it in honour
Holy Saviour, and in this place,
e consent of your piety, I have pro-
o give my body, worn with old age,
rest, and that it may lie here after
§ When monks did choose their
, it was often in "a desert peopled
storms alone, save when the eagle
some hunter's bone, and the wolf
her there. How hideously its shapes
iped around, rude, bare, and high,
r, and scarred, and riven." St. Bal-
retiring into a solitude, followed a
and fixed himself where it alighted,
pot which was thence called Mont-
. A white eagle similarly guided

ıgelo Manrique Cisterciens. An. l.
ırat. Antiq. Ital. xxi.
. Liebnitz Script. Brunsvic. illust. iii.
Bon. Epist. cxli.

St. Thierri, chaplain of St. Remi. St. Gebehard, reflecting whether he should found the monastery of Admontes in a desert place far remote from men, in a valley on the river Anasus, fasted three days while deliberating. The solitude pleased, and the very horror of overhanging mountains surrounded it on all sides, seemed favourable to a life of heavenly contemplation. Nevertheless, the difficulty of approach to it, there being no track, discouraged him, till a certain man, by nature deaf and dumb, suddenly spoke in German, and said, "Begin, and God will finish it," and never afterwards spoke. The monastery was accordingly built there.* The severity of the climate in places to which St. Gall and other founders of the Alpine monasteries retired, may be learned from the liturgy of that abbey, in which we find these supplications, "Auræ ut temperiem te Christe rogamus."† "Ut nobis donetur aeris temperies,"‡ and "aeris blandos facilesque motus.§" St. Bernard, from the top of the tower of St. Bertin at St. Omer, marked the site for the new abbey of Clairmarais, and what land did he select? A spot amidst vast marshes and limpid lakes, and floating islands, which the old romance writers speak of as mysterious and horrible. "It is a cursed place, haunted by the demon," says one: "I do not know how many spectres resort there."‖ The monks, however, placed there by St. Bernard, rendered it a delightful solitude, resounding day and night with hymns of love and gratitude to God.¶ In fact, many of the ancient abbeys were built in spots which the blind population of heathen times had deemed ill-omened, many of them in forests, as Tacitus says, "consecrated by the old terror," where monks alone would venture to remain.

—— "olim silvestribus horrida dumis.
Jam tum religio pavidos terrebat agrestes
Dira loci: jam tum silvam saxumque treme
bant."**

Such was the deep narrow sequestered valley of Battuecas, so famed in the fabulous history of Spain, and which became so dear to religion from their convent of Carmelites, which stands amidst the steep

* Germania Sacra, tom. ii. 179.
† Lytania Ratperti in Lect. Antiq. Canisii.
‡ Antiphona de S. Gallo Cod. 389.
§ Lytania de S. Othmaro.
‖ Berthond.
¶ Piers, Hist. des Abbayes de Watten et de Clairmarais.
** Æn. viii. 348.

rocks half buried in the groves, even still almost the only human habitation in that solitude, through which wanders a quantity of wild animals of all kinds. No longer on the lofty mountains in the centre of Italy, and in the deep woods that clothe them, is one directed to the horrid cave which opens its pestiferous jaws to breathe destruction; but, as on Mount Gargano, where stands the monastery of St. Michael, it is to a house of peace that pilgrims traverse them. Thanks to holy Benedict, no longer is an unhappy name associated with lands which the Allia waters,* or with any of those natural vaults, such as are found on the shores of Cuma, like the vast cavern which heard the secrets of the horrid Sibyl, or that terrible cave in Salamis in which Euripides was said to have composed his tragedies.† The hollow rocks, with their clear sources, so by birds beloved, more beauteous than the Coycian cave, are the abodes now, not of nymphs and demons, but of hermits and holy fathers, who, like angels, sanctify them.

Petrarch says, that they who behold the holy cavern of St. Benedict, believe that they behold the threshold of paradise. To many hills on which monasteries stood we might apply the Virgilian line, and say of them before so crowned,

"Tum neque nomen erat, nec honos, aut gloria monti."‡

Such was Alvernia. In the land of Florence and diocese of Arezzo, between the Tyber and the Arno, to the south and west extend two lines of hills from the Apennines to the Alps. Over these rises an umbrageous mountain, which from the east towards the Tyber has an ascent of seven miles, but from the west towards the Corsalo the pilgrim has but three to mount. Upon this rises another mount, all of rock, yet beautiful to the eye, adorned with groves, and raising its head above all the circumjacent heights.§ Here abounds the herb called Carolina, the prickly leaves of which defend the flower, so called from having been used as a remedy against the plague by the army of Charlemagne, to whom it is said its secret properties were divinely revealed. Here are impenetrable caverns, abrupt and overhanging rocks, inaccessible crags, and profound gulfs, which excite horror. This is the seraphic mountain of St. Francis, w
vent is built into the side. Eve
now are sacred grottos, chapels,
and miraculous vestiges of h
and of the consolations of ange
whole place excites the mind w
sire after holiness of life, and a
ment of the deceits of the worl
divine voice were heard, saying,
sanctus est; finem peccandi facit
mountain was solemnly consec
seven bishops, those of Arezzo,
Florence, Assisi, Perugia, Tifer
Fiesoli, at which imposing cere
Bonaventura was present. Wh
the cells of that saint, and of St.
of Padua, are now the chape
bounty of Cosmo de Medicis, a
wife, Eleonore of Toledo, to thi
is attested by their arms, whic
covered on the buildings, sacred v
and choral books. O thou joyo
family of Christ, dwelling in this
free from wants, so cheerful, so e
happy is the man who can behol
the great day when thou dost so
commemorate the grace bestowed
holy founder, when countless
throng thy courts, and kneel b
altars.

Other mountains, once associ
lugubrious traditions, became th
resting-place of world-worn me
was the mountain of the holy ma
Grenada, which became so dear to
It is so called from the number
tians who confessed Jesus Chr
during the persecution of the
From the summit the view ove
and the famous plain, through v
river Genii wanders in many ci
said to be one of the most delici
Spain. Here on the spot wh
received the tears and blood of
martyrs, and where the Cathol
had constructed a hermitage an
on the conquest of Grenada, t
their memory, was built the mo
barefooted Carmelites; underneat
were vast caverns, where the M
to confine their captives, and wh
inflicted tortures to prevail upon
embrace the law of Mahomet.*

A similar interest was attach
site of the celebrated monastery
five miles from Salerno, at the fo
lofty mountain of Fenestra, found
992 by St. Alferius, of the fami

* Æn. vii. 717. † Aul. Gell. xv. 20.
‡ xii. 134. § Wadding, An. Min. iv.

* Dosithée, Vie de St. Jean de la

Pappacarboni, of the blood of the Longobards, which derived its name from the caves in the metal mines of that mountain, into which the Christians fled from the fury of Genseric, king of the Vandals.* That sombre mountainous desert of Ida too, which Homer animated, resounded with the songs of David, when in the third and fourth centuries it was inhabited by holy men, whose ruined cells and chapels can still be seen.

The mountain tops to wanderers, over the ocean stream, in heathen and in Christian times, were associated with very different recollections. When Jason and the Argonauts sailed forward, borne along by the rapid wind, after passing the boundless land of the Bechirians, there appeared to them a bay, beyond which arose the topmost crags of Caucasus, to the sun's rays alone accessible. There Prometheus, with his limbs bound to the hard rock by brazen chains, continually fed with his liver, a ravenous eagle rushing upon him. That bird they saw at even from the mast-head, flying near the clouds, and heard his sharp scream. The sails he made flap with the rush of his mighty wings, for he had not the nature of an aerial bird, but such as became a monster so enormous. Then after a little pause, they heard the groaning voice of Prometheus having his entrails torn out; and the air resounded with his cries until they again perceived the blood-smeared eagle, soaring back from the mountain. Such were not the sounds that came from mountains, when faith had covered them with the asylums of men delivered for ever from the worst of torturers. Then monasteries stood upon the rocks, whose pinnacles seemed sculptured in the sky, dear age after age to all who passed amidst the solitude of distant seas; for there instead of Promethean imprecations, arose continually the saintly orison, and there, instead of victims to celestial vengeance, dwelt convertites, having found ease for all the sorrows of their wounded conscience, and the sweet nourishment of peace with heaven; and oh, to use the poet's words,

"How beautiful, and calm, and free they were
In their young wisdom, when the mortal chain
Of custom they did burst and rend in twain,
And walked as free as light the clouds among."

In the annals of the Carmelite order, it is related that St. Louis, passing in view of mount Carmel, was overtaken during the night by a furious tempest, that the sailors despaired of saving the vessel, that the king heard a bell tolling, and on expressing his astonishment, was told that it came from the solitary religious men who lived upon that mountain; on which he pledged himself to found a convent for them in this kingdom if he should escape shipwreck, in fulfilment of which vow, he established the Carmelites at Paris.

The blessed transformation came on islands too, as that once held by Druids on the coast of Brittany, where navigators passing by used to hear with terror furious cries and the noise of barbaric cymbals. It would be long to enumerate the islands which became now holy, as Lindisfarne, Iona, Lerins, Lipara, and that on the north side of the bay of Dublin, called the eye of Ireland, where St. Nessan, in the sixth century, founded an abbey, in which was the copy of the four gospels that was held in such veneration, and Beg-Ery, on the coast of Wexford, where was the abbey founded in the fifth century by St. Ibar, which became celebrated for the sanctity and learning of the monks! Thus did the dreary sea behold houses of celestial peace within hearing of its surge.

"Those trackless deeps, where many a weary sail
Has seen above the illimitable plain,
Morning on night, and night on morning rise,
Whilst still no land, to greet the wanderer spread
Its shadowy mountains on the sun-bright sea,
Where the loud roarings of the tempest-waves
So long have mingled with the gusty wind,
In melancholy loneliness, and swept
The desert of those ocean solitudes,
But vocal to the sea-bird's harrowing shriek,
The bellowing monster, and the rushing storm,
Now to the sweet and many mingling sounds
Of holiest impulses respond."

The inconvenience attending such situations, only furnished occasions for the exercise of greater generosity towards the monks. Thus, as the island of Lipara was too small for nourishing cattle, Count Royes, who, with Robert Guiscard, on the expulsion of the Sarassins, had built there the monastery of St. Bartholomew for Benedictine monks, gave to it a farm in Sicily, pasture for cattle, lands for culture, and a mountain for feeding swine.* Islands in lakes and rivers, were also esteemed fitting sites for such foundations. Loch Ree, in Ireland, by reasons of the number of monks living in its islands where abbeys

* Italia Sacra, i. 607. vii. 367.

* Sicilia Sacra, ii.

had been founded in an early age, was called "the holy lake." On almost all the islands in the numerous lakes of that country, as also on those in the river Shannon, there were monasteries; and so it was where skies were brighter and waters more pellucid, as Nonenworth in the Rhine, and L'Isle Barbe in the Saone can still bear witness. On the latter was a Benedictine abbey in an early age of Christianity, with which peaceful retreat Charlemagne was so facinated, that he thought of abdicating his throne and of retiring to it. He had formed for it a great library, which the Protestants in 1562 destroyed. Lelaboureur has written a valuable history of this abbey, the ruins of which I visited with melancholy pleasure. The count of Stolberg before his conversion, was struck with admiration on visiting the islands of Meinau and Reichenau, on the lake of Constance, the site of once celebrated monasteries. He said that they contained all which man could wish for, and exclaimed,

—— "Illic vivere vellem,
Oblitus stultorum, obliviscendus et illis."*

The monks, however, had still better thoughts in seeking these solitudes, though poets may be more able to describe their charm. "There was a little lawny islet," says one, "paven like mosaic by anemone and violet, and it was shaded over with flowers and leaves, where neither sun nor showers, nor breeze could pierce: beneath it lay gems, girt by azure waves, with which the clouds and mountains paved the lake's blue chasm." In ages of faith, on such a spot there was sure to be found an abbey or a cell.

As you mount the Seine, when Harfleur and its high tower, the castle of Tancarville, the dangerous point of Quillebœuf, and, in fine, Caudebec have passed successively before your eyes, you perceive at a great distance on the left bank, two white towers detached against the sky, appearing like phantoms on the shore. Isolated at the extremity of one of the peninsulas, these towers, which from afar seem to announce some great city, are then found to be mournful ruins, without any other inhabitants than the family of birds, whose sonorous voices are heard re-echoing: such is the site of the once rich and celebrated abbey of Jumiège, which dates from the first ages of the French monarchy. Of a truth one cannot recall to memory the situation of many ancient monasteries without delight. Even their enemies burst out in praise, as in the lines

"Lo! Cintra's glorious Eden intervenes
In variegated maze of mount and glen,
The horrid crags by toppling convent crown'd."

Oh, how sweet it was to sing to one's self the hymn of evening or any holy chant, in memory cherished, while seated on the high cliff skirting a dark forest of pines, which hangs over the Cistercian convent at Freyburg which the rushing torrent washes, and almost surrounds deep in the gulf below. Hauterive again, founded by the counts of Glane before the city of Freyburg, was existing, on which abbey that small house depends, is another spot of which the memory must be indelible. The valleys beneath the monastery of Camaldoli near Naples, which is on a high mountain, commanding a view over the whole scene of the sixth book of the Æneid, present an image of paradise. "I remember," says a recent traveller, describing the event, "when I visited it, the woods which entirely surround it on the sides of the most precipitous mountain were just covered with fresh green leaves in the month of April, and the little modest drooping pink syclamines embalmed the air with their fragrance. The church of the convent was quite filled with sweet nosegays of these mountain flowers. Ah, who can wonder that the old prophets in their bright views of what was to come, longed to see the joyful days when the Catholic church should extend her peaceful sway over the earth!"

Sometimes the site of some abbeys seems to have been originally determined by certain remarkable works of nature, or of Cyclopean art, of which the history was forgotten. Thus the choice of Glastonbury seems connected with that high and singular mount, on which, in the earliest ages of faith, in Britain, Phaganus and Damianus, the missionaries of Pope Eleutherius, built the chapel and cell of St. Michael, "that he might have there honour on earth from men who by command of God should bring men to eternal honour in heaven," and where the holy monks from Ireland, who afterwards resided there, had such divine visions, the indulgences were granted to those who cut a way up to it through the tangled thorns to enable pilgrims to fulfil their vow. I visited it on St. Stephen's day during a wild storm, which seemed likely to sweep off not alone the ruined tower, but the green cone itself. Inhabited by a number of hawks and wild birds, their cry while hovering

* Reise in Deutschland, 78.

d, mingled with the furious roar of the within that roofless tower, struck me a feeling of awe. The view on all sides sponded, whether one regarded the gling village of Glastonbury, whose s form a vast cross on the ridge of the l of Avalon, or the ruined abbey, or ast moor and waste of waters that sur- led it in that season, or in the distance, ood forest, the scene of Alfred's vic- over the Danes, and the mountains e principality. Where it happens that e is less interesting, the monastery often stand near some colossal frag- s which declare with silent eloquence, erishable character of human ambition njure up a crowd of thoughts, and ex- is to muse upon the destinies of man. an instance is presented by that con- of Hieronomites in Spain, which stands he enormous elephants or bulls wrought f the gigantic rocks which surrounded celebrated as the Toros de Guisando. neral, however, the holy founders of steries preferred the immutable glory ture's works. They sought out the ices and durable forms of desert re- undaunted by the yawning gulfs or l crags, like those that topple over the of St. Benedict at Subiaco, vast masses ch fall each year and never injure it, those beneath St. Cosimato on the nd rushing Anio, where the blessed ch so long resided. Yet, however to a stranger's eye, there was sure to ar them some gracious smiling spot hich they were familiar. As our poet

ras a barren scene, and wild,
here naked cliffs were rudely piled;
t ever and anon between
y velvet tufts of loveliest green;
d well the monk or hermit knew
cesses where the wall-flower grew:
deem'd such nooks the sweetest shade
e sun in all its rounds survey'd:
d was poetic impulse given
the green hill and clear blue heaven."

surrounded by some steep and arid ness, the site itself is a soft sylvan enclosed and hid away as a delicious se.

at is the surprise of those who pass Pretavecchio to Camaldoli, after tra- g the scorched and harrowed tops of urren Apennines, the withered aspect ich makes one's heart faint, to come upon those soft dewy lawns, and green les, and dark pathless woods, and find den raised in the waste wilderness. Nothing can exceed the grandeur and wild- ness, and even the romantic interest of the scenes in which many abbeys are placed. From the smiling meadows, on which stands the vast abbey of Engelberg, the wooded mountains which enclose it on every side rise up precipitously to the stern melancholy regions of eternal snow.

The first sound which breaks the silence of the desert of San-Lorenzo to the pilgrims in that solitude is the bell of the Escurial, which has appalled many, from its bursting suddenly on them. The blasts that howl round that immense and truly solemn mo- nastery during the autumnal season, when the court resides within it, are described as terrific. These sudden and impetuous tempests from the mountains can overturn carriages on the passage called Longa, which leads from the village to the monas- tery. Again, what a situation is that of the convent of St. Bernard, on the mountain which bears his name! When seated, at night-fall, before the fire there, our fatigues almost forgotten amidst cheerful conversa- tion, while the wild snow-drift sounded against the windows, I remember how cor- dially every one seemed to greet the wet cold strangers that entered a little later, as if from fancying how still more dreary must have become the ways that he himself had trodden before the darkness. Strange wild tales often passed current respecting the neighbourhood of monasteries, and it must be owned the awful solitudes in which they sometimes stood were well fitted to make us believe that there was some excuse for those who related them; for the solemn wildness of the rocks or woods served to give that strength to the imagination which renders fictions such as these interesting to most men. Thus we read in the annals of Corby, in Saxony, under the date of 1422: "Eras- mus Drogge, a hawksman and fisher, related to the brethren wonderful things of the spectres seen by him in our woods, and at Wisarah and Netham. If they were all true, adds the monk, I would write them down among wonders."* Again, "this year, 1048, it was said, that in Brunsberg is a great treasure, hidden and guarded by a black dog with fiery eyes. Gasper Gemser, the hunter, says that he saw him. Whether he says truly, I know not; but certain it is, that travellers by night, have this year been much frightened by spectres on that moun- tain." One poor brother seems not to have

* Annales Corbeienses ap. Leibnitz Script. Brunsvicensia Illust. II.

thought them altogether fictitious; for we read in 1034, on the feast of St. John the Baptist, "an ignis fatuus seduced brother Sebastian, returning after dusk from the next town where he had preached. His terror was such that he died the next day."* There was a cell for five brothers belonging to the abbey of Grissaw, in Silesia, at the foot of the Riphæan mountains, which in German are called the mountains of Giants, because they are of stupendous height, being almost perpetually covered with snow. "Wondrous things are related there," says an old historian, "of a spectre dwelling among these mountains, and appearing in various forms to those who ascend them. These mountains, which separate Silesia from Bohemia and Moravia, extend to the Carpathian chain which divides Hungary from Poland. The abbey of Grissaw owed its origin to the slaughter of the Christian army under Henry Barbatus, the husband St. Hedwige, by the host of Tartars, in the year 1241, on the plains of Lignicium."†

Judging from their favourite haunts, monks and hermits seemed to have a predilection for the life which Dante rather strangely qualifies, as only preferable to the tortures of the last or frozen circle:

"Oh, ill-starr'd folk,
Beyond all others wretched! who abide
In such a mansion, as scarce thought finds words
To speak of; better had ye here on earth
Been flocks or mountain goats."‡

Baptist the Mantuan alludes in these lines to their choice:

"Hinc divi sanctique patres in montibus altis
Delegere domos tacitas, Chartusia testis;
Carmelus; Garganus; Athos; Laureta; Lacerna;
Et Sina et Soractis apex; umbrosaque vallis.
Et juga Nursini facto senis inclyta; et altis
Abietibus turrita caput Camaldula sanctum."§

What Tacitus says of the Germans seems true of the monks. "Instead of inhabiting cities, they live scattered and isolated, just wherever a fountain, or a field, or a grove, pleased them:" "Ut fons, ut campus, ut nemus placuit." Do we come to some sequestered spot "under a mountain, which from unknown time has yawned into a cavern, high and deep; from which comes a gentle rivulet, whose water, like cl in its calm sweep bends the soft gra keeps for ever wet the stems of th flowers, and fills the grove with which whoso hears must needs fo pleasure and all pain, all hate a which they had known before that rest?" There again we shall find a of the holy pacific. Or do we turn woods under the vast shade of bran the pine forest, where the white eagl her nest; or to the denser labyr other trees, whose "meeting boug implicated leaves weave twilight c poet's path; more dark and dark the accumulate—the oak, expanding measurable arms, embraces the ligh the pyramids of the tall cedar overt frame most solemn domes within: t sites, starred with ten thousand bl flow around the grey trunks; soft lawns beneath these canopies exte swells, fragrant with perfumed her eyed with blooms, minute yet be through the dell, silence and twilig sisters, keep their noonday watch, among the shades like vapourous half seen." There in some sudden o which again restores you to the s will arrive at the convent, some sanctuary of holy men, in which lodging for the night, you will h animals of prey,

"Ore truces ululare lupi sub nocte sil

Yet the peace of that house will fo to regard these as the fortunate gro blissful seats, and soon the trees that round it will become dear as the mon self. Deeply hidden in the heart of forests were many abbeys, to whi had to work their way as they could what might be truly termed "a p desert, dusk with horrid shades." eleventh century there was a monas the forest of Ferrière, so secluded, t had not been for certain iron forges lished in the same forest, the place have remained unknown; but, in these works led to its discovery: for of St. Martin of Tournay, being at F and having been charged to find out was an abbey of the name of F succeeded at last, by means of the wo to whom probably he was referred b monks of St. Maur des Fossez, who ha like himself, to the council of Rh

* Annales Corbeienses ap. Leibnitz Script. Brunsvicensia Illust. 11.

† Gaspar Jongelinus Notitiæ Abbat. Ord. Cisterciens. per Univ. Orbem, Liv. v. 57.

‡ xxxii. § Æclog. viii.

* Lebeuf, Hist. du Diocèse de Paris, tom.

I expressed my intention of proceed-
Bobbio, I was told that from the
where I was I should have to travel,
on foot or on horseback, for thirty
there being no road to it. "The
to Morimond, that mother of five
of knighthood," says Dom Martene,
fficult, owing to the woods and broken
by which one has to pass. It is in a
solitude; in a hollow, surrounded by
ains, on the borders of France and
ne, in which latter stands half of the
ry."* "We did not arrive," he says,
he abbey of Molesme until late at
from having lost our way in the
, which caused us to travel two or
leagues more than were necessary."†
rder to arrive at Clairvaux," he says,
h is in a valley surrounded with moun-
and forests, we had to travel nearly
igues through the wood. One cannot
ch it without feeling one's heart
with indescribable feelings, which
e the sanctity of its origin."‡ "The
of Prémontrè, four leagues from
is situated," he says, "in such a fearful
e, that one can hardly arrive at it
t taking a guide of the country."§
passing Kiedrich I again entered
est," says a modern traveller, "and
ove an hour there was little to be
xcept the noble trees which encom-
me; but though I could seldom see
ards, yet within that distance there
always plenty of minute objects to
t me. After winding my way through
es for a considerable time, I suddenly
ose before me, at the bottom of a
equestered valley, the object of my
r, namely, the very ancient monastery
erbach. The sylvan loveliness and
ceful retirement of this spot I strongly
is quite impossible to describe. The
tery lay immediately beneath me, so
etely surrounded by the forest, that it
as if, ready built, it had been dropped
heaven upon its site. The irregular
igs, with its dome, spires, statues, and
lated roofs, look like the palace of
powerful king; and yet the monarch
parently no subjects but forest trees,
on all sides almost touch the archi-
e, and closely environ the garden-
This description recalls a scene that
tranquillized and appeased my own
nation. There is a pathless forest on
eep mountains which enclose the con-

vent of Camaldoli. At an opening, caused by the fall of some enormous trunks, I used to sit for hours with myriads of curious creatures all around me, among the weeds grotesque and wild. Before me was a magnificent range of Apennines, richly tinted with the setting sun; and intervening in a deep gulf below, as if painted on a map, lay the convent on a grassy glade, with its interior courts and cloisters all disclosed. Above the forest, as well as beneath it in the valley, are beautiful sloping pastures, covered with the flocks of the monastery; and most refreshing was the cool, delicious air of the breezes which are inhaled amongst them. In the deep silent forest of gigantic pines around the upper hermitage, it is easy to lose one's way. One could only provide against such an accident by carefully noting the relative position of some huge leafless trunks, the growth of centuries, blasted by lightning or torn from the ground, and lying across, with their vast arms interlaced and piled in magnificent ruin by the force of some terrible blast, which had made an open passage, sparing only naked rocks, as it swept through a chasm of the mountain. Loud and solemn are the echoes of the woodman's stroke in that forest, the deep repose of which is only broken by them and the tolling of the abbey bell. Never shall I forget the thunder which rolled over that house when I lay there two nights before the festival of the stigmas of St. Francis. Most sweet was the recollection of having heard complin sung on the evening of that dreadful night; while the heavens were in such awful commotion over our heads, discharging a deluge of waters that sounded almost as terrible as the thunder crash. We remained some days longer, and great was the sadness with which I heard the matin bell, soon after midnight, announcing the last morning of that peace for us. After leaving the bright altars, and the saintly men who did their office there, we walked slowly forwards, and often turned back to enjoy one more glimpse of the monastery. Arriving at last within a few yards of the summit of the mountain, we intended to have reposed some time, before placing that final barrier between us and the scene where we had enjoyed such peace, but an incident occurred which seemed to break the spell. A troop of wild dogs, hunting together, came suddenly upon us over the crest, open mouthed, and then glancing aside as if more startled than ourselves, rushed down the side of the mountain.

oyage Littéraire de deux Bénédictins, 140.
). 185. ‡ Ib. 104. § Ib. ii. 49.

That the selection of such sites for monasteries arose out of the peculiar affection entertained by the holy men who founded them, for the beauties and solemnities of nature is, in general, even expressly attested by the ancient writers. William, duke of Aquitaine, came one day to a place remote from all human society; so solitary, so silent and inviting to repose, that it seemed, says the chronicle, to be an image of the celestial peace. Bernon, abbot of Gigny, who accompanied the old duke, said, smiling, "Dismiss your dogs, and let monks come here, for their prayers will be of more use to you than all your hounds." Such was the commencement of the abbey of Cluny, by a public donation from duke William to the apostles St. Peter and St. Paul in 909.*

The monastery and church of St. Nicholas de Arena, in Sicily, were built on the spot where St. Leo, bishop of Catana, used to retire, far from the city, in order to converse with God.† We find the monastic flock always tending to the desert or the wood.

At the beginning of the ninth century, we read, that the holy and learned Ængus, abbot of Clonenagh, used to betake himself for meditation and prayer to a waste, solitary tract, near the monastery, which, therefore, used to be called desert Ængus. St. Elphege, even during the severe frosts of winter, used to arise at midnight, while deep sleep ruled the rest of the world, and repair to some desert place, where he prayed until the rising sun put the stars to flight.

It was in the pine forest near Ravenna that the young Romuald nourished his love for solitude and the religious life.‡ We read, that St. John of the Cross, going on one occasion to visit a certain monastery, and finding himself in a retired spot surrounded with trees, stopped there to meditate; and that his companions, who had suffered him to penetrate alone for some distance into the wood, found him, after a while, in a rapture of divine contemplation.§

Friar Antonio of Corsica, a holy Capuchin, who left his country at an early age, through horror at the feuds which distracted it, is recorded to have greatly loved the convent of Monte Casale, from its being among woods remote from men. After the office of matins, he used to spend all the remaining hours of the night and dawn in the grove till it was time to say mass; and similarly, when at Perugia, he used t
plate in the groves of the convent.

We find that the monks were
appreciate and to indulge this love
beauty in other men. A modern
tells us that on the evening of his
Vallombrosa, he returned to the ab
straying in the woods, sooner than h
fearing lest the gates might be clo
him; and that after supper, as h
through the grated window on
woods and swelling lawns of that
vale, a monk perceived his dis
countenance, and instantly divined
"You wish to wander still throu
wilds," said he; then calling a lay
he ordered him to open the gates,
at them till their guest's return.

"Who does not delight in fe
gentle wind that comes from the
demands Father Diego Murillo, of
of St. Francis, in one of his
preached in Saragossa. "Who
rejoice on hearing the birds sing
branch to branch in the heart of
Who is not charmed at the sigh
crystalline rivulet winding from
mountains? and who does not feel
leap for joy when he hears an echo
him amidst the rocks, Ah! thes
estimable pleasures?"†

The beauty of the gardens, br
groves of Clairvaulx is describe
abbot of Aldenberg in a manner
cates how useful he esteemed it.
God!" he exclaims, "what consola
thou provide for thy poor, lest th
be absorbed by abundant sadne
many alleviations for penitents,
should be oppressed by their labou
place has much loveliness to s
wearied mind, to dispel cares an
to kindle to devotion those who s
and to remind them of the superi
ness to which we aspire. The n
eventide reminds me of Isaac,

'Dum video florem, dum sentio floris
Historias veterum memorant mihi
erum.'"‡

Hence, in selecting the site for nev
tions, we find expressly that atte
paid to the things which Pliny so b
expresses in describing the district o
nus—the "munifica sylvarum gen
tium afflatus, amnium fontiumque

* P. Lorain, l'Abbaye de Cluny.
† Sicilia Sacra, ii. 1156.
‡ Annal. Camaldulensium, i. 10.
§ P. Dosithée, Liv. vi.

* Annales Capucinorum, 1548.
† Serm. for the sixth Friday of Lent
‡ Notitiæ Abbat. Ord. Cister. per Un
Lib. i.

ifteenth century, Ulrich, abbot of
›repared to remove the abbey from
o Roschach, alleging for motive,
ent conduct of the citizens, and
e of war and the town being be-
was impossible for the monks to
ıter, their monastery being within
"Day and night," he says, "we
st: by day we have to endure the
ıoise of carriages, drums, shots,
and by night the watch round, and
e intrusion of persons into the
Under such circumstances the
all and Othmar would certainly
hemselves elsewhere. Therefore,
›sen the site at Roschach, where
nost lovely view over the lake of
to Thurgau and Suabia, the
a place rural amidst meadows,
corn fields, and woods, with
of water and stone. There would
and monks be safer and more
ıt than when guarded by walls,
l trenches." In 1484 permission
noval being obtained from the
mperor, and the general chapter
ıedictines, the work was begun,
ızens of St. Gall assembled in a
› manner, and, proceeding to
demolished the new buildings,
hat they would never suffer the
e transferred from their town.*
or a desert region seems to have
lered an essential accompaniment
us house. The monk, like the
ero, had his ἀγρὸν πολυδένδρεον.†
he rocky wilderness of Subiaco,
ery of St. Benedict can boast of
›olated wood of olives. To cut
·ees round the desert of Camaldoli
›ited under pain of excommuni-
Paul III.‡ Among the necessary
hich the friars of the Franciscan
the usufruct, the commentators
le enumerate, along with books,
gardens.§ By the constitutions
puchins in 1529, one or more
ld be constructed in a solitary
every convent of the order, that
should wish to lead an eremitical
nce, he might have a hut to retire
he Carmelite order also prescribes
deserts in certain places, one in
nce, to which the friars can retire
ke of prayer and contemplation.
e, quiesce, seems to have been

their motto. A year was the general period of remaining in these deserts, though it was always left to their free choice when to leave them. The hermits were forbidden, during the retreat, to engage in any scholastic, philosophical, or theological study. During their abode in the wilderness they were permitted to read only the holy Scriptures, lives of the saints, works of the fathers, and books which treat on the spiritual life. No secular persons were to be admitted for the sake of hunting or fishing. The houses of the desert were to be near villages, that in case of sickness there might be relief at hand. No one was to be sent there as if to do penance, because deserts, as holy places, were only for the perfect. Each hermit was to have a separate cell; the church was to be in the centre; and the space enclosed very considerable; that amidst hills and valleys, woods and fountains, the interior recollection might be the more advanced. It is one of these hermitages which is on Mount Libanus.* By decree of Sigebert III., king of Austracia, the monastery of Congnon, in the vast forest of the Ardennes, was to be surrounded by an enclosure of twelve miles in extent, to serve as a solitude for the monks, but they limited it to six miles.† By letters of the bishop of Grenoble in 1084, hunters were prohibited from passing the gate upon the bridge, which formed the bounds of the forest belonging to the monks of the Grande Chartreuse. But while private devotion and the rules of religious orders thus co-operated to cultivate a love for such retreats, monks were cautioned from ascribing more than due importance to this influence of locality; "for," says Ives de Chartres, "neither the secret depths of the woods nor the tops of mountains can make man happy if he hath not within himself a solitude of mind, a sabbath of the heart, tranquillity of conscience, elevations in his soul, without which, tepidity, curiosity, vain glory, and perilous tempests of temptations accompany every solitude."‡ "There is a good and there is an evil desert," says Richard of St. Victor; "the first is removed far from the tumult of vices, the latter is where we find no cultivation of man, no study of sanctity or of religion. It is a good desert when no sound breaks the silence but the voice of the dove, and the sigh which ceases not from the desire of divine love. It is an evil desert when are

s von Arx. 11. † xxiii.
Camald. Lib. lxxii.
l'Paris, Expos. Lit. de la Règle des F.
‖ Annales Capucinorum.

* P. Dosithée, Vie de St. Jean de la Croix. x.
† Ap. Martene, Vet. Script. col. ii. 7.
‡ Ivon. Carn. Epist. excii.

wanting celestial desires, spiritual desires."* With this distinction, however deeply marked, every circumstance of place around the abbey was, to the monastic mind, redolent not merely of beauty but of thought; and we find frequent indications of the spiritual and intellectual profit which it derived from this habit of interpreting nature. At Fountain's Abbey in Yorkshire, a clear and rapid stream passed under the beautiful oriel windows of the refectory. The monks would draw lessons from this flowing river. Brother Nicholas Facteur was observed one day reclining from a similar window, contemplating the rapidity of the current which passed below, until he appeared to lose himself in an extasy. Some of the monks approached and asked him the cause. "From this window," he replied, "I was considering with what haste the river ran in order to reach the sea, and I was lost in astonishment that men, who are enlightened by reason, should not do the same in order to arrive as soon as possible at the wide and vast sea of eternal glory."† When we see, therefore, that limpid fountain delightful to the eyes, flowing without intermission, which is in the middle of the vast refectory of the magnificent monastery of St. Maria Nova at Monteregalis near Palermo, which was founded by King William II. in consequence of a vision which he had while hunting in the forest, we may be sure that it was a source of meditation no less fruitful than the surrounding gardens, commanding those most delightful views over sea and land which the eyes are never weary of beholding."‡ Or take an instance of the wilder kind. "In the province of Vienne," says Gervaise of Tillebury, "is the priory of St. Michael de Camissa, which is situated upon the side of a high mountain exposed to terrible winds, but removed from all sounds of men, and by position a spot dedicated to religion. The refectory is vast, and exposed to the full force of the blasts. In this is a great window like a door, giving light to the whole. When storms rage and the whole house is shaken, whatever lights are placed in the centre of that window burn on undisturbed as if all was still. The walls tremble; the light of that little candle is not moved."§ It is easy to divine the moral which the monks would draw. In fact, there seems to have been always care that there should b something in the aspect around them t furnish food of this kind. Often, whil standing during weather that would n admit of mountain wanderings under th cloistered arches of Engelberg, and of S Urban's abbey, in the country of Soleur where monks walked to and fro, fro whose dark hoods peered darker eyes, a fitted well for contemplation, I used to r mark some who, in thoughtful guise, stoo watching the mists sweeping over the mou tains, ascending and descending amidst th rocks, or, like that famed artist, Viet Cosimo, the silent fall of the rain, as if gave them pleasure; then pointing either the cattle wandering through the meadow as if to note some curious trait of instinc or to the changing hues of the pine fore becoming absolutely black at intervals, near to the abbey, that one might suppos the wild animals in their dens were withi hearing of the holy song. There are whos nothing more delights than such a cloistr view, while groups are occupied in hous hold labours, in the wide adjoining court for many things are to be done during such weather within the walls by servitors as by the monks, who only wait the signal of th bell to flock into the church, where swelling organs waken mystic echoes. Hugo of St Victor borrows an image from the green ness of the lawn which is in the centre o the material cloister, "which," he says "refreshes the eyes of its inhabitants and renders them more capable of reading."*

The trees and rocks were used by the monks as sermons to their convertite; s when he is healed they led him forth t show the wonders of their sylvan solitude and they together kneel or sit by thos spots sacred to God and peace. "Th whole site of the monastery," says th abbot of Aldenberg, speaking of his own "is good and agreeable, affording walk full of delight in the valleys, as well as o the mountains."† Thus with our old poe these holy men did not

"Esteem it vainful to follow fancy's eye."

When St. John of the Cross was in th monastery of Pegnuëla, every mornin after mass, he used to retire amidst th mountains of that desert for the sake prayer and contemplation: he used gen rally to sit near a spring which was su

* Annot. in Ps. 28.
† Le Sacre Mont d'Olivet.
‡ Sicilia Sacra, ii. 1206.
§ Gerv. Tilleber. Otia Imperialia.

* De Claustro Animæ, Lib. iv. c. 33.
† Notit. Ab. Ord. Cist. per univ. orbem

ed by wild trees, until he heard the
r the exercises of the community.
respers he used to return there until
ur of prayer in common. Frequently
d to conceal himself amidst the rocks.
ık finding him one day between the
ices, asked, "Ah, father, will you
ı for ever amidst the rocks?" to
the holy man replied, "Wonder not,
ı; for when I converse with them, I
ewer things to say in confession,
hen I converse with men."* It was
these precipices of Pegnuëla, that
ıposed his sublime seraphic books;
as in the solitude of mount Alvernia,
. Bonaventura wrote his "Itinera-
ıentis in Deum," and his "Itinera-
ıentis in seipsum," of which Gerson
I confess that for thirty years and
I have wished to be familiar with
racts; and lo! at this age, after
and often ruminating them, even
words, I have scarcely begun to
hem, as I find in them always
ing new." From the figurative lan-
of St. John of the Cross in the
ed mysterious canticle which ex-
the complaint of a soul wounded by
love, which, however, he composed
ngeon in Toledo, it is easy to per-
ıat a deep sense he entertained of
rm which lies in the sombre forests
lofty mountains, and the sweet
ed meadows, and all the beauties
ıdmirable world.
ngenious modern author† suggests
ɔriety of placing inscriptions amid
ls of Dartmoor, and even of con-
g particular rocks there to particu-
ons amidst those waste and solitary
If so judicious and accomplished
could find pleasure in associating
ks of her country with "fancied
r divinities," by Druidical inscrip-
Odin, Hu, and Modred, we can
comprehend the desire felt by
ive learned monks, to place in the
round them, inscriptions or memo-
recall the memory of the friends of
th whom they knew that they were
ally connected, or to impart a gene-
ɔn of eternal wisdom to the pilgrim
uld pass by. When the track was
ıd rugged, one would find inscribed
e rocks some sentence to remind
ıt the ascent to heaven is steep and
as I read going up to Monte Cal-

varo, at Domo Dossola; to which convent, so often at the sweet hour of dawn, a holy procession mounts. Marc, the poet, a disciple of St. Benedict, composed verses descriptive of Mount-Cassino, of which the following refer to the ascent:

"Huc properet cœlos optat qui cernere aspectos,
Nec removet votum semita dura pium.
Semper difficili quæruntur summa labore,
Arctam semper habet vita beata viam."

The only inscription I observed among the ruins of Netley Abbey, was to this effect, that whoever did not keep the beaten pathway would be prosecuted, conveying thus a brief but accurate history of the times since that abbey fell to desolation; but were the monks still there, we should doubtless have found other writing on the trees. In the woods where friars haunt, we should find lines like these, which St. Francis placed on an antependium of a little chapel, in a beautiful wood on a high mountain between St. Germini and Porcaria. Above were painted various creatures, angels, boys, birds, trees, and so forth, under which, was this invitation to them to praise their Creator.

"Timete Dominum, et date illi honorem.
Dignus Dominus accipere laudem et honorem.
Omnes qui timetis Deum, laudate eum.
Ave Maria, gratia plena, Dominus tecum.
Laudate eum, cœlum et terra universa.
Laudate, omnia flumina, Dominum.
Laudate Dominum quoniam bonus est.
Omnes qui legitis hæc, benedicite Dominum.
Omnes creaturæ, laudate Dominum.
Omnes volucres cœli, laudate Dominum.
Omnes pueri, laudate Dominum.
Juvenes et virgines, laudate Dominum.
Dignus est Agnus qui occisus est, accipere laudem et honorem.
Benedicta sit sancta Trinitas, atque indivisa Unitas.
Sancte Michael Archangele, defende nos in prælio."

Alas! when shall we find in our woods and lawns a similar inscription! But iron hammers, and not the praises of God, resound now on the Wye's woody shore; and manufacturers, impelled by wandering boilers, heed not what would have delighted Aldhelm or Shakspeare.

"O, better were these banks assign'd
To spirits of a gentler kind."

And now if from the profit which holy monks drew from the beauty or grandeur of natural scenes, we turn to consider the sweet influence which their habitations imparted to those scenes, shall we not

thée, Lib. viii.
Bray, Sketches of Devonshire.

discover that the service was reciprocal and abundantly repaid? When roaming through the woods, or along the shores of our dark northern lakes, or climbing up the rocks of the wild mountains which hang over them, in company with the pretty playful goats, would it not increase our joy to know that some holy monastery was near, that in an hour perhaps we might be in the church, assisting at their solemn vespers, and hearing the instructions of some man of God? How sweet and solemn is the aspect of an abbey seen through dark woods, through which hoarse winds whistle wildly! and when it is the sole object, how much more sweet and solemn is the music of its adjacent grove under the breeze of night! Our poet says that the chief marvel of the wilderness he loved was a lone dwelling, built by whom or how, none of the rustic people clearly knew, further than that it was reared for peace and for religion, by some wise and tender lover of his kind, ere the crimes of our age had been anticipated in the Christian world's young prime, in height overtopping the woods, and scarce seeming a work of human art, but as it were Titantic. Such was the ancient abbey, seeming to have grown out of the mountains from the living stone, lifting itself in caverns light and high; and how did its voice charm that desert and overcome every other harmony! like the fascinated the monk,

"Who heard not, saw not, felt not a
Thro' the wide world of pleasure a
Save the full flowing and the amp
Of that celestial strain."*

Yes, happy is it for men whe
are scattered through these vales
when the spirit of the monks i
through them, breathing a deep
beauty, and imparting to every
the human mind a hue of brig
of heaven: for then religion's v
gives the heart expansion, and
comes to them in solitudes, "t
whispering woods, and from th
and the odours deep of flowers
the breezes whether low or loud
the rain of every passing cloud
the singing of the summer bird
sounds and from all silence.'
part, if it be permitted me to
personal experience, if I had
Altenrive or Vallombrosa, Ca
St. Urban, the beauties of ou
scenery would not delight me
can do. I should see them
different eyes. The lawns wo
spire any bright consoling re
nor the deep forests peace.

* Trench.

CHAPTER V.

JOURNEYING onwards, and thus continuing to beguile our way, let us hear passages from ancient writings relative to the origin and foundation of some steries; for there can be no theme suitable to this pilgrimage, since of these religious houses were the of a journey on foot or on horseback our own at present, only involving rs and sufferings very different from can be our lot.

he proscribed man," according to the erman laws, "was to be led into a so far as to be beyond the hearing of p who waited at the skirts, who were y out three times. After that he e an outlaw, and might be slain by er met him."* The heart of forests legally abandoned to outlaws, was, er, visited by other men of a very nt class, who sought the peaceful f contemplation, the conversion of outcasts, and the transformation of ry desert itself into a paradise, ful- the divine prophecy which said, solabitur Dominus Sion, et consola- omnes ruinas ejus: et ponet desertum quasi delicias, et solitudinem ejus hortum Domini: gaudium et lætitia ietur in ea, gratiarum actio et vox s." Who were these other men? were monks, and some of them the apostles of the northern nations, as Percevals or Perceforests as ever d in the fabling of old romance. igh romantic valleys, before deemed essible, they pierced their way, and gh those vast primeval forests of any where the squirrel, leaping from to tree, could traverse seven leagues ut descending on the ground.† The apostles of Christianity built cells in Black Forest under the shade of pines oaks. Thus we find St. Fridolin at ngen, St. Offon at Schonttern, St. olin at Ettenheim, and St. Trutpert e place which yet bears his name. If we had the details of their journey, beyond a doubt the interest of many heroic fables would seem pale in comparison. In 744 St. Sturm, the disciple of St. Boniface, with seven companions, having pierced into the vast desert of Hersfeld on the banks of the Fulda, erected there a monastery under the title of the Holy Saviour, which derived its name from that river. Here were soon 400 monks assembled, besides a multitude of dependants.*

"The herdsman of the parish," say the ancient German laws, "may advance into the forest with his troop, as far as he can reach with throwing his stick."† The interior must have been sufficiently dangerous then. However, the pastor of souls was to be more courageous, and the monks accordingly penetrated far beyond such limits, and often for the express purpose of recovering some lost member of the Christian flock, as in the instance recorded of St. Seine, or St. Sequanus, founder of the abbey which bore his name in the sixth century. "When Seine," we read, "saw himself well instructed in the doctrine of the divine Scriptures and learned in the monastic rules, he sought a proper place to build his monastery. As he searched through the country, and communicated his plan to his friends, one of his relations, Thiolaif, said to him, 'Since you ask me, I will point out a place where you can establish yourself, if your plan be inspired by the love of God. There is a tract which belongs to me, if I mistake not, by hereditary right, but the people who inhabit it resemble wild beasts, and feed upon human flesh, so that it is not easy to pass among them without a troop of armed men at one's command.' The blessed Seine answered, 'Show me this place, in order that if my desires are conceived by a divine instinct, all the ferocity of these men may be changed into the gentleness of the dove.' Having then taken some companions, they came to the place which had

lichelet, Origines du Droit. † Grimm.

* Schannat, Historia Fuldensis, pars 1.
† Grimm. 62.

been mentioned. It was a forest where trees seemed to touch the clouds, and of which the solitude had not been disturbed for a long time; they were asking how they could penetrate into it, when a winding path was discovered, but so narrow and full of briars that they could hardly put their feet on the same line, or make one foot follow the other, so thick were the branches. However, after much labour and with torn vestments, they penetrated to the depths of this wild forest, and at length they perceived the narrow opening of a cavern, so dark that the wild beasts themselves would fear the entrance. That was the robber's cave, and the abode of unclean spirits. When they approached it, Seine, agreeable to God, bowed his knees and offered up a prayer with tears, saying, 'O Lord, who hast made heaven and earth, and who grantest the prayer of those who supplicate thee, from whom all good proceeds, and without whom all the efforts of human weakness are vain, if you command that I should fix myself in this solitude, let me know thy will, and prosper these commencements.' When he had finished his prayer, he rose up and lifted his hands to heaven, with weeping eyes. Knowing, then, that it was under guidance of the Saviour that he had come to this dark forest, after having blessed the ground, he set about laying the foundation of a little cell on the spot where he had first put himself on his knees. The report of his arrival came to the ears of the neighbouring people, who being moved by a divine impulse, exhorted each other, and approached to visit him. As soon as they saw him, from wolves they became lambs, in so much that they who had before been a source of terror were now the ministers of assistance; and from that time this place became the abode of innocence, after being the haunt of cruel robbers and demons."* When St. Gall asked the deacon Hiltibald, who knew all the desert from his habits of wandering in quest of fish and of hawks, whether he could lead him to a spot favourable for a monastery, the deacon replied, "This solitude abounds with watery places, lofty mountains, deep narrow valleys, and woods full of hurtful beasts; for besides stags and flocks of harmless animals, there are many bears, innumerable boars and ravenous wolves without number, so that I fear you will be devoured if you enter it." Next morning, however, at daybreak, they began to penetrate into it, and abo came to the brook Staina, wher spot that pleased the man of Go he marked with a cross.*

St. Liudger and his brethre anxious to construct a monaste would be secure from the future tions of the maritime country, aft deliberation fixed upon a plac a forest near the river Rura, wh afterwards called Werden. Having their tents, they prepared to cut d trees and make a sufficient space, stood so thick, and their branches interlaced, concealing the sky, seemed a hopeless undertaking about building a habitation in su derness. That night the holy m three times to prayer, placing under a great tree. After the th the night, which had been before c serene, became obscured; the m stars were covered with clouds mighty tempest burst over the for gnarled trunks of many centuries fore that stern blast, and the ele the world were made to save the of God. At break of day the task complished; the trees lay prostr on all sides, and a sufficient s peared for the site of the monaste only tree on that spot was left s it was that under which the ma prayed; but when this was afterw down for the use of the church was placed on the same spot to be rial for ever.†

To the vast solitude of the Vos dered on the east by Alsace and west by Burgundy, a region full mountains, with hideous rocks ri and crowning them, in a manne bling castles, with deep valleys them, perfectly black with the qu pine wood, and inhabited only beasts, many holy men of God b steps, and there built houses of Thus St. Gundelbert penetrated i the reign of king Childeric, fixing h in the spot which is now Sens, v built a monastery under the rul Benedict, and became its abbot.‡

St. Dedatus, leaving his breth another who pierced through thi desolation: he passed, we read, difficult mountains and valleys,

* Acta Sanct. Ord. S. Ben. tom. i. 264.

* De Vita B. Galli Auct. Walafrie c. x. † Acta S. Ord. Bened. Sæcu

‡ Chronic. Senoniensis, Lib. i. 2, ap Spicileg. iii.

h, he came to a spacious vale covered thick wood, and watered by streams, ı be built an oratory under the invo- ı of St. Martin, and on the declivity e hill a church under that of St. ice, and near it another in honour of ıother of Christ, round which, was a ɛr for monks. It was, however, when ·an was king of Burgundy, and Chil- t of Austrasia, that this desert re- l its most renowned pilgrim and e in St. Columban, who arrived there he was 30 years of age. Born in ıd, about the year 560, in his youth plied to learning, and made great ·ss, but fearing the temptations that ınded him, he left his birth-place, thstanding the opposition of his ır, and went into another province of ıd, putting himself under the con- ıf the holy and learned Silenus. In :hool he became profound in the holy ures, and composed several treatises, ʒ which, was a Commentary on the ıs. The love of God daily increasing ɑ, he forsook the world, and became k in Bangor, where, after living seve- ars, he began to desire, like Abraham, rel into a strange country. Acquaint- ıe abbot with his intention, who, with reluctance granted him twelve monks, ssed over with them into England, ıence into France. To the desert of osges he came, and became so en- red of its peace that he resolved to n in it. Finding an old ruined castle Anagraïs, he made choice of it for onastery, where, after living for some while supported by the charity of the s, he resolved to found another ab- ı the same desert. In the year 590, ıcovered an old castle eight miles dis- rom the first, which had once been ʒly fortified. This was called Luxeuil, ich he placed his community; and, r, his third cloister of Fontaines was arly placed in an old castle on the rs of Burgundy and Lorraine.* This formation of castles for purposes of ity, into the asylums of peace, must marked, as an interesting circum- e in the history of pacific institutions. easy to multiply instances. In 922 uibert or Wibert, the son of Litholde, ɟed his castle of Gemblours into the stery which became so celebrated. ɟen, which Werner, abbot of St. Gall, red for his abbey, had been an old

Jonas in Vit. S. Columb. ap. Mabil.

castle, which Albert Berthold and Ulrich had changed into an Augustinian convent.

In 1137, William de Glana, of the illustrious family of the counts of Vienne, desiring to found the Cistercian monastery of Hauterive, actually demolished his magnificent castle, which was about 500 paces distant from the spot which he had selected for the foundation.* In Spain, many of the ancient castles and towers which had been built against the incursions of the Moors, were converted, as that of Ucles, near Tarancon, into the peaceful asylums of a religious community. When Adelaide, mother of Louis VII., instituted the abbey of St. John-au-Bois, in the old Merovingian palace of Cuise, where the relics of St. Euphrosine drew crowds of pilgrims,† or even when Charles the Bald, in 877, founded the abbey of St. Corneille, in his own palace, at Compiegne, the metamorphosis perhaps was no less significative of a triumph of peace, and of its holy influence. It was, indeed, a favourite act of devotion in the middle ages to consign to God whatever had been used by wicked men in their machinations against peace. "A certain devout soldier, Oylardus de Wimilio," as we read, in the chronicle of St. Bertin, "knowing that there was a wood between Gisnes and Wissant, inhabited by robbers and murderers, and therefore called Zoudenvelt, or the field of sinners, purchased the property through a desire to purge it from such an evil, and having driven out the robbers and murderers, he built a chapel and convent there, and placed lay brothers in it to serve the poor, and show hospitality to travellers: he became so venerated in that wood, that he used to be called St. Oylard. The wood itself changed its name, and became, Zantenvelt, or the field of saints."‡ When blood had stained the soil, whether shed in ranged battles, or in single combat, houses of peace and of atonement rose.

In the same chronicle, we read, that the monastery of Bellolocus, in Flanders, was founded by Count Eustache, and endowed for the soul of a certain knight whom he had slain in a tournament.§ The abbey of Slotp, in Pomerania, was founded in 1140, by Ratisborus, prince of the Pomerarians and Vandals, on account of the

* Fundatio Monast. de Alta Ripa, ap. Martene, Vet. Script. t. vi.

† Hist. de Soissons, ii. 134.

‡ Chron. S. Bertini, c. xlii. p. i. ap. Martene, Thes. Anecdot. iii.

§ c. xlii. p. 1.

murder of his brother, Duke Wartislaus, who, in 1136, was killed by robbers on that spot.* After the great victory, in 1348, the Teutonic knights founded the monastery of Königsberg; and after the battle near the Rudau, in 1370, the grand master, Winrich von Kniprode, founded the beautiful Augustinian convent of Heiligenbeil.†

In many of the ancient basilicas of Rome, we find tablets suspended, containing a short history of the circumstances attending their foundation; and if a similar custom does not exist in monasteries, the cause must be very different from a want of materials to render such accounts interesting. The houses of the monks, like those of some noble families in the world, had their traditional, and often historical, claim to an origin truly heroic, sometimes terrible and ineffably sad, and not unworthy of being sung by poets. A holy conversation, or the praise of some friend of God, elicited without premeditation from the lips of youth, were sometimes, it is true, the sole facts which gave rise to such foundations, or directed their destination.

Levitius, on his return from Jerusalem, after spending some time in the monastery of La Cava, came to Mount Albancta, intending to build a monastery there. A certain scholar boy coming to him, the holy man asked him whether he could sing well, and the lad answering that he could, he ordered him to sing whatever first came into his mind, being secretly resolved that he would place the church under the invocation of whatever saint the boy should select for the subject of his song. Scholars then must have been generally more pious in their selections: at all events, this boy sung the response, "Veni electa mea," and the rest, with great sweetness. The holy man accordingly placed the monastery under the invocation of blessed Mary.‡ Sooth, this is a simple and most unpretending commencement, and that of many others was no less so, being only some word of devout exhortation, when some holy pilgrim upraised his charmed voice to pour on evil men the love that lay hovering within his spirit-soothing eyes. At such sounds, the walls of immense monasteries used to arise in solitary places, as we read in the fables of old of the walls of Thebes being moved by the music of Amphion's lyre. Gratitude led to ot as when Vaniugus, a rich nobleman i days of St. Ouen, having fallen sick place called Fescamp, in Normandy recovered, built there afterwards a m ficent abbey, and endowed it with means.

But their origin was not always Dark tragedies, acts of immortal her marvellous conversions of ferocious such were often the circumstances i first page of their history, requirin poetic skill to weave into legends, r bling the grandest page of old rom quite as fruitful in interest for the i nation, with the additional charm of unquestionably true. In the first many abbeys, like that of Saints Vi and Anastasia delle Tre-fontane, a Salvian waters, near Rome, which founded in 626 by Honorius I., incr by Pope Leo III. and Charlemagne rebuilt in 1221 by Honorius III.,* standing monuments from early tim martyrdom, marking the precise g on which the seed of the church had f This was the case near Palermo, whe monastery of St. Agatha de Petra founded on the spot where stood the from which St. Agatha mounted the when going to suffer for Christ at Cat

The famous abbey of St. Laurence, out the walls of Liege, was built o spot where the murderers of St. Lau after perpetrating their crime, divide spoil, and slew each other, while so eng sending their souls mutually to S "For," says an historian, "as, accordi the laws of war, the victor may take he likes from the conquered, so he order that where sin had abounded, might the more abound, a church of is built, and the signs of victory set u

The domestic legends of the monas generally indicate three sources from v they took their beginning—remorse, and sanctity of purpose; the latter be comparison being the most productiv the former connected with the most str narratives. Such are the anecdotes re to the origin of many of those Merovi and Carlovingian abbeys, which, like of St. Germains des Près, at Paris often clearly monuments of repent and of the power of conscience, th the secret motive, as far as expre

* Gaspar Jongelinus Notit. Abb. Ord. Cist. iii. 70. † Voight, Geschichte Preussens, v.
‡ Chronic. S. Monast. Casinensis, Lib. ii. c. 30.

* Notit. Abbat. Ord. Cister. vii.
† Sicilia Sacra, i. 311.
‡ Hist. Monast. S. Laurent. Leodiens. ap tene, Vet. Script. iv. 1039.

remain buried with their foun-
In the year 1000. when the abbey
Germains des Près was rebuilt, the
tower, which now exists, and the
, were left as before. At this portal
statues of eight kings, four on the
hand and four on the left. One of
held in his hand two scrolls, and
was written Clodomer—name so
! the other, the last on the right,
o circlet round his head as the others,
ing the belief of the person enjoying
ıl beatitude, and, instead of scrolls,
ıld a writing open, on which was
n the first and last letters of the
of Clotaire: these were—the mur-
and his victim. Let us, however,
he express testimony of some monas-
ronicles, relating to the events which
rise to their respective houses.
e monastery of Las Santas Crewses,
talonia, was founded by Peter, king
ragon, in 1152, in a spirit of penitence
is crime in having put to death the
ishop of Tarragona, for desiring the
to be borne before him as primate.
was thought," adds the historian,
crosses of fire were seen at night
the place, which gave rise to the
."*

ncerning the convent of Frauenalb,
e Black Forest, there is the following
lar tradition:—Count Erchinger in-
ed the castle of Magenheim. He
t table with Frederic, duke of Suabia,
ppressor of his vassals, when it was
unced that a stag had been seen in
orest of Stremberg. Albert de Sim-
, his nephew, rose, mounted on horse-
and set off in pursuit. Suddenly
ıet a man of a horrible aspect, who
him fear not but follow him. Albert
ed; passing a meadow, he saw an
ense castle before him, where he was
ved by a crowd of servants. Intro-
d into the hall, he found the castellan
e midst of his courtiers, who welcomed
and offered him the cup. Not a
was spoken: at a sign by his guide
outh left the hall, and mounted again.
their way the awful stranger thus
essed him: "The seigneur at table is
uncle Frederic, who has fought so
ly in the Holy Land: but he oppressed
assals. We, the counsellors and ser-
s of his despotism, suffer now the just
lty of our criminal compliance with his

* Hist. Monast. S. Laurent. Leodiens. ap. Mar-
Vet. Script. Lib. vi. 13.

tyranny, until it shall please God to pardon us. Albert, you will arrive at power. Do not imitate your uncle. Look now, for the finger of God is about to appear." Albert turned his head back, and saw the castle which he had just left in flames. In terror he returned to Magenheim, but Frederic could hardly recognise him, his beard and hair having become white. He related his adventure, and asked the permission of Erchinger to build a church in the place where the phantom had appeared; and such was the origin of the abbey of Frauenalb.

The great monastery of Fürstenfeld, in Bavaria, owed its existence to a horrible event, which is thus related:—For the sake of mutual protection against robber-castles and lawless oppressors, many states of the middle Rhine had entered into a league with princes and counts, among whom was the archduke and count palatine, Louis of Bavaria, eldest son of Otho. To discharge the personal service of the league, he left Munich, and went to his palatinate on the Rhine, leaving behind him his young wife Maria, daughter of Henry the magnanimous, duke of Brabant, whom he had lately married. For security he placed her in the fortress of Mangoldstein, near Donauwörth. Elizabeth, his sister, the queen of Jerusalem, and widow of the emperor Conrad, remained with her to partake of her solitude. With the archduke Louis went Henry von Hirschau, a wild and savage noble, but distinguished among all other knights by his strength, boldness, and address. Louis depended on him greatly, and even Maria herself prized him. Once, as he was playing at chess with her, he prayed her to allow him to address her with "Thou," as other high subjects; adding, that he would be her knight; but the countess turned away from him instantly. This circumstance is related in an old manuscript of the abbey of the holy cross at Donauwörth, composed by Beck, the prior of that house. Already had a year elapsed, and the winter was returning. The noble lady mourned for her husband, and entreated him in the tenderest style to return. She also wrote to the knight Henry to beg that he would persuade her lord to that effect, and added, that she would then grant him what he had formerly sought. Her letter to the archduke was sealed with red, that to the knight with black wax. On giving them to the messenger, she charged him not to forget the signification, as he could not

read the address; but through carelessness he gave the knight's letter to the count, who, on reading it, misconstrued the words, and fell into a horrible paroxysm of rage and jealousy. On the spot he felled the messenger to the ground, and, mounting the fleetest horses, hastened to Donauwörth. As he entered the castle, he struck down the porter who came out to him, and on the steps slew Helika von Brennberg, a noble lady of the countess, who had come to greet him. Four other maidens he flung from the battlements of the castle, and then seated himself in the great hall, commanding a boy to summon the countess. In vain did she protest her innocence, and call heaven and earth to witness it. Not even the Queen Elizabeth, who stood by, could appease that furious husband, and he caused his wife to be beheaded. This was in 1256. When reason and affection returned, his sorrow and remorse were boundless: he proposed pilgrimages and penances, and it is a popular tradition still, that in one night his hair turned grey. To Rome he went, and sought penance from the sovereign pontiff, Alexander IV. At first it was appointed that he should set out for the Holy Land with 1000 knights, but there were so many obstacles, and his presence was so necessary in Bavaria, and on the Rhine, that it was finally determined, besides other acts proclaiming penitence, he should build a monastery, and introduce the Carthusians into Bavaria: but this plan was changed for that of a Cistercian abbey, for the site of which much difficulty was encountered; so that it was not till after the third attempt in 1202 that the monks succeeded in establishing themselves; and the place obtained was in the garden of a noble knight, Eberhard, who from his castle on a hill above it used to hear at night strange sounds of workmen building, and of a heavenly music, which he took for a sign that he ought to comply, which he did accordingly, and the holy men were then established and endowed, and the place was called Fürstenfeld. Here was read the inscription,

"Conjugis innocuæ fusi monumenta cruoris
Pro culpa pretium claustra sacrata vides."

And again,

"Bojorum clarus jacit hæc fundamina princeps
In pretium culpæ conjugis innocuæ."

Archduke Lewis, the founder, died in 1294 at Heidelberg, in the very room in which he was born. He had ordered his body to be buried at Fürstenfeld, which convent, was still further enriched by his son and successor, Archduke Rudolf. Here lay buried also Anne, his second wife, daughter of Conrad, duke of Poland, and Lewis, son of the founder, who was slain in 1284 in a tournament at Norimberg.*

In the time of the blessed Hydulph, archbishop of Treves, many people were still abandoned to idolatry. The holy man, and his brother Erard, had for some time lived in a monastery of the solitude of the Vosges, when it happened that a blind daughter, who had been just born to a noble, was carried to the monastery; for her father, because she had been born blind, had given orders that she should be put to death; but the mother, having heard of his intention, sent her away by a certain old woman who was familiar with her, preferring rather to have her banished than put to death. The two holy brethren, finding out that she was the offspring of such parents, and not yet regenerated by baptism, baptizing her, called her Odilia. The chronicle records, "that she was raised from the sacred font illumined both as to her mind and body. However, in process of time, when she came to years of discretion, her brother, who remained with his father, hearing that his sister who had been born blind was restored to sight, rejoiced greatly, and sent messengers with orders that Odilia should be brought to him; which, when his father discovered, he ordered his son into his presence, and asked him how he had dared to bring back a girl who had been born blind? The son answering, that he had done it through hope of his father's benignity, the father, in a transport of rage, smote him with the staff which he carried, and killed him. When he found himself thus left without an heir, he conceived a sudden affection for his daughter Odilia. So that in course of time, in the very castle of her father, which is called Hoemborch, she built a cloister of St. Benedict, and enriched it with her own patrimony."†

Fontevrauld owed its origin to a conscience suddenly illumined by divine grace. Evrauld was a gentleman, who, in his youth, was abandoned to a profligate life,

* Jaeck Gallerie der Klöster Deutschlands. Jongelinus, Notit. Abbat. Ord. Cister. per Univers. Orbem, liv. iii. 17.

† Chronic. Senoniens. c. 14, ap. Dacher Spicileg. iii.

he led until he had expended all
h possessions, and was reduced to
ıce. In this state he became cap-
a gang of robbers, and haunted the
of this country, usually dwelling
fountain, where he constructed a
tower, from which he used to sally
and scour the highways; and no
of justice could extirpate this nest
hief. What men could not effect
owever, accomplished by God in a
gentle manner than by the sword.
the world talked of this desperate
of robbers, God inspired a famous
of Paris, a saint, and a great preacher,
de l'Aubrussel, with a strong desire
ertake their conversion. He com-
l himself to heaven, and set out for
st, where he was soon taken by the
, and led before Evrauld, who de-
ım to give up his money. "Wil-
said he: "but in return you must
your souls for God:" and therewith
ın to speak to them of the eternal
nt of God, and the shame and
of their own lives: and he succeeded
tening their consciences. Then he
that wildness into a retreat like a
radise, and built a monastery, calling
evrauld, from the fountain and the
of the convertite; and Robert re-
with them, and all the country
thither to behold this wonderful
wrought by the hand of God. A
cient manuscript of the house still
contained a prediction, however,
the course of ages this sanctuary
again fall into the hands of the
and become peopled with its old
ants.*

origin of the abbey of St. Tron, or
in the diocese of Liege, involves a
re which I long ago promised to
reader.†

ınt Eilbert, its founder, was one of
st powerful nobles and valiant war-
ı the time of the first Otho. It
ed once that this martial count was
in the place where a great fair is
the cross that stood near his castle,
nerchants and people from all sides
sort to sell and exchange their
goods. As he walked through the
he saw a horse of great power and
ble beauty, which seemed to him
ower of strength, if by any manner
ain he could procure it for himself.

ich has been literally fulfilled, as it is
ison.
Book ii. p. 277.

Now the owner of the horse was a certain clerk, born of noble parents, and a canon of the church of St. Mary the greater, at Rheims. So when the count and the clerk, with mutual affability, had held a long conversation respecting the horse, they came to an agreement that the former was to have it for a certain price; but as he had not at the time sufficient money, he went immediately to Heresinda, his most noble wife, seeking counsel from her as to what he ought to do; for on no account whatever would he allow the horse to be removed from him, saying, that by his assistance he would be able to avert all the injuries of his enemies, and escape from all wreck of fortune. So being in a great hurry to have done with the clerk, without the counsel of his noble wife, who feared the consequences which ensued, he gave the clerk a wonderful treasure, which he kept always in a strong place, saying, that on a certain day he would be able to redeem it, and pay the whole sum. This desirable treasure was composed in likeness of a beautiful collar or brooch, which had been made by St. Eligius, the venerable bishop, so admirable for his holiness, and virtue, and skill in every curious art, and it was for the use of Lothaire, king of the French. The stone was a beryl, and it contained an exquisite carving of Susanna, accused by the old judges,

"Egregiæ gentis Rex Anglicus hunc dedit illi,
Quem fore speravit gratum dans plurima gratis,
Inter quæ dantis prosit sibi portio talis."

To be brief. The appointed day arrived in which the count was to redeem his pledge, but the other declared himself ignorant of any such agreement, and that he had never so understood the count. Grievously vexed, and full of anger and sorrow, the count returned home, and collected a multitude of his neighbours, and exposed the execrable machination of the seller, and asked their advice as to how he should proceed to avert this misfortune, which would be an irreparable loss to him. By general consent there was made an assembly of all his brothers, and friends, and knights, and a crowd of armed people, and they moved hastily to the city of Rheims, and besieged it, and took it; and having set spies, they discovered the said clerk flying to the greater church, which they surrounded, and not finding him within, they set fire to the whole place, upon which, the criminal issued forth, and then he was seized, and the treasure was found in his breast, and so it was restored

to the count. News of this event reaching the king's ears, the court immediately was highly indignant, and a large army, commanded by the king in person, marched to revenge this execrable outrage; but after a desperate battle, the king's force was defeated, and the king Charles himself taken prisoner by Count Eilbert, and loaded with chains for many days, till at length, mutual pledges of peace being given, the king was delivered, and with great honours, as became the royal dignity, escorted to his home, and that desirable treasure remained for ever after inviolably with Count Eilbert. However, divine love afterwards distinguished this count; so that partly through compunction for this sacrilege, and because he had formerly built seven castles, in order that he might remedy these structures of malediction by the antidote of blessing, he resolved to found seven churches, and this was the origin of the monastery of Vasor, in the year 944. It was built in the midst of a forest, which was uninhabited, excepting that the house of the count was concealed in it. To prepare for building this church, he had the wood cut down which surrounded his house, and the place rendered agreeable and wholesome. Then close to his house he constructed the church, with useful habitations for the monks; and after three years the monastery was finished, the church was dedicated to St. Patrick, and the count gave to it his feudal inheritance. Then that famous treasure, which was the cause of all the sedition and controversy, was given by him to the monks, whom he charged to keep it safely for ever. And at the end of twenty-three years, archbishop Forannan, from the parts of Ireland, by angelic order, leaving his native soil, came with twelve companions to this valley, and the count met him, and conducted him to the monastery with great honour; and the count procured that the man of God should be made abbot; and the king having investigated his sanctity, commended himself to his prayers, and gave his abbey an exemption from royal decrees: and the man of God named the place Vallem-decoram, which became Valciodorum, and thence Vasor.*

I have said that other monasteries owed their origin to grief, and of these we might also give many instances. At Tagernsee, in Bavaria, the Benedictine abbey was founded by two brothers, princely Adalbert and Ottokar, in the Pepin. Afflicted with a domestic they renounced the world, and fou house, which, in the eleventh cent tained two hundred monks, who great unity and peace.* Tassilo, Bavaria, founded the abbey of munster, in the year 787, in a fore his only son had been slain by a w which he was hunting: so the having lost his heir, made Christ and provided in it for monks of t of St. Benedict.†

In 1134, there was, in that Westphalia which adjoins the archb of Cologne, a castle called Wolmu inhabited by noblemen who poss the surrounding country, and wer the lords of Wolmundstein. One Gerwick by name, a bold and youth, set out to visit the halls most celebrated princes, in order the friendship of the most excelle and to see both the cities and ma different people. Arriving in Ba met there with a youth bold and like himself, the young Theobald, of Vohenburg, on the Danube, wh castle half-way between Ingolst Ratisbon with whom he soon f close friendship. When this mar that the manners and knightly the stranger agreed with his own married and having children, yet, desire of seeing strange countries changed right hands with Gerwi the two youths swore an indissolubl ship. Soon after, they set out t with one heart, to visit the cour princes, to assist at the tournament were held, and to make trial of th tude and valour. It happened a these solemnities, that the two coming into collision, and rushing each other with all their strength, happened to strike Theobald suc rible blow, that, breaking his hel beheld the red drops flowing fr almost deadly wound which he flicted on his friend. Gerwick, gr moved at this event, resolved in f renounce chivalry, and to go into v exile, abandoning for ever all the pom pleasures of the world. The wound quis, after a short space, began

* Chronic. Abbat. S. Trudonis, liv. 1, ap. Dacher. Spicileg. vii. 366.

* Jaeck Gallerie der Klöster Deutchl

† Senat. Dialog. Historic. Martini Abb orum Viennæ ap. Pez. Script. Rer. Aust

is wife and children, and to hear oice of God as if present,—so true is word of Isaiah, that "vexation gives igence." So the two friends sepa- . Gerwick, having disposed the affairs s house, renounced the world, and ne a monk at Sigeberg, not far from ne; and the marquis, being moved is calamity, since he could not re- ce the world as his friend had done, n order to promote the work of God, ed it his duty to found an abbey, ı he accordingly did, on the river n, some miles from Ratisbon, which ed by the people the abbey of Reichen- conspicuous at present for the beauty s buildings and the fervour of its on. After some years, Gerwick, on nt of his singular urbanity and gen- ss, having the charge of receiving gers in his abbey of Sigeberg, it ened that the Lord Chuno, the elect p of Ratisbon, returning from the rsity of Paris, was received there to tality, and was so much struck with ıodesty and virtue, that he persuaded ɔbot to permit him to accompany him atisbon: thus was he compelled by ence to go with the bishop. After his d, having obtained the bishop's per- on, he began to look about for a proper to construct a monastery; and, pene- ıg into a thick wood, alone pervious nters, at a spot which the people now Kolergrun, having cut down some he and his companions began to a small house, when, lo! the Mar- Theobald came out from his castle of to hunt, and seeing his trees cut, a house erected, in that retreat of beasts, he became furious, and asked ad dared to do this. The brethren, embling, began to relate their inten- and Gerwick presented himself, and the story of his life. So when the e heard him, discovering that this ger was the noble youth of Wolmund- once so close to him in friendship, he g from his horse in a transport of nd embraced him, showing him the of the wound he had given him, and ng him be of good courage, for that uld assist him in his design. So he him as much of the wood as was neces- and then stones were brought; and, g a little fishy brook,—the Vander- —they built the monastery on its ; and there these lovers of the desert solitude sat down, and thence the was called Waldsassen, or the place of sitting in the woods. St. Bernard supplied them with monks from Cisteaux. At this time, Adelheydin, daughter of Theobald by his first wife, the lady Adelheyde, duchess of Poland, was married to the Emperor Frederick Barbarossa, in the town of Egra, in presence of many ecclesiastical and secular princes of Germany; and the marriage being celebrated, the emperor came with all his train to assist at the consecration of the church of the new abbey, by Chuno, bishop of Ratisbon.*

Some monasteries owed their origin to a sudden inspiration arising from events that seemed fortuitous and trivial: as when a stag being pursued by the king's hounds through a desert in Provence, and having taken refuge in the cave of St. Ægidius, a holy hermit, the king was moved to construct a monastery over the cave. It was while taking a repast under the boughs, after hunting in the forests on the Mount Castellio, that Count Wolfandus was moved to select a spot for the site of a foundation, which he had vowed to make when on a pilgrimage some time before to Mount Garganus, in Apulia. The origin of the abbey of Bonport, near the Pont de l'Arche, three leagues from Rouen, in the diocese of Evreux, was a hunting adventure. Richard I., king of England, while hunting a stag, was carried by his impetuous horse so far into the Seine, that he was in danger of perishing; and in that moment, while in the midst of the water, he made a vow to God to build an abbey on whatever spot his horse would first make land. This vow he fulfilled in 1190, and he endowed the abbey with noble fiefs and baronies.†

But, leaving instances of this kind, let us take a few examples of the last and most ordinary source from which monasteries arose, which was simply the peaceful inspiration of a devout heart; and we shall find that, even when they had no other origin but sanctity, or conversion to it, there were often circumstances which imparted a no less lively interest to the first pages of their history.

St. Bernard, when in Brabant, for the sake of preaching, had promised to send some monks to establish a convent in that country. Accordingly, on his return to Clairvaux, he selected twelve monks, with another for their abbot, and five novices, and, giving them his blessing, dismissed

* Notitiæ Abbat. Ord. Cisterciens. per univ. Orbem, Lib. iii. 5.

† Hist. of Evreux, 161.

them. After the octaves of Easter, these men, going out of Clairvaux, descended the valley. Upon reaching the country of Brabant, the first night they were lodged in a private house, with an honest man who had no heir. After supper, having sung complins, the abbot and his monks retired to bed in profound silence; and, after some rest, rising up, they chanted vigils in their austere tone: which these men with whom they were lodged hearing, they were filled with compunction for their sins, and gave themselves up into their hands, and that place is called Seingontrahun to this day. Then they continued their journey, and, at length, rested at the fountain of Goddiarch,—and in these times all that region was uncultivated, and covered with forests,—there they built a monastery, in the second year of the pontificate of pope Eugene III., and in the fourth of the reign of Godfrey III., duke of Brabant.*

The abbey of Maceirada, in the diocese of Coimbra, owed its origin to Albarac, the Sarassin. This Mahometan and warrior, from being a most bitter enemy of the Church, became a pious Christian, and an humble anachorite. In the year 1139, he withdrew into that vast solitude, where he constructed an oratory, and, finally, assumed the Benedictine habit, with a few brethren, whose cells became the monastery on which Alphonso I., king of Portugal, conferred so many privileges.†

In 1118, Gundramnus, a buffoon, renouncing earthly vanities, chose to lead an eremitical life in the wood of Public-Mount; and, because the place was dangerous, in order to exercise hospitality he laid the foundations of a church and convent, and the bear which he used to lead about drew the stones for it. The people of Liege flocked to admire the bear drawing the stones; and some of them, divinely struck, left the world, and began to lead a regular life here. The place was consecrated under the invocation of St. Giles; and Peter of Liege was the first prior.‡

In the forest of Aronaise, there was a spot called the Trunk of Berenger, deriving its name from the trunk of a tree, in which was supposed to be the dead body of Berenger, a famous robber, who had long infested the forest, which tree, the robbers who succeeded him, used to pretend to consult, in order to know what ransom they should require from their prisoners. The monastery which was built on this spot, in the eleventh century, owed its origin to the blessed Heldemare, who, in 1099, after leading an eremetical life with two others in that forest, founded it there.*

Let us hear now a very ancient document connected with the history of the Black Forest. "There was a certain noble widow, named Helisena, of the Calba, who, finding that God had refused to give her an heir, besought him fervently to make known to her in what manner she could employ her possessions so as to glorify his name most. One night she heard a voice in a dream, saying, 'Helisena, God hath heard your prayer: lo! examine this plain on which are three pine trees lying across one trunk; on that spot build a church in which the name of God may be honoured and his worship observed.' The dream was so distinct, that it was as if she had seen the spot. In the morning, putting on a silk robe, as in festal attire, in honour of God, and taking with her a maiden and two servants, she walked forth as if to enjoy the sweet air; and after ascending a certain mountain, she found a plain on the top of it, to which three pines, lying across one trunk, gave a certain sylvan beauty. She burst into tears at the sight, and taking off part of her silken attire, placed it on the ground near the pines, to denote that she took possession of the spot for the praise and honour of God; and then returning home to her family, she called together all her friends, with Evrard and Leupold, noble servants, who then governed the town of Calba, and also the first magistrate, and made known to them her intention, and asked if they would give her possession of the ground for ever; and they said that they would give her not only the ground, but also the trees, and all the fields adjoining. Then Helisena laid aside her silken robe, her ring, and her jewels, and placed them in the chapel of St. Nicholas, promising that thenceforth she would wear them no more; and in three years the church was finished, and she built a convent adjoining it for four persons, who should serve it, abstracted from the world, and having sufficient maintenance, that they might praise God there continually. To this church soon flowed a vast multitude daily; and then, after the completion of these things, the noble widow

* Historia Monast. Villariensis, Lib. i. ap. Martene, Thesaur. Anecd. iii.

† Notit. Abb. Ord. Cister. Lib. vi. 34.

‡ Hist. Monast. St. Laurent. Leodiens. ap. Martene, Vet. Script. Lib. iv. p. 1081.

* Longueval. Hist. de l'Eglise Gal. viii. 118.

l was buried at Tubigen, and I.
ne notary of Evrard and Leupold,
ent, at this act, in the year 645.*
hapel of St. Nazarius, on the top
ountain, gave rise to the monas-
irschau, when Count Erlafrid, in
century, brought to it the body
urelius from Italy. Trithemius
know this story, which was first
d in the archives of Spires, in
he history of the second founda-
is celebrated abbey involves some
g details, which are thus related:
O, Pope St. Leo IX., at the prayer
mperor Henry, coming into Ger-
hold councils, and establish peace,
side from his road a little to visit
ew Adelbert, count of Calba, lineal
nt of the Count Erlafrid, who had
the monastery of St. Aurelius at
, and his devout wife Wiltrude;
ount's mother, daughter of the
Egisheim, was the pope's sister.
ng at his castle of Calba, lest he
eem to enter his nephew's house
ty hands, he delivered, according
stom, words of holy preaching,
ured to raise the minds of all
e of God. Next day the pontiff
t went forth to take a walk of
n. and on arriving at the summit
in hill, they sat down, when the
d, "This spot, dear nephew, sur-
with mountains, refreshed with
and yielding the solitude of woods,
ll adapted for a habitation of ser-
God who might adore him day
ht. Truly it is a pity if there
ot be a house of religion in this
olitude." To whom Adelbert re-
Holy father, in sooth, there was
in days of yore, such a house,
by one of my ancestors, as I have
rd my father say, of which the
ng persevered in great sanctity,
length, miserably declining from
ur of holy religion, and losing all
goods, and being often admo-
y my grandfather, they despised
ary counsels, and hardened their
ill, at length, God so ordaining, in
take away the scandal, their tem-
ds were wasted, so that all either
moved elsewhere, in quest of bet-
g, and none were left." At hear-
the pope groaned, and said, "Who
esses the goods of that monastery?"
nt answered, that he could not tell,

erti Historia Nigræ Silvæ, tom. i. 46.

as he never knew what they had been. Then the pope understood the mystery, but said nothing. Afterwards he went alone secretly to the spot designated, and found there an old clerk, Bertold, who told him that he had known the holy monks, who all persevered to the end in a devout life, and then, under oath of secrecy, he revealed the fact, which was, that Count Adelbert's grandfather had destroyed the monastery through avarice. The pope then set labourers to work, who discovered the body of the saint, and then, on pain of refusing absolution, he obliged the count to restore the property, and the monastery was rebuilt, and entered upon in 1066.*

The origin of the monastery of Windberg is thus related by its founder, in a charter written in 1167. "Be it known to all the faithful, present and future, that I, Wintth, built a church in the place which has its name from me; for I came from Saxony to the said place, being the first who inhabited it, and hence it is called from me Windberg; for I slept in the said place, and I saw in a dream an eagle flying, and with the flap of its wings the earth was shaken; and it came to me and touched me with its plumes, saying, Rise up, and go to the great river, and you will meet travellers, and ask of them which of their number is called Wintth: he will be your co-operator. I did as it ordered, for I asked him first from what land and family he was sprung; and he answered, that he came from Saxony with the army of King Lewis, adding, that the Huns had led him away: and further I asked, Who is your mother? and he replied, my mother was called Sophia. Then rushing on his neck, I embraced him, weeping for joy, for I knew from the relation of my mother that he was my brother; for I was born after he had been carried off from us, and I had the same name, because of the love which my mother bore to him. Then I opened my heart to him, and disclosed my intention of building a monastery in honour of our Lord Jesus Christ, and of the blessed Virgin Mary, and of all the saints: and by our sinful hands the relics of saints were carried to it and enclosed within an altar in presence of Azeline the priest."†

It would be long to tell of the religious houses which owed their origin merely to the piety of devout Christians, moved at

* Trithem. in Chronic. Hirsaugiensis.

† Relatio de Origine Monast. Windbergensis, ap. Canisii Lectiones Antiq. tom. iii.

the peaceful seclusion of particular spots, as when Ela, countess of Salisbury, widow of William Longsword, built a monastery for Carthusians in her park, at Henton, in Somersetshire,* and Gauthier, count of Brienne, founded in 1143, the abbey of Basse-Fontaine, on the skirts of the wood of Brienne, near a beautiful fountain, which he had remarked while hunting. He, in consequence, invited the monks of Beaulieu thither, as being a part of the forest nearer to him than Beaulieu; and besides constructing the monastery, he made them add a chapel towards the north of these woods, where he might hear mass before going to hunt. In conclusion, we may remark, that these pious men, in fixing upon the site for their religious foundations, were very often unconsciously determining that of towns and cities, which were the final result, so that they might have used the words of Virgil with as much truth in regard to the first as to the second part of the line,

"Hic locus urbis erit, requies ea certa laborum."

Raban Maur, when increasing the number of cells round Fulda, which he built on different farms and at various oratories, supplying them with monks, from the abbey, was thus founding towns which derived their names from his religious foundation. Abracell was called from Abraham, a monk of Fulda, Arzell from the monk Aezzo, Edelcell from Edeling, who lived under the Abbot Egbert in 1049, Kerzell from Kero in the tenth century, Aichezell from Haicho of Fulda, Henzell from Haking of the same

* Tanner, Notitia Monastica.

abbey in 826, Mackenzell from M
the ninth century, Sarkewzell from
in 770, and so elsewhere.* In th
century Malines was only a colle
some poor huts round a monaste
had been built where St. Rombaud
martyrdom in 775. The origin of
traced to two monasteries which
formed by St. Amand, in the seve
tury, out of two castles; that of Du
to a priory in the Dunes, built by S
round which some fishermen rais
cabins. The town of St. Claudio, in
grew out of some houses built for
vants of the Cistercian abbey there,
they paid every year a fowl in tok
right. At St. Germain there wa
monastery in a forest; then arose
which became a royal residence, an
a town was the result. There is
tion of Pacta in Sicily, surnamed t
nanimous city, before the year 109
count Roger I. built there a noble
tery, and associated it to another
at Lipara.† Similarly the wooden
chapel erected by St. Columban, at
on the river Trevia, which Arlulphu
with stone, gave rise to a town w
Henry, the emperor, raised to an e
city.‡ But here break we off; f
are arrived

"Avete solitudinis,
Claustrique mites incolæ."§

* Schannat. Historia Fuldensis, P. i.
† Sicilia Sacra, ii. 770.
‡ Italia Sacra, iv. 925.
§ First lines of the hymn for vespe
feast of all the saints of the Benedict
13th Novemb.

CHAPTER VI.

que domum nostram veniens intrabis amicus
Ante tuos oculos aspice signa crucis."

SUCH characters over the portal's arch were read inscribed of the monastery of St. Peter, at Salzburg, in the ninth century.* "Christus nobiscum," are the words i first meet the eye on entering the er of St. Dominic, at Bologna. Pierced s with arms crossed and supporting a are the brief affecting symbol over the of many cloisters, to express what is most in the thoughts of those who within them. In the porch of the chin convent, on the mountain which over Turin, I saw inscribed "A sonnet ie love of Jesus Christ." Over a congate in Alessandria I read these words, lucam eos in montem sanctum meum, et cabo eos in domo orationis meæ." But ates of the house of peace, to which you mount by a steep or woody track which s on each side the stages of Christ's on, have a voice even without inscrip-

How many thoughts spring up at ight of one of these pacific fortresses, a have calmed so many passions, and cted so many lives! Who is not moved ie sight of that portal of St. Denis, nument of liberty," as a French his- a styles it, having been erected with 200 livres given to the Lord Abbot r, by the people for their exemption,— arriving at that small humble wicket e Capuchins, at which, a wooden cross ves the hand that is to sound the bell, orn and polished by the poor man's , (for the rich seldom pass this thresh- or at beholding that curious old archturreted in the ivy-mantled lonely wall, ed by tall solemn trees, like that which to the ruined priory of Dover, or to abbey of St. Martin d'Auchy, on the nes of Normandy and Amboise? These for the poor, that window for the dole, rt no hard meaning. But let us enter, suppose, as the poet says, that

* Germania Sacra, ii. 118.

"The arched cloisters, far and wide,
Ring to the warrior's clanking stride."

It enters into the heroic character to admire the beauty of the monastic buildings, and to examine with awe and inquisitive attention the grandeur of their stately windbraving towers. Homer represents Telemachus and his companions as filled with astonishment at the magnificence of the house of Menelaus. Their first care is to explore it, nor is it till they have delighted their eyes with seeing all its treasures that they accept food and drink. No pilgrim of the same mould, at Cluny or at Clairvaux, would shrink from indulging in such curiosity, or, after viewing all, would be ashamed to express the like amaze, and cry out *σέβας μ' ἔχει εἰσορόωντα.*

"Architects are melancholy," says Cardan.* He had in view, no doubt, the immense and solemn structures of the monks, which, in fact, indicate the prevalence of grave, albeit of those versatile and ingenious minds, of which the expression might be St. Augustin's words, alluding to a future life, "in ea spe gaudeo quando sanè gaudeo;" for all their parts are made to announce or recommend that path of noble love, by following which, as Michael Angelo says, "we shall pass without danger through the narrow and fearful valley of the grave, beyond which is the only hope of felicity." The monks, indeed, if we admit Cardan's principle, were inclined to melancholy, not alone in their capacity of architects, but also in consequence of their genius as painters; for "painting," he adds, "weaving tapestry, and generally all employments in the arts make men melancholy." Behold the religious houses which date from ages of faith, walk round their courts and cloisters, and gardens, and you will find that the very walls viewed from without or from within, dispose the mind to a kind of solemn peace, and the gravity of devout contemplation, reviving dreams treasured up from early days, the holy and the tender. Many of them, con-

* Hier. Card. De Utilitate ex Advers. Cap. Lib. iii. c. 4.

nected as they are, with the lives of the holy men, had so divine a character, that one may say in the words of Leander Albertus, speaking of Loretto, "Besides the most weighty testimony to prove the truth of the record or tradition respecting them, there is no one so hard of heart, or so wicked, but on entering is softened and moved to honour the place, by a certain celestial power and instinct, and to pray for pardon of his sins to Jesus Christ."* "I shall only mention one thing as to my travels," says St. Charles Borromeo, writing to his cousin the Cardinal-Prince of Hohen-Embs, in 1576, "I have visited Einsiedelin, which is two days' journey from mount St. Gothard, and after the house of the holy family I do not know a spot where my soul has been more inflamed with pious ardour than there." In the greater monastery at Milan were two ancient towers, beneath one of which was the prison in which the holy martyrs Gervase, Protasius, Victor, Nabor, Felix, and others were confined, relative to whom some old paintings are still discernible. Even when such influence is wanting, "say, does aught meet your view more fit to animate the poet's pen, aught that more surely by its aspect fills pure minds with sinless envy, than the abode of the good monks, who, faithful through all hours to their high charge, and truly serving God, have yet hearts and hands for trees and flowers, enjoy the walks their predecessors trod, nor covet lineal rights in lands and towers?" Hence the poet wishes that he

> "——— ———may never fail
> To walk the studious cloister's pale,
> And love the high-embowed roof,
> With antique pillars, massy roof."

"The buildings of the monks in the middle ages appear at present," says a French writer, "to have been sufficient for the relief of a population ten times greater than it was." We have already seen how they were spread over every country. Now let us remark their immensity. The buildings of Cluny were so extensive that five or six princes might have been lodged there with all their retinue. During the council of Constance, the pope, the emperor, and the king of France, with their respective courts, to the number of more than 200 persons, lodged there without causing any of the monks to be displaced. The church commenced by St. Hugues VI. at the expense of Alphonso VI. king of Castile, his

* Descript. Italiæ, 428.

intimate friend, was the grande
world after St. Peter's, at Rou
church of the abbey of Vezelay su
length that of Nôtre-Dame, at P
the sumptuous abbey of Corby, in
Martene says, that three princes
suites can be lodged without incon
The portal built in the time of S
still existed. Adjoining the Cha
Bourg-Fontaine, in the forest o
Cotterêt, was a palace built by th
Charles de Valois, king of Fran
had a tribune opening into th
where he could assist at the divi
but he would suffer no one of th
enter the cloister. At the vast c
the Escurial, when the king an
monks retire to the west and sou
yielding up the principal cells to
family, and no inconvenience
them. The abbey of St. Medard, at
was a town in itself. Besides
basilica of the Trinity and that of S
there were within the walls fo
churches; and this was not unusu
early as the sixth century there w
times many churches in one mon
Mabillon remarks. There were b
St. Medard's, the royal palace fo
peror, and the abbatial palace, th
of its 400 monks, and buildings to
guests and servants of the abbe
alone were immense, as were also
structions for the school, and for
ent offices all which were crowned
towers. At the abbey of Stavelo
forest of Ardenne, the tower ro
elevation of 300 feet. When the
St. Gall was burnt down in 1314
churches and chapels, thirty b
melted.* The greatest and most ha
bell in all England was that called
in the abbey of Crowland.† Wh
have been to hear its swelling to
the vast watery desert which surro
abbey? The prodigious substru
these edifices from the tenth and
centuries are now an astonishm
learn from Giraldus Cambrensis,
stones used in the foundation of Pet
abbey church were so large, that e
could scarcely move one of them.
we may form some idea of the s
one of these buildings. The wa
Cork convent at Cintra, compose
stones, of seven or eight hund
weight each, seem as if the work

* Ildefons Von Arx, ii. 9.
† Hist. Ingulphi.

in the poorest monasteries the best ials were employed. Lupus, abbot errers, writes to Ædilculf, king of the ish, to beg assistance from him in a of distress, as he is about to cover his h with lead.* The abbey of Luxeuil, h much diminished in extent when Martene visited it in 1708, was still nse, and had two churches enclosed.† of Soliguac, in the Limousin, founded t. Eloy, was in the form of a circle. ere are so many remarkable things," this father, "in the abbey of Clairvaux, one always finds in it something new time one visits it. We saw the ancient factories of the lay brothers and the ries, which are admirable." This partly ins the prodigious extent of many steries, which were constructed so as ntain every thing necessary within their Thus "many hundred persons were ed in various capacities to the abbey Gall, some of whom lived within it, a intus, as artisans, millers, bakers, s, carpenters, glass-blowers, brewers, erds, swineherds, boat-builders, and who transported the goods of the abbey the lake of Constance: others lived ut the abbey, familia foris, young men naidens, who assisted by day at diffe- works, being bound in compensation nt by their parents' obligation to re- to the abbey court, or to its nearest ard, three days every week, and give labour."‡ "From the year 820 to 920, all," says its historian, "was a well- ited house. Besides 105 monks and converse brethren, there were many nts and beneficed persons who resided i it. The provisions for feeding such munity were commensurate. There n oven in which a thousand loaves were at a time. For making beer there malt-kiln for 100 measures of barley. were so many mills, that every year ew mill-stones were required to put in of those that were past use. There botanical garden also, to furnish medi- for the sick, and a hostel for travellers, was built within the walls. The abbey rrounded with workshops, hostelry ngs, and stabling. The circuit filled ole valley from one hill to the other, t not only the houses which the set- ad built for themselves, but also St. en's church stood within the enclo- f the abbey."§ At. St. Riquier, the garden adjoins the south side of the abbey. It is very extensive and surrounded with a wall sixty feet high, and so thick that there is a walk on the summit. The fruit-trees all date from the time of the monks. One pear-tree, the wonder of the whole country, is said to be 200 or 300 years old. The vast stem is quite flattened to the wall, and its branches spread out like a fan to a prodigious extent on every side. The gardener told me it is always loaded with the finest fruit, with which, indeed, the whole ground was then strewed. Nothing can be more picturesque than the view, from this garden, of the long corridors and ruined cloisters, still profusely adorned with images of saints. In most monasteries all the offices were within the walls; for the monks performed every thing for themselves. St. Benedict and the synod of Aix-la-Chapelle, in 817, require expressly that the bake-house should be within them. The bread in the ancient monasteries was baked twice, and often kept so long that it was necessary to break and pulverize it with a mallet.* The Carthusians in Paris, and the monks of the abbey of St. Martin-des-Champs, had contrivances for grinding corn and making better bread, which excited great attention. In 817, it was also required that there should be enclosures set apart for culinary herbs, in the sowing of which, we may remark, the monks observed no lunar superstitions, though Le Grand d'Aussy says, that such preliminaries were prescribed by common cultivators as indispensable.† Among the officers of the monastery of Bobbio, in the year 835, we find cited, "the master carpenter, the keeper of the vineyards, the keeper of the orchard.‡ The swineherd of the abbey was another Eumæus; and Homer does not disdain to tell us how many swine he had to look after: though he does not add what so many convertites in the middle ages learned from experience, that his occupation was a toilsome one; for as John de Brie found when he had to drive them to the fields and forests, and back again in the evening, 'ce sont de rudes bestes et de maulvaise discipline,' and often he did not know whether he had not lost some of them, so that the task was grievous and almost intolerable to him."§ Some of the *ἔθνεα χοίρων*, then, as Homer calls them, were generally found at the monastery, where their presence was very necessary; for pork was used in dressing vegetables by

pi Epist. 13. † Voyage Lit.
efons. Von Arx. Geschichte der S. Gallen,
§ Ib. i. 128.

* Le Grand d'Aussy, Hist. de la Vie privée des François I. 102. † Id. i. 196.
‡ Murat. Antiq. It. lxv.
§ Le Vray Régime des Bergers, i.

the most austere communities.* Ducange cites an ancient inventory of the abbey of St. Remy, at Rheims, stating that it possessed 415 swine. There is a letter of Mappinius, archbishop of Rheims, to Villicus, bishop of Metz, in the sixth century, solely written to ask the price of swine. These were often a royal donation to monasteries. There are many charters in which the French kings permit certain abbeys to feed their swine in the royal forests. The council of Paris, in 1092, authorised the monks of Compiegne to send their swine into that forest, and forbad any seigneur to ask a tax in compensation. Roger, earl of Shrewsbury, gives to the monks of Ouches for ever the right of pasture for their swine, in all his forests. The annals of Corby, in Saxony, do not disdain to notice, that in 905, there was a dysentery among the swine, which destroyed nearly all of them; and the annals of Ulster record as the first achievement of the Danes in Ireland, the drowning of all the swine belonging to the abbot of Rechran. Lodging for the herdsman and his flocks added, therefore, to the mass of buildings round the cloister. At the abbey of Froidmont, three leagues from Beauvais, the hundred lay-brothers attended so much to this branch of industry, that in the one year of 1230 they sold 7000 fleeces.†

In abbeys must be sought the origin of the Artesian wells.‡ St. Bernard's well, in the abbey of Clairmarais, dug in 1172, is one of the deepest in France. The most ancient known, which dates from 1126, is in the Carthusian monastery at Lillers. But leaving the lower courts, let us repair to the main buildings. These were not carelessly constructed in a day, like modern works. We learn from Orderic Vitalis that eighty years were spent in building the noble abbey of St. Ouen, at Rouen.§ In 1306, Marguerite, second wife of Edward I., and sister of Philip, king of France, began to build the choir of the Franciscan church in London, but died before completing it and was buried there. The nave of the church was begun by John de Briten, earl of Richmond, and completed by Margaret, countess of Pembroke, Gilbert Clare, earl of Gloucester, and his two sisters, Helena de Spencer, and Elizabeth de Burgh. Twenty years elapsed before the church was finished.‖ In general, the monks were their own architects. All the magnificent buildi abbey of St. Gall, in the ninth were constructed by the monks th Tutilo, the learned philosopher, t and musician, was above all emine skill in the art of building. Isen was also a priest, was an excellent and Ratger equally serviceable a cutter. One of their contemporaries that "men can judge of their looking at the church and m "Clearly it appears," he says, " nest what kind of birds inhabit the basilica and the cloister of the m and you will not wonder at what I The church was begun in 830, an in five years. The present edif Grande Chartreuse was built by D son, prior of the order, and anot who was the architect. It is re circumstance attending the buildi vast church of the abbey of St. Vignes, at Soissons, that when towers were completed, both of the pieces of Gothic architecture for and durability, the abbot, Nico homme, mounted to the summit i place the cross on the spire wi hands, which was at an elevatic feet.† When Herluin, the found of Danish race, who had been a knight and favourite of Duke R moved, at the age of thirty-seve nounce the world, was building of Bonneville, William of Jumi "that he worked at it himself like labourer, carrying the stones, lime, on his shoulders. The mo he had once been in his proud more humble was he now, and support all kinds of fatigue for t God."‡ When Radeboton, so count of Altenbourg, proposed to abbey of Muri, he applied to Emb of Einsiedlen, for an architect, who Reginbold and some other monk monks were, however, often assiste works by the confraternity of build some suppose was first established tres. When a deputation from it was a wondrous spectacle, we a see knights and barons tied to ca a spirit of penance drawing lime, stones. Haimon, abbot of St. Digues, in Normandy, in a letter to of a convent in England, in 1145,

* Le Grand d'Aussy, i. 310.
† Voyage Lit. de deux Bén.
‡ Annuaire des Longitudes, 1835.
§ Hist. Lib. xiii.
‖ Wadding, An. Min. tom. vi.

* Epist. Ermenrici in Analectis Ma
† Hist. de Soissons, ii. 355. ‡
§ Chronique d'Einsidlen, 17.

l with which rich and powerful nobles ook to transport the materials like n labourers. He adds, "that during ht tapers used to be fastened on the nd that men used to watch, chanting and canticles." Many of these s were formed into one at Strasbourg, O, by Dotzinger, architect of the al. There was a general assembly : lodges at Ratisbon, in 1459, where ere made for the admission of appren- mpanions, and masters, and secret ere adopted for mutual recognition. sociation was confirmed by the Ger- perors.

ing evinces more remarkably the f these ages than the custom of the residing in fortified castles, and ks in cloisters, of which the gates en, defended only by faith. How- is order was not wholly uniform, e may be occasionally surprised on some monasteries, even in desert ortified like castles. The old monas- ndeed, being built exactly on the a Roman house, which, in the last as always fortified, easily admitted ce; but a little reflection will soon the difficulty The fact is so. The f Mount-Cassino was fortified with nd towers by the abbot, Bertharius, fear of the Sarassins.* By a draw- you still enter the monastery of Ferrata, which resembles a castle the wooded hill. Others seem by ortified. Thus the abbey of Squillaci g by its position, on a lofty crest, led by rocks on all sides, between rs which surround it, to which cir- ce it owed its preservation from the which befel Calabria, in 650, when vaged by the Moors.† The great ower of the abbey of St. Germain- s, which was built in the time of agne, contributed to save that house e monk, Abbon, defended it against mans. The abbey of St. Medard, ons, was fortified with ditches and wers by Eudes, count of Paris and Neustria, through fear of the Danes.‡ times Charles V. having declared inst the English in 1368, obliged abbot of that monastery, to fortify alls, and ditches, and towers, lest y should take possession of it and ttack Paris.§ However, when for the security of the country it was necessary that a monastery should be fortified, the consent of the bishop of the diocese was indispensable.*

These houses of peace, therefore, bore marks of having sustained many perils, many injuries. Perhaps, at this moment, as they stand before us, all is stillness round them, and we suppose that their aerial towers and massive walls can have only had to endure for centuries the wasting breeze which has worn the pillar's carving and mouldered in his niche the saint, and rounded with consuming power the pointed angels of each turret; but these abbeys, like veterans, worn and unsubdued through so many ages, tempest-beaten, and shone upon by the pale and humid lustre of the moon throughout the silent night, have suffered from every kind of fierce destructive agency; they have been alternately exposed to the hostile rage of Sarassins and Danes, of Huns and Normans, of Protestants and the Blackbands, of the Jacobins and Constitutionalists of the present day. In France, during ages of faith, they were often pillaged and burnt by the Normans; in England and Ireland by the Danes; in Spain by the Moors; in Germany by the Huns; in Italy by the Langobards, Sarassins, and Huns; in Sicily by the Sarassins, whose cruelties to the monks there are related in the affecting letter of the Benedictines of the monastery of St. Placidus, at Messana, to Pope Vitelianus, in the year 669, as given by Leo of Ostia.† The abbey of Mount-Cassino was pillaged by the Lombards in 589, and burnt by the Sarassins in 884. The abbey of St. Sylvester, at Nonantula, was burnt by the Huns in 900, and not restored till nine years had elapsed.‡ "Seven times," says a monk relating the various fortunes of his own monastery, "was this holy place violated by perfidious Christians, or by pagans. First, by Christians amidst intestine wars; another time by the Vandals; a third time by the Sarassins in 831; a fourth time by the private rapacity of a certain woman in the reign of Pepin, father of Charlemagne; the fifth time by the Normans, which was desolatio desolationum; the sixth and seventh times by the Huns."§ "When the Danish pirates, under Hastings and Rollo, ravaged Neustria, destroying a great number of remarkable convents, the

Cassinens. c. 33.
Sacra, ix. 422. ‡ Hist. de Soissons.
lart, Hist. de l'Abbaye de S. Ger.-des-

* Hurter Geschichte, tom. iii. b. ii. 30.
† Sicilia Sacra, ii. 379.
‡ Notit. Abb. Ord. Cister. vii. 75.
§ Chronicon Besuense apud Dacher. Spicileg. tom. i.

monks fled to caverns and woods, or escaped to other countries, carrying with them the bones of their fathers and the writings which recorded their lives, as also the charters and title-deeds of their respective churches. It was then that Haspres, near Cambrai, became enriched with the bodies of St. Hugues, of St. Aichadre and Ghent, in Flanders, with those of St. Wandrille, St. Ansbert, and St. Vulfran."* "I should fill a volume," says Eckehard IV., alluding to the Huns, "if I were to relate all that our monks suffered from the Sarassins. The injury which they did to St. Gall, Pfeffers, and Coire, was immense. We could neither make use of the mountains nor cultivate the plains. They were so bold that they came down from Bärneck on St. Gall, and shot arrows at the procession which was making round the place. Affairs became so desperate, that the Abbot Burkard, after his pilgrimage to Rome with the Emperor Otho I., in 963, was no longer able to nourish the monks, so that he was obliged to give them permission to provide for themselves as well as they could." In the abbey of Morbac, Dom Martene found the tombs of seven monks, martyrs, who had been massacred by the Huns.† Ingulphus is so particular in his account of the massacre at Crowland, when the Danes burst into the church, that he mentions the names of all the persons occupied at that moment in the celebration of mass. Theodore, the lord abbot, himself was celebrating; brother Elfgetus as deacon, and brother Savinus as sub-deacon, ministered; and brothers Egelredus and Ulricus were the boys who bore the lights. Eighty-four monks were butchered, some of them past their hundredth year. When the sub-prior Lethwynus was slain in the refectory, brother Tugarius, a child of ten years of age, of the most beautiful countenance and form, seeing his senior thus murdered, entreated the pagans that they would also kill him; but count Sidrok, moved with compassion, tore off his monastic cowl, and giving him a Danish dress ordered him to follow him, and in this way his life was preserved; and he was the only person who escaped. The description which is given of the return of the other monks to the smouldering ruins is most affecting. Then it was that Briestanus, a chanter of the monastery, and a most eloquent poet, wrote among the ashes of Crowland these lines, which begin:

"Quomodo sola sedes dudum regina d
Nobilis Ecclesia, nuper amica Dei

The Danes visited twice the island of Iona, and burnt the m Whatever spot was most distingu popular reverence, thither these bent their course. An Irish ge of that period, describing the d says, "that in many of the smalle of the Irish seas not even a herm be found." In fact, they thirste blood of monks and the plunder c Twice was the monastery of Ba spoiled by the Danes. On the latte the venerable abbot and 900 mo massacred in one day. The mo the English at Mayo, the hol Iniscathy in the mouth of the having the tomb of its patron, St. the cells of St. Kevin in the valley dalough, the monastery of the Sc on the coast of Kerry, all these a other seats of holiness were consta the scenes of ruthless devastati cells of the monks on the islets Ree, the school of Clonard, throughout Europe, and the anci of Down, the hallowed resting-pl remains of St. Patrick, were at times in the ninth century laid In short, there was not a single n of any renown which was not p and laid waste by the Danes in t and ninth centuries." "The courage," adds an historian, " crowds of confessors, who still re the same spot, choosing rather d to leave the holy place untenan sents one of those affecting pi quiet heroism with which the the church abounds." Hence describing the abbey of Lindisfarn especial mention of its need of se

"In Saxon strength that abbey frow
With massive arches broad and ro
That rose alternate, row and row,
On ponderous columns, short and l
On the deep walls the heathen Da
Had pour'd his impious rage in vai
And needful was such strength to t
Exposed to the tempestuous seas,
Scourged by the wind's eternal swa
Open to rovers fierce as they,
Which could twelve hundred years
Winds, waves, and northern pirate

No longer then should these to battlements astonish us on arrivi sainted houses of St. Benedict, know that their inhabitants migh

* *Ord. Vit. Lib. vi.* † Voyage Lit. 138.

plained, like the people of Rimini
hen Cæsar passed the Rubicon,
y were always sure to behold the
nps and to receive the first shocks
and indeed we read expressly, that
ie Normans besieged Paris, the
were the principal objects of their
Not alone external defences but, to
he consequence of surprise, secret
s also were often necessary within
s, to provide against sudden visits

αἰχμητὴν, κρατερὸν μήστωρα φόβοιο,*

oo figured even among Christian
the new capacity of destroyer of
ries, so analogous to an old Homeric
n. Understanding now the cause
alled for castellated walls, if such
. let us cast our eyes on other parts,
eed exploring.
rs of the middle ages speak with
on of the architecture of many ab-
William of Malmesbury says of
ury, "there is the stately abbey
Robert, son of Hamon, where the
f the buildings and the charity of
ks enchants the eyes of those that
re, and soothes their minds. What
ay," he exclaims, "of Thorney and
auty of its buildings, in which this
is wonderful, how, among those
d marshes, it should rest on solid
ions?"† "The sun," says Leland,
g of St. Alban's, "hath not seen
city so finely seated or a goodlier
hether a man consider the endow-
or the largeness, or the incompa-
agnificence thereof. A man that
abbey would say, verily it were a
many gates there are in it, and
brass, so many towers, and a most
church, upon which attend three
also standing gloriously in one and
ie churchyard, all of passing fine
ious workmanship."
nglo-Saxon times the monastery of
n exhibited the highest perfection of
stones were finely polished, its walls
mns lofty, and it had spiral stairs to
of each tower. Eddius, who had
Rome, where he wrote St. Wilfrid's
lares that no building on this side
lps was equal to it. The superb
loors of St. Joseph's chapel, and the
ely-beautiful tracery still discernible

Malm. de Gestis Pontif. Anglorum,

among the shattered walls, attest what was the splendour of the buildings of Glastonbury. In the monastery of St. Bernard, upon the heights without the gates of Salamancha, is a spiral staircase, which only touches at the bottom and the top. It was constructed by a monk of the house of eminent sanctity, and it is so solid that the French and English carried up all their artillery upon it. Charles III. sent architects to examine it, who pronounced its construction to be a work of art exceeding their ingenuity.

The religious orders, however, in the earliest ages, were not ambitious in respect to splendour of buildings. "The ancient monks of our order," says Trithemius, "inhabited humble and dark cells; but their hearts were lucid and splendid with the light of Divine love, and illumined by the knowledge of the Scriptures:"*—a sentence which is continually repeated in monastic writings of a later date.†

The monastery which St. Martin erected in a secret place two miles from the church of Tours, and in which eighty disciples lived with him, was only a wooden building; and, throughout the ages of faith, innumerable religious houses were of the same character. Such was the Augustinian convent in which Luther was professed: the foundations were hardly below the surface of the ground; it had only a wooden altar; the south wall was three feet in height, the rest being formed of old planks. It was a true stable of Bethlehem.‡

Even where the greatest magnificence prevailed, there were many traces of the ancient simplicity. Dom Martene, on occasion of his visit to Clairvaux, describes the cell of St. Bernard in that abbey, built for him in his infirmities by Guillaume de Champeaux, bishop of Châlons. "There is no chimney to it," he says, "but under his bed was a great stone with holes through it, under which a brazier used to be kindled without his perceiving it: for he would not have allowed his room to be warmed if he had been aware of their intention. His bed is still here; the room opens on a little chapel, where he used to say mass."

"There has been lately erected in Lombardy a house of our order," says a Carthusian, "so magnificent, that many wonder our order would admit it; but to fly the indignation of princes,—which might easily

* In Chronic. Hirsaug.
† Annales Novesiens. ap. Martene, Vet. Script. iv. 556. ‡ Audin, Vie de Luther, i. 151.

be excited if any thing were opposed to them,—when they build such houses sumptuously, some indulgence may be made."*

La Marêchale d'Ancre, under the regency of Mary de Medicis, offered to build, at her sole expense, the church for the Carmelites, in the Rue Vaugirard, at Paris, provided they would adopt the plan of an architect which she admired; but these humble men considered the plan too magnificent for their order, and generously refused to accept her offer. God rewarded the exact observance of his servants, and procured them such plentiful alms from the faithful, that in a few years their church was built.†

The monasteries of the Capuchins, which were on the same plan in all countries, were always to be constructed like the houses of the poor, of lath and plaster, and uncarved timber; to contain not more than ten or twelve brethren at most, in order that the rule and holy poverty might be observed with more perfection and less impediment, according to the desire of St. Francis.‡ To these houses the words of St. Jerome might be applied: "In Christi villa tota rusticitas est." The furniture was to be such as the poor use; and their churches to be so small as not to contain more than fifty persons. The convent itself was to contain only small poor cells, built without art or beauty.§ In truth, generally, all that the good monk asked was "a simple dwelling, where he might sit and talk of time and change, as the world ebbs and flows, himself unchanged." When the doge and senate of Venice desired that the Capuchins should serve their newly-erected splendid church of the Holy Saviour, built on the cessation of the plague, it was necessary to procure a decree from Pope Gregory XIII., authorising them to accept it.‖ In the fifth and sixth centuries, the monasteries in general were built without much cost. Some uncultivated land, and a small, plain building, with a chapel, satisfied the first wants of men whose great object was to make known the word of God, and to sanctify their own souls by contemplation and labour. When Charles the eighth, abbot of Villers, came in the year 697 to that monastery, he found there nothing but little thatched houses, and, as it were, the huts of shepherds; and he first bui two dormitories of stone, and many

The early monasteries of Irela Gaul often resembled those of E primitive times, of which the cel but wooden huts, sometimes so l one could not stand upright in The ancient church of the abbey teaux, consecrated in 1106, in wh Stephen and St. Alberic were buri not more than fifteen feet wide. only three windows in the sanctua two in the nave. Similarly, the church of Cluny was very small. M not postpone, therefore, holy purp want of money. St. Columban obliged to raise vast subscriptions going to fix himself to the Vosges. were not wanting to make such found Hear how the first Franciscans th to England were lodged. "Th minors," saith Stow, "first arrived i land, at Dover, nine in number; them remained at Canterbury, a then build the first convent of friar that ever was in England; the oth came to London, and lodged at the ing friars the space of fifteen da then hired a house in Cornhill c Travers, one of the sheriffs. They there little cells, wherein they inh The devotion of the citizens toward and also the multitude of friars so inc that they were removed by the citi a place in St. Nicholas Shambles John Iwyn, citizen and mercer of L appropriated to the use of the saic who became himself a lay-brother."

The convents of St. Theresa were wherever she could obtain a spot, four walls. While proposing to con the reform of the Carmelite order, out, in the month of June, to exa house which had been offered to the purpose by Don Raphael Megia quez. She was accompanied by or and Father Julian d'Avila. Th their way, and no one could direct the place, which was called Durvel name being hardly known. The heat rendered this the most painfu journeys. At last, about night-fal arrived there, and found it a poor i peasant's house, near a stream, whc protected from sun or wind. This nevertheless, was sufficient for her p

* Petr. Sutorus de Vita Carthusiana, Lib. ii. § iii. c. 9.
† Dosithée, Vie de S. Jean de la Croix, liv. x.
‡ Annales Capucinorum, ad an. 1529.
§ Ibid. ad. an. 1528. ‖ Ibid. ad an. 1578.

* Hist. Monasterii Villariens. i. 3. ap. Thes. Anec. iii.
† Sulpic. Sever. Dialog. i. 2.

supply all that was wanting for her
onastery: she destined the porch
chapel, the garret for the choir, the
er for the dormitory, and half of the
, when divided into two parts, for
ectory. Such was the building that
for the celebrated reform of this
To this house retired Father John
Matthias, with one labourer, and
ade the alterations she pointed out,
meanwhile on the alms which people
neighbouring village gave them. It
this house that St. John of the
made the solemn dedication of him-
the imitation of the sufferings of
putting on the habit prescribed by
eresa, and exhibiting a spectacle to
ghbourhood which astonished and
all the people. To his poor chapel
crowds of devout peasants, who
every thing about him with sur-
nd reverence. St. Theresa speaks
foundation with rapture. "The
of this house," she says, "did not
se the holy father; but, on the
y, delighted him. O Lord God,
tle capable are proud buildings and
l pleasures to give internal consola-
I conjure you, my sisters, and you,
hers, to remain always in great de-
nt with respect to magnificent and
ous houses, and to have always
your eyes the founder of our order,
y poverty and humility, arrived at
rnal enjoyment of the presence of
In proportion as the body has fewer
ts, the soul receives more joy. What
ge can we derive from great build-
when one cell must suffice us?"*
heless, the piety of the faithful was
satisfied until these poor monas-
were constructed at least on a greater
In 1637, this house at Durvelle
nverted into a magnificent convent,
the most commodious in Old Castile.
a masterpiece of art, without any
e ornaments. The original chapel,
in itself, but so precious from the
which have been shed in it, is pre-
in an angle of the cloister.
were the humble beginnings of
f the most celebrated abbeys. "Won-
t," says a monastic historian, "you
ad this, at the constancy of our
, who constructed all the edifices
you behold with the alms of the
It was not a king, it was not a
or any great man, who built this;
but it arose amidst poverty and tribula-
tion."*

Kings, however, did often interfere for such purposes. John V., king of Portugal, during a dangerous illness, vowed to erect, upon his recovery, a convent for the use of the poorest priory in the kingdom; and finding, upon inquiry, that this was at Mafra, where twelve Franciscans lived together in a hut, he fulfilled his vow, by erecting there, in 1717, the present magnificent abbey, the Escurial of Portugal, a palace, a convent, and a church of imposing magnitude, in a bleak, solitary country, within view of the sea, ten miles from Cintra.

But let us resume our examination of the monastic buildings. In the vaulted refectory of Clairvaux were two rows of pillars and four rows of tables. The great hall of the monks of Canterbury measured one hundred and fifty feet in length and forty in breadth. The refectory of Cluny was thirty-eight paces long and twenty-four broad. There were six tables down the length and three at the extremity, namely, that of the president, which was higher than all the others, that of the greater prior on the right, and that of the claustral prior on the left. The walls were beautifully painted with stories out of the Old and New Testament, and with figures of the princely founders and benefactors of Cluny. There was also an immense image of Christ, and a representation of the last judgment.† The refectory of the great abbey of St. Alban's was adorned with tapestry, and that at Gloucester with portraits of the kings of England in fresco. Generally some devout painting or inscription occupied the refectory walls. In that of the convent of St. Bernard I was struck with a portrait of an old monk, stooping over the pages of Boethius. In that of the Carthusian monastery of Calci I saw painted in fresco a queen of France, serving dinner to the monks with her own hands, and under the picture these words, "Ipsa pias regina epulas parat, ipsa ministrat." Over the door of the refectory of the great Dominican convent at Bologna, is this inscription, which describes the order to be observed there—

"Ut memor vitæ pie fructor orans ingredere
Ut sobrius audiens intus reficere,
Ut Deo gratus psallens egredere."

Dosithée, Vie de S. Jean de la Croix, 1.

* Chronic. Morigniacensis Mon. Lib. i. ap. Duchesne, tom. iv.
† Chronic. Cluniacens.

The second line refers to the readings which took place during dinner; to which Ives de Chartres alludes, writing to certain monks in these words, "I might say more, but this is enough for those who daily hear the sacred Scriptures read."* The historians of the abbey of St. Gall expressly mention that selections from the holy Scriptures, with the comments of the holy fathers, and the history of Josephus, were read every day at table.

Buildings for hospitality formed a large portion of monastic piles. The apartments for guests were often magnificent, and in French abbeys were sometimes wainscoted with Irish oak, as the room in the palace of King Charles, which was called from it. The Cistercians always had a Xenodochium adjoining the abbey, where every one was received and relieved.†

Thus we read, that King Alfonso, wishing to please the Most High, at the prayer of his serene wife, Eleanor, built a monastery of Cistercians, near the city of Burgos, in a style of great magnificence, and near it a hospital, admirable for its buildings and decoration, which he so richly endowed, that all travellers, at any hour of the day, on applying there, were provided with what they wanted; and every night all who chose might lodge there: and the sick were kept there till their death or recovery; and by the hands of women and men of mercy all things necessary were given to them.‡

The historian of Crowland says, that the venerable Abbot John, in his last years, built that solemn and sumptuous hospice which stands between the church and the gates of the abbey, in order that strangers and guests of greater dignity might be lodged there.§

In the account of the rebuilding of the abbey of St. Tron, it is stated that there were within the enclosure two houses of the poor, the one for summer to lodge them, and the other for winter, with fire-places to warm them.‖

In the monastery of Durham there was the common house, to have a fire kept in it all the winter, for the monks to come and warm themselves at it, as they were not allowed a fire in their own chambers. "Besides which there was a famous house of hospitality, called the guest-ha the abbey-garth of Durham, on side towards the water, in which ment was given to all sorts, n gentle, and of what degree so came thither as strangers, their e ment not being inferior to any England, both for the goodness diet, the sweet and dainty furnitur lodging, and generally all things for travellers; and with all this e ment the monks commanded not to depart while he continued and good behaviour. This hall is brave place, like unto the body of supported on either side by pillars, and in the midst of the h large range for the fire. The and lodgings belonging to it we furnished, especially one called t chamber, deserving that name."*

At Glastonbury, the gothic h longing to the abbey, called th inn, for pilgrims, still exists. I the accommodation of persons wl not be lodged within the abbey.

Though we before had occasion of ecclesiastical hospitality in ge cannot visit the monasteries witho recurring to it in reference to th of the religious orders. At the tery of Nitria, on a mountain fo from Alexandria, there was a ho open for strangers, where they main two or three years, or as lon wished: only the first week coul without employment. After ei they were required to work eith gardens or in the bakehouse, or in singing the office. Books were the learned. Such was the infl monastic hospitality in the first a it was the custom even for the ci Oryrynchus, where every strange ceived as a brother, to keep wat gates for poor pilgrims, to invite their houses. Hospitality was t tised by the monks from the earlie

In the twelfth century, when was abbot of St. Martin-le-Cha Paris, the hospitality and charity monastery were most remarkab was regarded," we read, "as a common asylum above all those o for bishops, abbots, lay noblemen clerks, and poor people. The h always full, and every one was

* Epist. cxcii.
† Notit. Abbat. Ord. Cist. Lib. vii. 57.
‡ Roderici Toletani de Reb. Hispaniæ, Liv. vii. c. 34. § Ingulphi Hist.
‖ Chronic. Abb. S. Trudonis, Liv. x. ap. Dacher. Spicileg. vii.

* Ancient Monuments of the monast of Durham, 139.

a smiling countenance, which no im-
nity of the crowds could ever alter."*
ie monks," says Peter the Venerable,
to wash the feet of all the strangers
ome to Cluny, and to prostrate them-
before them, they could do nothing
om sunrise to sunset. We do what
. Every day we wash the feet and
of three strangers, and offer bread
vine."†
Cluny there was no porter placed at
ite; for the gates were always open
ry one from morning till night, and
ers had only to enter, and they
every thing prepared for them.‡ In
s, however, where there was a porter,
uty was to show benignity to all
s. "To all strangers at the gates of
onvents," say the commentators on
ile of St. Francis, "our friars must
sweetly, even though the persons
ome there be rude and importunate;
ough one cannot always give them
one can refuse them with gentleness;
t is certain, that a sweet word edifies
rs, whereas, the rude reply of one
, or other friar conversing with secu-
would scandalize them greatly."§ St.
lict in his rule required the porter
an old and wise man, mature in man-
In fact, no one disdained the office.
llibald, from being dean, was made
of the monastery of Mount-Cassino,
it its being regarded as a deroga-
This was he who afterwards preached
spel through Bavaria, and died a
leath in 787¶. The Benedictines
always true to the hospitable charges
r great founder.
cannot speak in sufficient detail,"
rderic Vitalis, "of the hospitality of
onks of Bec. Let one ask the Bur-
ans, Spaniards, and other persons
ome from far and near, and they
swer and say truly, with what be-
r they used to be received by the
us. The gate of Bec is open to all
ers, and no one there is ever refused
What shall I add? May He who
gun, and who entertains the good
shines in them, maintain it unto
rrival at the port of salvation."**
abbey of Morbac, in a fearful desert,
be called "Vivarium peregrino-

iothec. Cluniacens, 554.
'et. Ven. Epist. Lib. i. 28.
Lib. i. 28.
is de Paris, Expos. de la Règle des FF.
3. ‖ C. 66. ¶ Hist. Cassinens.
b. iv.

rum," as Dom Martene remarks. It is said that Martin, abbot of Alne, in Hainaut, having placed over the gate of his monastery the following line, with this punctuation,

"Porta patens esto nulli; claudatur honesto,"

was deprived in consequence of his dignity. In certain monasteries of Italy, besides the usual hospitality, the abbot had always three poor persons at his private table. The rector of a college at Rome arriving at Subiaco, and finding no room in the inns, sent to the abbot of St. Scholastica, to ask whether he could lodge five of his students. The hospitality of this house must have resembled that of the Phæacians, who, as Homer says, used not only to receive every one coming to them from east or west, but furnish them with an escort, and youths to conduct them, and means to enable them to continue their journey; for the answer of that holy man was sent back along with five horses, to carry them up to the monastery.

William of Malmesbury records, that, in the monastery of Redding, founded by King Henry I., for monks of Cluny, it being a great thoroughfare, more money was expended in hospitably entertaining poor guests, than in supporting the whole community of monks. In another monastery, there used to be more than one hundred tables laid out in one day.* In 1310, an abbot gave a feast to six thousand guests, for whom were prepared three thousand dishes. In the monastery of Villers, the key of the cellar used to be placed in a cleft in the neighbouring rock, and whoever wanted wine might there take it for his necessity.† In the year 1058, the venerable Father Abbot Wulketulus gave to the monastery of Crowland, the chapel of St. Mary, at Spaldyng, with all the buildings belonging to it, to defray the expense of hospitality to the poor and to the rich, of whom there was generally there a great concourse.‡ Similarly, the church of Hesel was to be assigned by Pope Innocent III. to the prior and canons of Gisborne, because they give to every one asking, and apply their goods to hospitality with such zeal that no one departs from them empty-handed.§ The abbot Suger provided for the exercise of a most ingenious and needful

* Bolland, die 11 Jan. c. vii.
† Hist. Mon. Villariensis, Lib. ii. Prol. ap. Martene, Thes. Anec. iii. ‡ Hist. Ingulphi, 66.
§ Epist. Inn. iii. Lib. xiii. 208.

hospitality; for he established twelve monks in the priory of St. Denis, who were bound to entertain three converted Jews.*

One can readily understand, from these details, that large provision was necessary to meet such demands upon monastic benevolence, since the reception of strangers within religious houses was not to resemble what the poet speaks of,—

"————prompt, but cold;
A loveless service, bought and sold."

Hence, in the cellars of the abbey of Cîteaux there were, in 1202, twenty thousand measures of wine, classed according to the ages of ten, fifteen, and twenty years; and there were amphoras of baked earth, containing wines of Clovoujeaux, which dated from the preaching of St. Bernard.†

The sarcastic inference which the moderns generally draw from hearing such details might suggest a painful reflection here. Alcinous, while entertaining Ulysses, adds this encouragement to his invitation to feast on—

———— ὄφρα καὶ ἄλλῳ
εἴπῃς ἡρώων, ὅτε κεν σοῖς ἐν μεγάροισιν
δαινύῃ παρὰ σῇ τ' ἀλόχῳ καὶ σοῖσι τέκεσσιν,
ἡμετέρης ἀρετῆς μεμνημένος.

Alas! nature seems to have degenerated since those times: for the monk who now receives a stranger to hospitality might adopt the converse of this invitation, and say, "Eat and drink, that you may proclaim to your countrymen, when you are at table in your own house with your wife and children, that the monk is always what the Pharisees said our Master was,—'a drunkard and a glutton!'"

Pisistratus says to Telemachus, that a guest remembers all his days the hospitable gifts of hosts.‡ The guests of monks, in modern times, have furnished an exception. Capefigue speaks ironically of the sweet life reserved for penitent barons in Cîteaux and Clairvaux, and seems to think that, like Homer's heroes, the monks were always at table, and that they did or said nothing until they had satisfied their minds with eating and drinking: as if every minute one might say of them—

οἱ δ' ἐπ' ὀνείαθ' ἑτοῖμα προκείμενα χεῖρας ἴαλλον.

* Lebeuf, Hist. du Diocèse de Paris, iii. 210.
† Comptes MSS. de l'Ab Cîteaux, Bib. du Roi ap. Capefigue. ‡ xv. 54.

Le Grand d'Aussy attacks them w
bitterness, in a long chapter up
and ragouts. It is in vain to ex
with such adversaries, who cannot
to comprehend what were the con
of faith. But the truth is, that
vision made for the monks was of a
kind: their daily bread was not w
of this kind so greatly esteeme
Homer calls the medicine for gr
which induces forgetfulness of s
such wine as Helen poured out to
chus, which could dispel all
weeping, even though one had los
or a mother, or had seen peris
one's eyes a brother or a dear son
chapter of the Imitation, more e
to console their spirits than all the
of Egypt.

Perhaps, however, it may be
observe in conclusion, that, whe
were not bound to exercise hosp
this scale, there was nothing in th
rooms that could excite envy. In
general congregation of the Capu
1529, it was decreed, that never n
provision for one week was to be
and nothing beyond it was ever
ceived in alms. No superior was
any cask of wine to be in the con
only an open vessel or jug, contain
was necessary.*

The philosophers of old used
the images of their masters not onl
on their walls, but also graven on
rings, and other objects. Thus,
nius says, that he had ever before
image of Epicurus.† The Christ
of the cloister, in like manner, lo
surrounded by memorials of the
remind them of the deeds and s
the friends of God.

To monasteries, therefore, came
which illustrate all the echoes of th
world, which tell of sanctity an
and mild compassion, "progeny i
—of Painting, Sculpture, Music,
Poesy,—swift shapes and sound
grow more fair and soft as man gr
and kind." Our abbeys, even
ruined state, are often still "popu
carved imagery,—beauteous, holy s
whose marble smiles fill the hu
with everlasting love." They are
now; but once they bore thy
Jesus, Prince of Peace! In the
century, when the heretics brok

* Ann. Capucinorum.
† Cicero de Finibus, Lib. v.

ey loaded forty-six wagons with the
ıgments of the images, which they
n a fire that was forty-three feet
those of stone were carried off, to
loyed in making walls; and those
er, which were the work of Tutilo,
›ke to pieces. The choir was sur-
l with exquisite carving, which they
hed. The walls of the church
ıted, in painting, the life of St.
ıd St. Othmar, which they white-
over. Many superb paintings stood
: different altars, and many curious
f ancient art surrounded them, all
hey destroyed. The ruined abbey
Riquier is still full of emblematic
re and images of saints, with repre-
ns under each of some scene con-
rith his life. The walls are curiously
in fresco, representing historical
with inscriptions beneath, but in a
:r so ancient that my unpractised
d not decipher them. Nothing can
the beauty of Our Lady's chapel
the choir. In the church are many
ver most of which are represented
n the Benedictine habit.

let us contemplate the houses that
the destroyers' hands. How many
pictured on the cloister-walls in
:do! how many under the solemn
of monasteries in the desert, from
n books, or from lips long silent in
'e! What an historic and religious
belongs to these old portraits of
s and benefactors which are found
rs! where they recall, as at Haute
: heroic virtues of a Count William
a; or, as in the Dominican convent
ma, the countenance of the angelic

In the abbey of Einsiedelin one
nted the Emperor St. Henry, with
gang, his preceptor, a former monk
ıouse, standing by his side. On
s represented St. Gerold, who from
prince became a hermit there;
ır him are Counon and Ulric, his
s, who consoled his last days by
on the cowl. The interest which
eat artists felt in monasteries con-
to fill them with paintings, even
ıe monks themselves did not take
pencil. Thus we find the frescos
ricchio, and a picture of the Blessed
y Leonardo de Vinci, in a corridor
›ister of St. Onuphrio. Similarly,
: Ghirlandajo having an especial
›n for the order of Dominicans,
n their church of Santa Maria-
at Florence, that he had painted his masterpiece. His family had their burial there. His son, Rodolph Ghirlandajo, had felt the full power of the preaching of Savonarola, and he devoted his pencil to transmit his paternal tradition of art. Ghiberti, the most ancient historian of art in Italy, speaks with enthusiasm of a great composition with which Ambrose de Lorenzo had covered the walls of a cloister, in which he represented the life of a Christian missionary. One saw, at first, a young man taking the habit of a monk; then the same, entreating permission to be sent, along with others of the brethren, to Asia, to convert the Sarassins; then their departure, their arrival near the Sultan, who orders them to be scourged; then the listening people; further on, the Sultan condemning them to die; their decapitation; and, after it, a horrible tempest, before which vast trees are broken and torn up by the roots, while the people fly in terror.*

In the refectory of the convent of San Salvi, one mile from Florence, there were painted, by André del Sarto, four figures of saints, and the Last Supper; and it is recorded, that, during the siege in 1529, when the Florentines were obliged to demolish all buildings in that part, when they came before this great fresco they were struck dumb and motionless with admiration. At the entrance of the cloister of the abbey of St. Venne, at Verdun, Dom Martene remarked a painting of the Emperor St. Henry, whose belt and pike were still preserved in the treasury there, offering to submit his crown and sceptre, and demanding the religious habit from the holy abbot Richard, who commands him to resume the government of his states, with these verses:—

"Pertæsus regere Henricus venit ecce regendus,
Vult utrumque abbas, nempe regendo regi."†

The paintings in the monastic churches were often singularly impressive, from the lesson they were designed to convey. In the abbey of Einsiedelin our Lord is represented saying to Zacchæus, "This day I will lodge in thy house,"—to prepare men for communion. The promise of God to Abraham,—"Faciam te in magnam gentem,"—is made to indicate the propagation of the Benedictines; and the alliance with Noah,—"Fac tibi arcam et

* Rio de l'Art. Chrét. 49.
† Voyage Lit. 95.

fœdus ponam tecum,"—the deliverance of those who embraced the monastic state. Over the sacristy, meekness is represented by a symbolic figure, and on the ceiling the verse of the Apocalypse, "Around the throne were seated twenty-four old men, clothed with white, and wearing crowns." Here the sword is only borne as a sign of martyrdom, as the only blood shed by those who bear it was their own.

In the abbey of St. Denis was a mystic painting of St. Paul turning a mill, and the prophets carrying each a sack to it, to signify his office of interpreting the Old Testament. This abbey itself, with its imagery, was, like many others, history and theology. The historical portraits found in monasteries, were often deeply interesting. Thus in the cloisters of the Carmelites, at Florence, there was a great painting by Masaccio, representing a procession, at the end of which were introduced the most illustrious personages of Florence.

In the convent of the Celestins, at Paris, was a chapel founded by Louis d'Orleans, brother of Charles VI., in 1393, in which all members of that family were represented in robes of ceremony; and in the cloisters of the Carmelite friary, in the place Maubert, the family of St. Louis were painted wearing their court-dresses. Dom Pez does not disdain to insert among his historical documents the inscriptions under the long series of portraits which are in the monastery of Clauster-Nenburg, representing the ancient marquesses and dukes of Austria, of the line of Babenberg, with their wives and daughters.* But it was sacred pictures which the monasteries possessed in greatest number. The monks felt deeply that art is godlike, a branch of the divinest studies. One holy brother, lately in the Escurial monastery, as a modern poet tells us, "Guiding from cell to cell and room to room, a British painter left not unvisited a glorious work, our Lord's Last Supper, from the hand of Titian, beautiful as when first it graced the refectory. There, while both stood with eyes fixed upon that masterpiece, the holy father in the stranger's ear spoke these words, 'Here daily do we sit, thanks given to God for daily bread, and here, pondering the mischiefs of these restless times, and thinking of my brethren dead, dispersed, or changed and changing, I not seldom gaze upon this solemn company unmoved by shock of circumstanc of years, until I cannot but be they—they are in truth the subs the shadows.'" So spake the mil mite, his griefs melting away wi like a dream, ere he had ceasec perhaps to speak: "And I," poet, grown old, but in a hapj "have to verse consigned tho moving words, words that can soo than they agitate." Still monast not to be academies of art, as th phers of the cloister failed not t each other from time to time, guard against the exaggeration w foresaw might ensue. "It may says Hugo of St. Victor, "that m dwell in cities, to whom the c people resort, should have the paintings for the simplicity of t are not delighted with the st Scripture; but for us who are with solitude, a horse or an ox useful in the field than on the w one pleases the eyes, the others to necessity."† St. Bernard on sion even complains of the grotesc ture found in the cloisters. "W exclaims, "is this ridiculous mo this certain strange deformed be beautiful deformity? Why are clean apes there? What are th these monstrous centaurs doing these half-men, these spotted these fighting warriors, these horn- huntsmen? You can see under many bodies, and again on many heads. Here a quadruped end of a serpent; there a fish head of a quadruped. Here a t the forepart like a horse, and like a goat; there a horned ani horse. So many and so strang forms, that one is more tempte in marble than in books, and t whole day in admiring these thi fact, even to the objects which pressly for utility, there was ge certain beauty or curiosity impar very clocks of abbeys were often of art. That of Glastonbury, Peter Lightfoot, a monk in the f century, exhibited on the dial, di twenty-four hours, the diurnal an nal time, with the solar, lunar, astronomic motions, while figures knights on horseback were se

* Pez. Rer. Aust. Script. tom. i.

* De Claustro Animæ, Lib. ii. c. 4.
† S. Bernard. Apolog. ad Guillel. c.

t in all directions. Of the deep olic and religious imagery, *φαντάσματα* ous, which covered the walls of monas- s, it would be difficult to form an idea out long observation of the ancient lings. On one portal, in France, is sented the whole history of man from reation to the last judgment, according e order adopted by Vincent de Beau- in his Mirror of the World: for there en, as Didron remarks, the creation, the obligation of man to labour igh the twelve months of the year, this represents the speculum naturale. n, man having fallen, must rise again ience; therefore, in addition to manual ar, the seven liberal arts are seen, and corresponds to the speculum doc- le. Thus man knows; but he must e a good use of his knowledge; there- in the next place, are shown virtues, l, domestic, and interior. Among the are read liberty, promptitude, friend- ; among the second all household es, represented by women as matrons ing; among the third, faith, hope, charity, as also the cardinal virtues; this corresponds to the speculum le. Lastly, man thus informed, pro- s to act, and hence are shown all the nages of the Old and New Testament, ng with a representation of the end ie world in the final judgment; and answers to the speculum historiale. n these sculptures, containing 3000 es, all this is shown only in brief ols, the whole is developed at length ie stained-glass windows of the church 000 figures; so that nothing can ed the grandeur of this sublime poem. over, the instruction conveyed by the rate part is admirable. Thus in all sentations of Cherubim and Seraphim, ne cannot be distinguished from the r, for the reason that love and science deemed inseparable. Again, the l flowing from the Lamb is poured the martyrs, to show that the shed- of their own would be of no avail out that of Jesus Christ; and at the judgment, the Christ appears with- pity; he shows his hands pierced, repels all with the spectacle. Even blessed mother and St. John appear d. St. Michael weighs the souls; the n of mercy has past; it is now that stice.

om an inspection of the monasteries, clear also that the poem of Dante ex- ed a great influence on art. The nine circles of hell were represented in an abbey of Friuli, and in the cloisters of the Olivetans, at Volterra. With respect to the hands which executed these paintings in cloisters, we may observe, that the greatest number were either the work of the monks themselves, or else the pious offering of artists, and sometimes memorials of their gratitude; as when Rubens painted his great picture of the adoration of the shepherds for the Franciscans of Soissons, to show his sense of the charity they had exercised towards him during his sickness, when on his journey from Antwerp to Paris, in 1622.* "This year, 895," say the Corby annals, "Theodegarius, our brother, gave to the convent, to be in memory of him, our Lord's Passion, curiously depicted with a pen, an artificial work admired by all." From brother Conrad of Vienna, says another monastic diary, we received some solemn pictures.† Painting and sculpture were not, however, the only medium of instruction in the adornment of cloisters. Inscriptions for the same purpose were also generally used. "Upon the walls and pillars," says Weever, relating the destruction of the abbeys in England, "certain inscriptions used to be painted or engraven, which being holden to be superstitious, were then defaced, washed over, or obliterated. Thus under the blessed Trinity it had been usual to read,

'Ave Pater, Rex Creator, ave fili, lux, Servator.
Ave pax et charitas.
Ave simplex, ave Trine, ave regnans sine fine
Una summa Trinitas.'

And under the crucifix,

'Quantum pro nobis Christus tulit esse videmus,
Et tamen à lachrymis heu lumina sicca tenemus.'"‡

Lydgate ascribes a pious inspiration, which suggested to him the composition of a hymn on the passion, to his having read similar lines in an abbey when a boy:—

"Within fyftene, holdyng my passage
Mydde of a cloyster, depyct upon a wall
I sawe a crucyfixe, whose woundes were not small,
With this worde vide written there besyde,
'Beholde my mekenes, chyld, and leave thy pride.'"

John of Whethamstede, the learned abbot of St. Alban's, in the reign of Henry VI.

* Hist. de Soissons, ii. 38.
† Necrolog. R. R. P. P. Minorum Conv. Vienn. ap. Pez. Script. Rer. Aust ii.
‡ A Discourse of Funeral Monuments.

among other images and ornaments placed in the church of that abbey the figures of certain heathen philosophers, who had testified of the incarnation of Christ, and under them these lines—

"Istac qui gradieris hos testes si memoreris.
Credere vim poteris proles Deus est mulieris."

The walls of that abbey were covered with curious painted imagery, and also with pious inscriptions in golden characters. Weever gives the verses inscribed in the abbot's lodging, those in the walk between his chamber and the hall, those in the windows of the abbot's library, those in the chamber adjoining his study, and those upon the roof over the chancel. On one wall was written an admonition to princes—

"Non bene concessum princeps regit ille Ducatum
Concilio procerum qui non regitur sapientum.
Judex quando sedes caveas ne jura supines
Jure quidem tradito. Plebs Rex est, Rex sine regno."

In one window of the library was written—

"Cum studeas, videas, ut sit virtus et honestas;
Hic, et ubique tibi finalis causa studendi."

Suger says, "that on the doors of the abbey church of St. Denis, on which were represented the passion, resurrection, and ascension of our Saviour, these verses were inscribed—

'Portarum quisquis attollere quæris honorem,
Aurum nec sumptus, operis mirare laborem.
Nobile claret opus, sed opus quod, nobile claret,
Clarificet mentes ut eant per lumina vera
Ad verum lumen, ubi Christus janua vera.
Quale sit intus in his determinat aurea porta.
Mens hebes ad verum per materialia surgit,
Et demersa prius hac visa luce resurgit.'"*

Similar inscriptions, suitable to the office of each place in the monastery, were generally found. Thus in the abbey of Mount-Cassino, over the place for washing, were these lines—

"Ut foris oblectet nitor hunc decet intus haberis,
Si tua mens sordet, quid erit si laveris ora
Aut oculos, puro corde lavato manus."†

Before the cross in the centre of the great hall of the dead, in the abbey of Citeaux, was this incription—

"Hic deponuntur monachi quando moriu
Hinc assumuntur animæ sursumque defe

In the cloister were these solemn reminding men that the form of thi was passing away—

"Mundus abit, fortis sim, non ero: sim sp
Non ero: sim dives, non ero, mundus
Mundus abit, non Christus abit, cole non
tem."*

In the palace of Lucullus the ments were called after the names gods, Apollo, Jupiter, &c. In the tery of St. Benedict the chambers a tinguished by the names of saints. P along the corridors in the convent Franciscans, at Loretto, I observe the door of each cell some pious se from the holy Scriptures, or the w of the fathers. Sometimes the tr respecting him who once inhabit cell served instead of any device, as room next the library in that Dom convent of St. Agostino, in which A Magnus lived for a while. To walk t the Carthusian monastery of Calci, the mountains of Pisa, and mark scriptions which are presented at step, is a useful study in itself, a words seem to come with a greate than they could from any book. O entrance I read, "Ingrediatur gens custodiens veritatem;" at one en long corridor, "Posuit eos Deus in diso voluptatis;" over the door of "In solitudine boni mores virtu omnes discuntur." Most of the line ever, are commemorative of our Sa passion, or taken from his last se and one feels that one is in the h his dearest familiar friends, who rest without having his sweet imag his divine words ever before them. it is time to repose after this long i tion. Already from these first glan can understand the justice of Dom tene's observation, with respect t monastery of St. Remi, at Rheims, he says, "that every time he visits remarks something new that had ously escaped his notice." So it general with all these ancient abbeys, the friends of God may justly say, tha live at peace in splendid poverty. the inscription in the church of th thusians near Pavia, "Nimis honora amici tui Deus," explains the magni

* Sug. Lib. de Rebus in Administratione sua Gestis, ap. Duchesne, iv. † Hist. Casinensis.

* Martene, Voyage Lit. 219.

ıcomparable monastery, and ex-
he true reason of the grandeur
y of all others. And, in effect,
ease to admire the grandeur and
ty of these holy retreats, where
g glorious in art as well as nature
ıcentrated to wait upon religion?
iumph for all that value intellec-
that there should be thus already
arth where men of good-will can enjoy a foretaste of the calm of heaven! that for them there should be such a pure dwelling-place, where there is a quiet solemn voice of sober reason in all the parts, which reaches the most thoughtless ear, "while every shape and mode of matter lends its force to the omnipotence of mind, which, from its dark mine, drags the gem of truth to decorate this paradise of peace."

CHAPTER VII.

A MONASTERY, viewed on its heroic side, was a great country mansion, or ancestral palace, antique and venerable, full of charms for those who have an owlness for old walls and ivy, full s memorials, retaining traditions olden time, and boasting of anho shed an eternal renown upon which inhabited it. How would ary house have gloried in having ınder such a hero as St. William, ›ey in the desert yet bears his Orderic Vitalis says, that this knight was the theme of minth the Jongleurs. Ducatel has l an old romance in the honour nto four parts, treating on the of William, the coronation of charroi de Nismes, and the life, le moinage of William,

sauça sancte chrétientés
en terre qu'es cieux est couronnés.*

kind of glory, in fact, shed lustre memory of many founders of the middle ages, whose merit have been exaggerated by the of their respective communities. ıgne himself, in a certain charter ›nastery of St. Bertin at St. Omer,

ueval, Hist. de l'Eglise, Gal. v. 122.

boasts of his being of the lineage of its founder. "Et quoniam," he says, "idem sanctus de genere nostro fuisse dignoscitur." And no less honourable to it was another to the same church, in which we find Roland and Olivier named as witnesses.* Well might the monks of Boulancour, in the diocese of Troyes, esteem as a glory their possession of many charts from such men as the seigneurs of Joinville and Villardouin, who had been the benefactors of that house, which they enriched with many relics that they had brought with them from the east.† Independent of religious grounds the monks in general seem to evince towards their founders that kind of reverential gratitude which Homer's men so invariably cherish for their benefactors, as when Eumæus says of his old master—

τὸν μὲν ἐγὼν, ὦ ξεῖνε, καὶ οὐ παρεόντ' ἐνομάζειν
αἰδέομαι.

One is naturally led to take this heroic view of the monastic institution on being admitted into the treasury of an abbey which contained often so many titles to suggest and substantiate it.

Having seen enough now of towers and columns, of walls and gates, let us follow

* Chronic. Monast. S. Bertini, p. ii. cap. i. c. vii. ap. Martene, Thes. Anecdot. iii.
† Desguerrois, Hist. du Diocèse de Troyes, 239.

this good monk who is about to show the ancient estimable things preserved in the most secret recesses of his house; for the spectacle will be curious and instructive as well as religious. We first have to pass by the costly deposits which appertained not to his community, for such were often found in monasteries, as at Rheims, in the abbey of St. Denis, where the public money and also the silver and jewels of private persons used to be placed for security in the hands of the abbot and canons exclusively, who alone had the key; and as at Durham and at Strata Florida, where the gentry of the country kept their deeds and genealogies, the registers of their baptisms and marriages, in the archivium of the monks. Lupus, abbot of Ferrers, writes to Hildain, saying, "I do not wonder that you should have thought of committing your treasure to our custody, since you did not know the situation of our monastery; but if you had known it you certainly would not have left it with us three days; for though the access is difficult to pirates, to whom, for our sins, no length of distance is long, yet the weakness of the place, and the small number of men fit to resist, kindles the avidity of the rapacious, especially as we are surrounded with woods through which they can easily escape."* Let us examine that part only which contains the property of the abbey, and we shall find that even the monastic treasures partook of an Homeric character—

Gems, marbles, ivory, pictures, silver, precious vestments—

Sunt qui non habeant, est qui non curet habere.

The monks, and in ages of faith, many of those who visited them, verified the latter part of this line. When Pope Paschal came into France, say the chronicles, he visited the abbey of St. Denis, where he was received most solemnly; but a wonderful and memorable example did he leave on this occasion to all present and future, for he did not deign so much as to look at either gold or silver, or ornament of precious stones, which are in the abbey, but only prostrated himself devoutly and wept before the holy bodies as one who offered himself wholly to God and to his saints.†

Supposing the reader, nevertheless, ever so devout, I do beseech him now to raise up his eyes a little, and survey for a moment "bags of fiery o phires, amethysts, jacinths, ha grass-green emeralds, beauteous sparkling diamonds, and seld-se stones, of so great price as one of differently rated may serve in peri mity to ransom great kings from c "I delight," says Cardan, "in litt ments of ingenuity, in gems, in v brass and silver canisters, and globes."* He would be delig then, where he would find so n quisite things like that chalice in sury of St. Gall, ex electro, miro those cups in that of St. Mauri posed of agates and alabaster; sooth, at first, notwithstanding t rity of so profound a philosopher of them, one cannot but wonder such objects in such a place; fo they are all gifts, yet being as u presents to monks as horses wo been to the prince of Ithaca,† the still recurs how came they here intrinsic value, however, explains culty; for that rendered them thought, worthy offerings to testify of the donors. Thus Catherine of who preferred the quality of Be nun to that of wife of the emper milian, gave to the Benedictine m of the holy-sacrament, at Nancy, w founded, all the jewels that had be to her by princes. I do not deny memorial custom, and traces pe ancient manners, to the influence in some degree, men, in spite selves, continued to be subject, m times have dictated the choice of The usual gifts bestowed by Home to their parting guests were gol and goblets. Menelaus says, he Telemachus the most beautiful and able present, a cup of silver circled at the brim, the work of Vulcan; he mentions through how many owners' hands it has passed to h In monasteries we find cups and thus presented, and a careful rec of the history of each. Thus W king of the Mercians, in his chart monastery of Crowland, in 833, other gifts says, "I offer to the the horn of my table, 'ut senes m bibant inde in festis sanctorum suis benedictionibus meminerint a

* Lupi Epist. cx.
† Chroniques de St. Denis, ad an. 1107.

* Hier. Card. de Vita Propria, Lib. i
† iv. ‡ xv. 114.

donatoris Witlafii.'"* Charles the "gave to the abbey of St. Denis le Salomon," supposed to have be- to king Solomon, "which is of pure says the chronicle of St. Denis, "and emeralds and fine grains so marvel- worked, that in all the kingdoms of orld there was never so subtle a

hanap which the sultan of Persia, n, sent to Charlemagne, was in the of the Madeleine, at Châteaudun. bbey of St. Riquier, in the eighth y, possessed thirteen hanaps. In bey of Stavelot Dom Martene saw a cup, which Wibaldus had brought Constantinople. These cups in very t times were used on great occasions refectory, not for the purpose of ng to the saints—a custom anathema- by the council of Nantes, Hincmar, shop of Rheims, writing against such nation, and Charlemagne prohibit- n his capitularies‡—but for festivity it banquets, such as Dom Martene es as having been given by the holy mble abbot of Corby, in Saxony, on r of his own arrival there, on occasion dedication of a chapel, when he re- l that whenever the abbot drank to lth of any one, the person, whatever be his rank, stood up while he

The use of such goblets, however, even imply so much of festivity; mon, abbot of St. Gall, who died who used to drink only water at nes, drank, nevertheless, out of a olden goblet, set round with jewels, nding to the basin in his bed- r, which was a most exquisite work Greek art. In the treasury, more- e sacred vessels were also placed; ng each of which there was often rious history or tradition. Let us instance: In the time of blessed emperor, there was in Germany a blind man, who, being moved by e heard preached, that he who left ing for God, should receive an lfold, notwithstanding the remon- of his wife, gave his cow to the Soon afterwards, going as usual to his foot struck against something; ping down, he found a bag on the which was small but heavy. On ng home he gave it to his wife, who opened it, and found it was full of gold; part of which she kept, carrying the rest to a goldsmith, who purchased it from her, pretending that it was only brass. Now it happened that St. Henry came to that city at this time, and one of his servants lost a gold spur. This man, fearing for the result, went to the same goldsmith, and purchased from him another in its stead. The emperor, however, perceived that one of his spurs was new, and inquired the cause, when the whole history was brought to light, as the emperor sent for the smith, and inquired respecting the quality of the gold, which, after hearing the story, he concluded was celestial. Taking the gold from the blind man's wife, he gave them in exchange for it the villa which is now called Plinlendorff, and of the gold he caused to be made an immense chalice, with two handles, which he gave to the church of blessed Laurence, at Aystedt; and with this chalice mass used to be offered for the emperor's soul after his death, This is shown once a year on Maunday-Thursday.*

The ancient ex votos, could the history attached to them be all known, would be a study in itself not a little curious and edifying. "I remember," says the historian of the abbey of Monte Sereno, or Lauterberg, "having heard one of our brethren say, that the person who brought the silver ship, and offered it at the altar, mentioned at the time that he had been delivered from a great tempest."† How many affecting memorials of heaven's mercy and of man's injustice are treasured here, could we but read them right! but the mysterious tale is only half-disclosed, and sealed is now each lip that could have told it.

The riches of the monasteries in plate arose from the prodigious quantity of gold and silver which existed in the middle ages, a large part of which passed to them in the way of offerings from the devotion of the lay nobility. The Comte de Foix, in 1457, gave a banquet, at which were twelve tables of seven services each, and for each service there were 140 silver plates. Le Grand d'Aussy remarks, that Louis XIV. could show nothing comparable to the riches in this respect of King Charles V., an inventory of whose plate still exists.‡ When Louis-le-Gros died, he left all his

. Ingulphi, p. 9 † Ad an. 877.
Grand d'Aussy, Hist. de la Vie Privée çois. iii. 316.
age Lit. i. 257.

* Anon. Leobiensis Chronic. Lib. i. An. MVIII. ap. Pez, Script. Rer. Austriac. I.
† Chronicon Montis Sereni ap. Menckenii Script. Rer. Germ. II.
‡ Hist. de la Vie Privée des François, iii. 262.

gold and silver plate to be distributed among different abbeys. Philippe-Auguste by his last will left to the abbey of St. Denis all his jewels, precious stones, and crosses of gold, on condition that twenty monks should there daily say mass for his soul. The curious drinking horns and vases, mounted on stags, and lions, and boars, used by kings, were often left to monasteries. Henry V. gave a gold service, representing Agincourt, Honfleur, and other places where he had triumphed, to the convent of Sion, which was only melted down within late years by some London Jews, to whom it had been pledged for money to supply the necessities of that poor community during their abode in Lisbon. In the annals of Corby, under the date of 1171, we read, "Henry de Aslob, in honour of the twelve Apostles, gave to St. Vitus twelve cups, each with the effigy of an Apostle, and Othelricus de Svalenberg gave a silver goose on the feast of St. Martin for fraternity."* "These pieces of plate in abbeys," says Le Grand d'Aussy, "were never used by the monks, but they were preserved in the treasury among other curiosities which used to be shown on certain days and hours." The abbey of St. Riquier in the eighth century possessed, besides these hanaps already spoken of, knives adorned with gold and jewels, and a silver inkstand. Similar presents used to be shown in the convent of Fontanelle, and in many other religious houses. The monastery of Fleury sent many pieces of plate, amongst which were two candelabras weighing 30 marks, to Louis-le-Jeune, when he was to set out for the Holy Land.

"Charles the Bald," says the chronicle of St. Denis, "gave to the martyrs his great imperial crown, which on grand festivals is suspended before the high altar, with the crowns of other kings."†

The kings of France in general left their crowns to the abbey of St. Denis. "Siconolf," says the historian of Mount-Cassino, "carried off the treasures of the abbey, consisting of the rich presents of Kings Charles and Pepin, of Karlomann and Louis, and others—in form of chalices and patens, crowns and crosses, phials and vases, and precious ornaments, and 130 pounds of the purest gold, and silk with gold and gems, besides the golden crown of his father, admirably adorned with carbuncles, and a quantity of gold and silver coin."‡

* An. Corb. ap. Leibnitz Script. Bruns. iii.
† Ad an. 877.
‡ Chronic. S. Monast. Casinensis, c. 20.

When the Danes arrived at t
Peterborough, in 1070, they too
golden crown in the church, e
with gems, from the head of t
and the golden stool, set also
from beneath its feet, two golden
nine others of silver, adorned wit
gems, and twelve crosses, some o
others of silver, gilt and gemm
antipendium, all of gold and silv
cious stones.

In the monastery of Ripon
Gospels, written on a purple groun
of gold, enclosed in a golden ca
had been ordered by St. Wil
furniture for St. Ina's famous ch
abbey of Glastonbury, the con
which cost 2600 pounds of silver
value of the altar was estimate
pounds of gold, was suitable to its
The covers of the Gospels wer
above twenty pounds in weight. T
vestments were interwoven with
cunningly ornamented with preci
The treasury of Crowland abbey w
remarkable. We read of one a
Alban's, Simon Langham, givin
abbey at one time copes, vestm
other ornaments, to the value of 4
The chalices, remonstrances, cross
and binding of books, which the
plunderers found in the abbey o
in 1532, were of immense value,
of these objects had been in the
years.

We may observe that many t
of pure curiosity, existed in the t
abbeys. Torquemade, who deli
marvellous, says, that the Franci
convent in Valencia possessed some
bones, which Synforian Campegi
them, supposed to be those of a
doubt in many monasteries fossi
and other objects of great natural
were preserved from ancient times,
historical were chiefly regarded
treasury of the abbey of the Isle
preserved the horn of Roland,
head of the family of Mont-d'or
lieved itself descended from him
the privilege of exposing once e
The chess-board and men of Cha
were preserved for many ages in
of St. Denis. Innumerable prec
of art came into the monasteries o
on the taking of Constantinople
by the crusaders. In the abbey o
was a wooden cross, nine inches
out of a single piece, which showe
than 100 figures the chief passa

r's life, with Greek inscriptions added, the monks then acquired.

at curious and precious works of art a the monastery of St. Florentine, of r, in 1004! The abbot Robert, who liligent inquirer, obtained a multitude eard-of ornaments, great screens of which were extended in the choir on olemnities, representing scenes from ocalypse, curtains and tapestry covered gures of great lions in fields of blood, hers with white borders, in which were and birds: he also made two shields idrous size and beauty. The abbot w also made two dorsals, and abbot ert is said to have made two silver abras.*

ng inestimable treasures of jewels in bey of St. Stephen, at Troyes, Dom ie saw the Psalter of Count Henry, nder of that abbey, written in letters d, still fresh after more than 800

In the treasury of Citeaux he re- l the ancient breviaries of the monks, in small letters, on little moveable for the purpose of being given in parts ks who travelled. He saw there also air which belonged to St. Bernard e was a novice. In the abbey of St. in, at Treves, he says is a text of spels in letters of gold, covered with able jewels, a present from the Prin- a, daughter of King Pepin, sister of nagne, at the end of which are these n uncial letters:

ber est vitæ, paradisi, et quatuor amnes,
salutiferi pandens miracula Christi,
ius ob nostram voluit fecisse salutem:
devota Deo jussit prescribere mater
ancilla Dei, pulchrisque ornare metallis,
ia, quisque legat versus, orare memento."

e abbey of St. Riquier he saw a text Gospels in golden letters, on purple given to St. Angilbert by Charle- and also the original manuscript le of the monastery by Hariulfe.

may observe, that the very charters ters preserved in old monasteries d a high degree of interest. "Please o understand," writes one of Crom- iserable agents, "that in the reading nuniments and charters of the house bsey, I found a charter of King written in a very antique Roman ardly to be read at the first sight. re you would delight to see the same, strangeness and antiquity thereof."

ic Turonense ap. Martene Vet. Script. v.

In monasteries there were often preserved the letters of ancient kings and great men. Thus the Dominicans, at Barcelona, possessed a letter, in the handwriting of St. Louis, to father Francis de Cendra.* The famous charter, de Libertatibus Comitatus Devon., granted by King John, and its confirmation by his son Henry III., were preserved in the abbey of Tavistock.†

In the abbey of St. Germain-des-Près was preserved the charter of its foundation by Clotaire, or a very ancient copy of it, and a diploma to the abbey of St. Denis in the seventh century, both of which I have seen in the archives of the hotel Soubise. Both are legible, the original material having been cemented in later times upon a kind of cloth. Many of the diplomas, however, published by the Benedictines, are only copies; for Louis-le-Debonnaire authorised several abbeys to write out afresh their charters, though some real original diplomas unquestionably exist. Such is that of Clovis to the abbey of St. Denis on papyrus, so carefully preserved in the treasury of that abbey, and but rarely shown. On this is the signature of Eligius, St. Eloy, in great Roman characters. Muratori, speaking of the eleventh century, remarks a laudable custom of those rude ages, as he terms them, when any doubt existed as to the authenticity of a charter; an accurate examination of it was instituted by the judges. The form of character—the date—the signs—were all considered; and if the diploma were proved to be a forgery, it was cut with a knife to prevent it from being ever again used.‡

But the most interesting objects preserved in the treasuries of abbeys were undoubtedly the vestments, chalices, or books which had belonged to the eminent saints who had either lived or occasionally resided within their walls.

In the abbey of Bobbio one saw the coffin, the chalice, the holy staff, and the missal of St. Columban, its founder; in the abbey of St. Gall, before the heretics plundered it in the fifteenth century, the bones of St. Gall and of Constance; in the abbey of Einsiedelin those of St. Othmar and St. Notker, which had been removed thither by the monks, to escape destruction, in the night between the 23rd and 24th of February.

"In the abbey of Stavelo," says Dom

* Touron. Hist. des Hom. Illust. de l'Ord. S. D. i. 5.

† Oliver, Historic Collections relating to the Monasteries of Devon.

‡ Antiquit. It. Dissert. v.

Martene, "we saw in the treasury the chasuble, stole, manipule, sandals, cowl, and comb of St. Remacle, whose body is here enshrined. I was greatly moved at seeing his cowl. It is of coarse stuff, brown, and all patched. It was the habit of a man who appeared with such eclat in the court of our kings, and who renounced his see to live in penance in this solitude. The form is that of the ancient chasuables, covering the whole body, and without sleeves. It is the most precious monument of antiquity of the kind that we possess."*

In the convent of Chelle, on the Marne, he saw the chalice of St. Eloy, which was nearly half a foot deep, and the same in diameter. In the abbey of Clairvaux he said mass with the chalice of St. Bernard, and with that of St. Malachy, both of them small, not half a foot in height, but the cup is large, though shallow. "On St. Edmond's day," he says, "I said mass under the shrine of the saint in the abbey of Pontigni, with his chasuable, which is wholly round at bottom. I had the consolation also to see his sacred body, which God has preserved without corruption. His head is bare, and he is clothed in his pontifical habits. His body is white. In the treasury I saw also his pastoral ring, the chalice and paten with which he was buried, and also his goblet. Here also are shown the pontifical vestments of St. Thomas of Canterbury, and the chapel in which he used to pray, and where he had a revelation of his martyrdom." It was at Troyes that he saw the rochet of St. Thomas, of fine linen, in the form of a great tunic, on which were marks of his brains.

These bodies of saints constituted the most valued relics which monasteries possessed. These were the treasures which attracted the devout pilgrims from every side, who were drawn into these solitudes by the memory of some man of holy humility and austere penance. Indeed, so great did this attraction prove, that many abbots and monks were unwilling that their monasteries should be so enriched, lest the concourse of pilgrims in consequence should disturb the tranquillity of their secluded life. St. Cuthbert, in his dying discourse to the monks who came to Farne Isle to visit him, said, "I would rather be buried in this island: and I think it would be even better for yourselves that I should rest here, because of the numbers who will claim sanctuary. Whatever I may be in myself, yet, as I shall be remembered, as a servant of Christ, they will flock to my body you will be compelled to intercede with the powerful of the earth, and sequently, be subject to much tr my account." It is a fact, that monasteries the monks were obliged brate their office in a chapel separ their great church, in consequenc multitude that flocked to it throu rence for holy relics. Thus wi cloisters of St. Gall there was also S chapel, in which the divine office w for in the great church it would been possible, from the crowd of to the shrine of St. Gall. The ca from the year 794 to 789, at F actually prescribe, that in all mo containing the body of a saint the be built a chapel adjoining for th office.*

"There is a devout house of ou says the Carthusian Sutorus, "in th of Mans, founded by the noble Alençon. Gaufrid of Mans, who li there, shone with miracles, so that m flocked to his tomb; and while I w monastery it was in consequence d whether that blessed and canonize should not be transferred else The inconvenience must have been when such a question could be seeing the immense value attached treasures.

Indeed the possession of these h was regarded as furnishing an addi centive, to all who dwelt under roof, to be on their guard against that would derogate from the p sanctity of the monastic state. " says Petrarch to Brother James, th tinian friar of Padua, "how you disgrace the glorious name of Aug the sacred delights of the eremiti so many devout, religious men: bu ber that under the same roof with y the venerable bones of that Augusti his image be ever present to your tion, and, as it were, a witness of actions and words, that you may presence of such a witness to offer the Lord, who is his and your mas us all."‡

Any wilful misrepresentation authenticity of particular relics wa a crime of the deepest dye. Spe

* Voyage Lit. ii.

* Ildefons, Von Arx Geschichte, d i. 63.

† Pet. Sut. de Vita Carthusiana, liv iii. c. 6.

‡ Epist. Lib. x. 17.

:tempt at Ratisbon to claim the posses-
of relics which were elsewhere, the
iicles of St. Denis use this expression.
ey forgot the fear of the Lord."*
aving, in the third book, explained the
oline of the Church in regard to this
ion, we need not delay now to hear the
s or the sneers of the wrong-headed
who systematically oppose the venera-
which she pays them. "I could never
rstand," says Michelet, "the disdain of
rotestants for relics. These were great
rical testimonies. In the abbey of St.
s the history of France was thus re-
by relics. Here was a portion of the
cross, given to Philip Augustus by the
k emperor when Constantinople was
i by the Crusaders. Here were relics
. John the Baptist, given by the em-
Heraclitus to Dagobert. Here were
ead of St. Denis, the head of St. Hilary
ictiers, the cross and sceptre of Char-
ne, the chalice used by Suger, that
ounder of the Capetian monarchy, the
i and ring of St. Lewis, and a portion
bones."

t it is wrong to speculate on the errors
se unhappy men in such a place. Let
ll upon our knees, and behold with
ence what is now to be unfolded. In
reasury of the abbey of Clairvaux,
most of the relics were presents from
nperors of Constantinople, Dom Mar-
was shown the skulls of St. Bernard
f St. Malachy. But only observe how
in such holy treasures were once the
ish monasteries.

Saxon histories there is a long cata-
of places in which the bodies of saints
Thus it says:—St. Augustin, who
hed the faith to the English nation,
in the church of St. Peter, in Canter-
, now the Augustins', with the holy
ps Laurence, Mellitus, Justus, Hono-
and in the church of Christ, within
walls, rest the holy archbishops Dun-
Odo, Ethelgar, and Elphegus; in
ester, rests St. Paulinus, archbishop of
; in London, St. Erconwald and St.
dred; in Abingdon, St. Vincentius; in
chester, in the old monastery, St.
hin, and St. Ethelwald, and St. Birinus,
St. Hedda, and St. Birstan, bishops,
St. Justus, martyr; and in the new
astery, St. Grymbald, priest, and St.
c, confessor; in Teignmouth, St. Oswin,
; in Durham, St. Cuthbert, bishop;
everly, St. John, bishop, and Bretun,
abbot; in Wynchelcumbe, St. Kenelm, martyr; in Derby, St. Alhmundus, martyr; in Lichfield, St. Cedda; in Sherburne, St. Wulsius, bishop; in Hereford, St. Egelbrith, king; in Malmesbury, St. Aldelm, bishop; in Tamworth, St. Edgitha; in Ramsey, St. Merewen and St. Ealfled, abbess, and queen, St. Baltilda; in Coventry, St. Osburga; in Ripon, St. Wylfrid, and St. Acca, and St. Egelsig; in Ely, St. Etheldritha, and St. Withburga, and St. Ermenilda, and St. Sexburga; in Oxford, St. Frethes-wyth; in Ramsay, St. Yvo and St. Felix, bishops, and St. Ethelred and St. Ethelbrith, martyrs, and St. Egelfled, queen; in Thorney, St. Athulfus, and St. Firmin, St. Herefridus, bishops, and St. Bothulf, abbot, and St. Benedict, abbot of Weremouth, St. Tisse and Hune, priests, and St. Tancred, and St. Torhred, hermits, and St. Tova, virgin; in Croyland, St. Guthlac, priest; in Shaftesbury, St. Edward, king and martyr, and St. Elgiva, queen; in Melrose, St. Drihthelm; in Thanet, St. Ermengytha.

"Hæc propter utilitatem legentium inseruimus," adds the historian, "ut qui aliquem sanctum adire voluerit, sciat quo eum requirat."

Of the zeal and ingenuity of the Crusaders in acquiring relics, when Constantinople was taken in 1204, there are many curious details in the chronicles of the monasteries to which they gave them. Henry of Ulm, speaking of a particle of the cross which he has given to an abbey, says, "that it is the treasure above all earthly possessions the dearest to his heart."

The bare sight of these relics was acknowledged as a divine favour, with pious gratitude. Thus another exclaims, "Per omnia benedictus Deus qui mihi, servo suo licet indigno et fragili peccatori fere in senio jam existenti, divina pietas videre concessit!"* The chronicles of St. Denis, describing the Emperor Charles IV., visiting the relics of the abbey and of the holy chapel, say, that being unable to walk, he caused himself to be carried, with great pain and suffering, before the shrine; that he joined his hands and wept, and prayed long, and with great devotion; and then, supported on the arms of his attendants, approached and kissed it.† He declared to the university of Paris, that his chief object in visiting France was to behold these relics; and accordingly, the king intimated to the abbots whose houses he visited, that it was his desire to be received as a pilgrim come to venerate them. Of

* Ad an. 1050.

* Rigord, c. 48. † Ad an. 1378.

the relics which Abbot Martin sent to Paris, Otho, of St. Blase, says, "these shed lustre upon all Germany and Alsace;" and Gunther says, "by the coming of these, all Throtonia began to be counted by men more glorious, and by God more happy."*

The monks of Fossa Nuova, though Cistercians, would not have consented that the body of St. Thomas, who had died there, should be translated to the convent of his order in Toulouse, if it had not been in consideration that the relics of St. Dominick, the apostle of the south of France, were in Italy, at Bologna. It being resolved secretly to remove the body of St. John of the Cross from Ubede, where he died, to Segovia, an officer of the court arrived by night at the monastery, and, having desired an audience of the father prior, for a matter of the greatest consequence, he intimated to him the order of which he was the bearer; by which he was enjoined, on pain of excommunication, to take up the body secretly, without apprising any one of what was to be done. This was an unexpected blow to the prior. Nevertheless, to obey the first superior, he took the necessary measures; so that, when every one in the monastery was asleep, he went down into the church, accompanied by the officer and two monks, whom he had bound over to secrecy under the same penalty as that under which he lay himself, and, when all was arranged, they opened the grave. The saint had been dead a year; but, lo! the body was still perfect, and the flesh undecayed. As his bones only were demanded, the prior concluded that it was impossible to effect the object intended, at that time; so, having covered the body with quicklime, they placed it again in the grave, and sent back the officer to report what had been done. After nine months he returned; and, with the same precautions as before, the grave was opened, and the body, which was still perfect, being only dried up by the lime, was placed in a leather case, and committed to him. This man left the monastery about midnight, and, it is said, that strange visions were seen by many the same hour. One monk was so impressed with a conviction of what was passing, that he left his cell and came down to the church; but he found the prior standing at the door, who refused to let him enter, and desired him to return to his cell, and bury his suspicions within his bosom. The officer, who bore the body to Segovia, declared, that, after leaving Ubede, while passing the desert mountain, he heard many voices, which he thought could not be human, and that he was terrified.*

* Ap. Hurter, 25.

When Heloise wrote to Peter the rable, requesting that the body of might be interred in her convent, ac to his own desire, long before int the monks of Cluny, who had seen th tity and fervour of his last years, es it so valuable a treasure, that they have opposed their abbot if they h pected that he would comply. Peter fore, promised to grant her request; condition of her keeping his intention and leaving the choice of the time as it was an affair of difficulty. The s and autumn passed; but, some day All Saints, the abbot of Cluny went priory of St. Marcel, on pretence of the usual visit; and then, one night the monks reposed, he caused the Abelard to be raised up, and imme set off with it, and arrived at Par the sixteenth of November. But w describe the joy and the sorrow of H when she heard the lugubrious ch the choir on the entrance of the bo the church? The abbot of Cluny high mass: after which he made a exhortation; and then the body was in the vault, half of which was with sanctuary, and half in the nun's choi abbot left the convent full of holy a for Heloise and for the community he associated in a spiritual societ Cluny. After this solemnity no r heard of Heloise. The pen fallin her hand, she writes no more lette passes the remaining twenty-two y her life in the exercise of penitence, the wise and holy government of P which became under her the ornan the Church of France, and an exan all the monasteries of the age.

With respect to the material valu ciated with these relics, it will be su to observe, that these were contai shrines or reliquaries which were oft digies of art. Dom Bouillart, in his of the abbey of St. Germain-du-Pr given engravings to represent the some of the most ancient that were treasury of that abbey. The body Brigit, at Kildare, was overhung wi and silver crowns; and the relics Columba, which the abbot of Iona re for safety to Ireland, in 830, are st have been enclosed in a shrine of But the monk, with an angelic smile us on: lo! it is the church we are en

* Vie par le P. Desithée, Lib. viii

CHAPTER VIII.

DOMINE, qui operati sunt justitiam, habitabunt in tabernaculo tuo, et requiescent in monte sancto tuo." How solemn are these first sounds, and what joyful fervency is exhe spectacle which presents itself! ches of the monasteries have never ed air, as if those who served them tten that care about minutiæ is the mark of an intense and reverent

The monks deemed that "there no nobler task for a rational being of providing, with the most punctuctness, for the due celebration of or's worship; and no worthier deof the offerings of nature, and the art, all alike his gift, than in the of his earthly dwelling-place." No penetrates, as an atmosphere, into rches? No cold, dead, formal lling on the ear more monotonous drop of rain in the pool of a grotto, substitution there of custom, void r religious fervour and active zeal, g to the desires of the interior life! iety of holy observances dispels and apathy," says St. Bernard, to the offices in the abbey of St. er the conversion of Suger, which the reform of the whole commu-The words which I read in the urch of Einsiedelin,—"Verè Do- in isto loco,"—seem only to ext is uppermost on the tongue of all the church of a religious order. lso singularly striking in them is ound silence, that extraordinary bserved. Nothing can be more than to see the community as—that profound recollection; those peace; those low salutations, which s make to each other; that genelation; those foreheads in the dust, bell announces the opening of the e tabernacle in which the Lamb pot reposes:—all that produces a great effect, and speaks a language of the soul which it understands, and seldom hears elsewhere.

"Incidence to be noted," says the chronicler of St. Denis: "it happened, at this time, that a man who had quite lost his senses returned to a right memory in the church of this abbey."* Rightly, he does not affirm it a miracle, but an incidence. In effect, to account for it by secondary causes would not be impossible. It was not unprecedented either. In the chronicle of Mount-Cassino we read that a mad woman, who used to wander through mountains and valleys, woods and fields, by day and by night, never resting except when compelled by exhaustion, coming one day to the oratory of St. Benedict, was from that hour restored to a sane mind.† What strikes one so in these monastic churches,—what soothes and inspires such delicious calm,—was, not the material, but the living temple; not the vista of arches and columns, but the man of cowl adoring. While in the monastic churches it must be remembered, that all which was visible was only a type and shadow of what really existed within the minds of the men who served them. The soul of the monk was the interior temple, of which, the visible was only a material development.

After the solemn consecration of the church of the monastery of Cava, by Pope Urban II., on the fifth of September, in 1092, in presence of Duke Roger, and all the people of Salerno,—of which, there is such a splendid and curious account in Muratori,—the pomp being finished, the pontiff, with the cardinals and Duke Roger, returned to the cloister; and then, having assembled all the monks, the pope spoke to them as follows:—

"Vidistis dilectissimi—You have seen, my beloved, how many sacred unctions, how many ceremonial rites, and how many prayers we used, while this house, by the ministry of our humility, was dedicated to the Lord: all which things, without doubt, were done for your sake, and for the

* St. Bern. Epist. 78.

* Ad an. 1193. † Chron. Cas. 39.

sake of all who are to come after you, to the end of time; in whom will be spiritually fulfilled the things which this day have been foreshadowed on these walls: for what has now been done in the visible house, Jesus Christ daily works in the souls of the faithful. For these are known to be truly and really the temples of the Holy Ghost. You, O my sons! are the temple of the living God; as the Apostle said, 'The temple of God is holy, which you are.' Consider, therefore, in your minds, brethren, how great is the dignity of a devout monk, whom God hath led from the boisterous waves of the world into the calm port of religion, that the eye of his mind being purged by the monastic discipline, he may the more easily perceive how all human things are narrow, mortal, and full of error and of vanity; and although still on earth, he is nevertheless celestial, and already, in a certain manner, associated with the blessed. For these are the true ornaments, these are the admirable insignia, of monks. Therefore, hold fast what you possess, that no one may take away your crown; and, dearest brethren, since you cannot in the way of authority, at least by your prayers, assist us to bear our burden, and condole with us with the affection of piety."

Then the brethren having been admitted to kiss his feet, the Serene Duke, and all who had accompanied him, returned to Salerno.*

Monks were men of prayer; and perhaps that is to include all in one word. "Consider," says St. Thomas, "what a felicity is granted to you in prayer, to speak with God, to engage in conversation with Christ, to choose what you wish, and to ask what you desire."† With all this, we must take into account the saintly and impressive looks of the monks and friars, the solemn historical recollections awakened by the sight of their holy abbot; the effect produced by observing them pass, now seen, now lost, as they glide under arched cloisters to or from the interior of the convent; and the feeling which arises from it, that one is thus admitted to catch a glimpse of the domestic life of the meek men of God, who think upon the ancient days, and have in mind the eternal years; who meditate by night with their heart, and exercise and search their spirit. All this acted powerfully on the imagination. The pavement of these churches was to burn under the feet of evil they dared to enter them.*

The annals of Corby, in Saxony under the date of 1415, that Justin a devout rustic among the peas Stahl, would never enter the church barefooted, through reverence for t place.† Donizo, the Benedictin that one day the great Boniface, Tuscany, came to the abbey of Po and, when assisting at the divine from a lofty tribune, though not proud heart, looking on the choir, the faces of all the boys fixed dow the ground, while sweetly singi Hours; and having asked why the so immoveable, he was told by the that they always stood so: then secret orders that some one shoul the roof of the church, and throw pieces of money. And, lo! wh livres fell with a great noise up pavement, in the midst of the ch eyelids of the boys were never rais no one stirred to touch the money.‡

When Othgar the Paladin, that hero and friend of Charlemagne, solved upon leaving the world and ing a religious life, he made a jour the purpose of visiting, as a strange various monasteries, in order that he judge with his own eyes where the discipline was best observed. F purpose he procured a staff, to whic attached many little thongs of leath at the end of each thong was an ir which he used to let fall with violenc the pavement of whatever monast entered; artfully and diligently rem whether the monks, at the sound staff, would lightly turn round t vanity of mind. Having in this r visited many monasteries, he foun said, nowhere such absence of vanit that of St. Faro: for there, when dashed the appendages of his staf the pavement, and made a prodigious not one of the monks moved, or round to see what was the matter, mind recalled from the intention o tion, excepting one boy, who was after struck with the wand of disc and made to return with his eyes fro distraction. The behaviour of this appeared the most strict; and the

* Rer. It. Script. tom. vi.
† ii. 2. 9. 83. a. 2 ad 3.

* Cæsar. Heist. Illust. Mirac. xi. 54.
† Ap. Leibnitz Script. Bruns. Illust.
‡ Vita Mathildis, Lib. 1. c. 14. ap. M
Rer. Italic. Script. v.

r, he assumed the habit of a monk, e lived in great sanctity till his His tomb, of which Mabillon gives aving, was one of the greatest ts in that monastery.*

ng could exceed the magnificence nonastic churches in the middle Ve have already remarked the is scale on which many of them ilt. No less striking was the of their architecture. The pillars urch of the abbey of Lobbe, in the of Liege, were so slender, that the Alba, coming there, did not dare he church, lest the vault should im, and exclaimed, "this will be ts' tomb."† Dagobert I. covered e abbey of St. Denis, on the out- h fine silver, as the chronicles What must have been its bright- in? The riches of the church of r, the splendour of its altars, the its paintings and mosaics, are ded in detail by the Abbot Suger. s, the abbot of Mount-Cassino, ver artists from Constantinople the church of that abbey with mosaics, tessellated pavement, ass, and paintings; besides which, of all prudence caused the boys onastery to be taught by these order that the art should never be lost in Italy.§ In the twenty- ssertation of Muratori on the es of Italy, many details may be this subject; but one cannot monastic chronicle without meet- striking instances. The annals in Saxony, under the date of ord that John de Steinburg gave bey figures of the twelve apostles, life.‖ Images of this kind were solid silver. "In the church," Bernard, "are not only crowns, s, studded with jewels, and sur- rith lamps, shining no less with tones than with their lights. For as we see immense trees of brass, with wondrous art, and not more with lights than with the in them. The pavement is full of saints and angels, and inlaid ntiful colours. Perhaps this is rding to the prophet, 'Domine, orem domus tuæ.' We may suffer this in the church, because, although they are injurious to the vain and avaricious, they are harmless to the simple and devout."*

We read that Immo, abbot of St. Gall, began, and nearly finished the golden tablet which is before the altar of St. Gall, which is more precious for the art employed in it than for the materials."† The walls of this abbey church were painted and inlaid with gold. The high altar was covered with gold, and ten other altars were of silver. The splendour with which the divine worship was celebrated in monasteries corresponded to this magnificence. We read of the same abbot, that he also made the chasubles, in one of which our Lord's ascension is wrought in gold, and in another is woven with divine images. Similarly he provided the golden stoles and dalmatics, and other ecclesiastical ornaments, finished with such subtle skill; and so many other things he did, that there is no prince in the world in our age who, in so short a time, could accomplish so many magnificent works. "Whence," demands Burkhard, "could he have such a weight of gold, so many pearls, such precious purple, so many subtle workmen?"‡ One remonstrance in the abbey of Einsiedelin contained 2,911 pearls, 595 diamonds, 38 saphires, 154 emeralds, 857 carbuncles, 26 hyacinths, and 19 amethysts. It was of solid gold, and eleven years of work were required to make it.§ In the ninth and tenth centuries nothing was spared to add grandeur to the divine worship in St. Gall. The same attention was paid to it in the abbey of St. Denis, after it had embraced the reform under Suger. On certain festivals sixty great wax candles used to be lighted round the high altar. In the abbey of Einsiedelin, before the holy chapel, sixteen enormous wax tapers, weighing ninety pounds each, used to burn day and night, at the expense of the Swiss cantons. Dagobert the First had established a rent of 100 livres for the lights of the abbey of St. Denis, to be furnished with the best oil from Marseilles; and Pepin added a privilege, that the six carts which were to convey it were to be exempt from all toll the whole way from that city to the abbey.‖ Roger, earl of Shrewsbury, gave to the monks of Ouches every year, at the beginning of Lent, 100

. Ord. Benedict. Sæcul. iv. pars i.
' Lit. de Doux Bénéd. c. 9.
c. S. Monast. Casinens. Lib. iii. c. 29. ibuits.

* S. Bern. Apolog. ad Guillel. c. xii.
† Burkhard de Casibus S. Galli, cap. i.
‡ Id. cap. i. § Regnier, Chronique d'Eins. 78.
‖ Chroniques de St. Denis, v. 9.

livres from his revenue of Alençon, for lights day and night in their church, before the figure of our Lord upon the cross.* And there was no monastery to which donations were not made for supporting the lamp,—that lamp, "whose narrow fire is shaken by the wind, and on whose edge devouring darkness hovers,—that small flame, which as a dying pulse rises and falls, still flickering up and down, was emblematic of our life, which even now thus wastes and sinks." The churches generally were brilliantly lighted in the time of Charlemagne. Aldric, bishop of Mans, ordained that every night there should burn in the elder church three lights of oil and one of wax, from vespers till sunrise; that during nocturns there should burn ten of oil and five of wax; but on Sundays and minor festivals, thirty of oil and five of wax should burn through the night, and on the greater festivals this number was to be tripled.† In adorning their churches with such magnificence the monks acted not without deep thoughts. "Let each one abound in his own sense," says Suger, "but I confess what most pleases me is, that whatever is most dear and precious ought, above all, to be made subservient to the administration of the thrice holy Eucharist. Some oppose to us, that it suffices to bring to this administration a holy mind and a pure soul, and a faithful intention. And we also indeed hold that these are especially required. But we profess also, that on nothing so much as on this holy sacrifice ought all external nobleness to wait in conjunction with all interior purity; for in all things universally ought we decently to serve our Redeemer, who in all things universally, without exception, did not refuse to provide somewhat for us, who united under one admirable individual, our nature with his own, who promised that placing us on his right hand, He would grant us to possess his kingdom, who liveth and reigneth our Lord through all the ages of ages.‡ Dom Gervaise, abbot of La Trappe, praising Suger for the holy magnificence with which divine worship was celebrated in his abbey, adds, "I know indeed that St. Bernard declaimed against the splendour of ornaments in churches, and wished that men might be content with bringing a pure heart; but neither am I ignorant that all the saint of his opinion, as may be witnes Chrysostom."* If one can see things to please his own vanity also have a design to honour it was with this intention that Su no expense in providing for the worship. His own cell was as those of the other monks; it ha tapestry nor curtains, and he sl straw: he used no carriage or always travelled on horseback, e extreme old age. His table h simplicity of a monastic board, persons always sat with him dined.†

In some monasteries there w distinct choirs of 100 monks e children, which succeeded each singing the divine praises. So was a perpetual psalmody night This was the case in the abbey o dard at Soissons, founded by Clo 557, one of the most celebrated the world, illustrious for the le its monks and the multitude of most of them of noble, and som blood. Organs, which came in first in 757,§ and which some the Theatines, persisted in rejec often built in the monasteries. Bona says, that the Cistercian ab celebrated for the grandeur of t music which resounded in their night and day. The offices were in them with such solemnity a tion, that it seemed as if one he the voice of angels.‖ Men liturgical antiquities were plea certain peculiar customs, vestige times, which were found in th tion of divine worship, in religio as in the Carthusians and Do and in particular monasteries, as St. Martin of Tours. Thus, in of St. Denis, there were practices since the time of the Merovingia as the anthem Ante Evangelium, Venite Populi before the comm the people: on certain festivals munion was given in two kinds, of a tube, and the mass was sung i In the abbey of St. Gall, also, o

* Ord. Vit. v.
† Gesta Aldrici ap. Baluze Miscellan. tom. i.
‡ Sug. Abb. Lib. de Rebus in Administratione sua gestis, ap. Duchesne, iv.

* Hom. 81, in Mat.
† Hist. de Suger, liv. vi.
‡ Gerbert de Cantu Sacra.
§ Chronic. Quedlinburgense ap. Leib Brunsv. Illust. iii.
‖ De Divin. Psal. 451.
¶ Lebœuf, Hist. du Diocèse de Pa

the Gloria, Credo, and Pater used to ıg in Greek, of which, the notes in are still preserved; and in that of let mass had been sung in Greek on ɔast of Pentecost, from the time of ısa. One of the rules of the Capu- was, that in towns or cities where rs can flow into churches to hear the ɔ office, on the three days of holy week, s should be sung not in the evening, t midnight, according to the custom ancient fathers.* It was the custom uny, for the priest who said mass, ɔ high altar, to administer the holy union under the two kinds to the ı and subdeacon, and two ministers, ɔerved.† The Carthusians, instead rely kneeling, prostrated themselves ɔ ground and kissed it, at the Homo est.‡ In the abbey of Mount- ıo, as in the basilica of St. Paul ne, there were certain tones of the which differed from the Gregorian.§ ɔ abbey of St. Gall the choral song ingularly solemn. It rose high ıen sank into depth, unlike that in places, which was more uniform.‖ oses or sequences used in this abbey the Gospel were sung through all e. The hymns peculiar to some ı, in honour of their respective patrons, o please also by the strangeness of ɔne. "not cheerful, nor yet sad, some d thing, some outworn and unused ony, such as the country matrons ıg from them sing and spin till they ; forget they live." But what chiefly ed those who had minds susceptible sublime in this order, was the solem- ınd religious reverence with which ine office was celebrated in all re- ı houses. In monasteries the tone e, the time, every thing was regu- by a general sense of what was best, which no one was permitted to de- St. Jerome says, that a man loses y, who, on account of an immode- nd indiscreet mode of singing the ɔ office, incurs a charge of madness gloominess. St. Benedict in his esires that morose tediousness should oided; and William of Paris and n both command that wearisome and l prolongations should be repressed, ıat spiritual hilarity should be ob- served. Such attention was paid to the music of the choir, that frequent notices occur in ancient books of circumstances relating to it. "I have heard," say Cæsar of Heisterbach, "that there was a certain monk in Mount-Cassino, who had so sweet a voice, that when on the vigil of Easter he blessed the paschal candle, the dulcet tones of that benediction resounded in the ears of all as a celestial melody."* The truth is, that the divine offices in general could never be sung with such effect as in these regular communities, in which they were loved and studied, and understood profoundly. That deep meditation of the monks and devout sisters on the prayers, must have produced great effects in the celebration of external worship. St. Theresa says of that of our Lord, "When I have finished it I can proceed no farther. This comprises all consolations; this conveys a solid instruction for the mind, and a great remedy for all the troubles of the heart."† It was in monasteries that the affecting symbols of the Catholic liturgy were most fully appreciated. Poujoulat speaks of his seeing an old monk weeping, when the prior came to wash his feet with the rest on Maunday Thursday. The reason of course was, that he saw Christ in his superior. We find that when monks used to be presented to eminent saints, who were supposed to obtain from God whatever they prayed for, what they used to beg on these occasions might be demanded for them, was the gift of tears in the church; one would desire that he might always weep during mass; another at the solemn vigils of the second and fifth Feria and on the Sabbath.‡ When travelling and in strange churches monks were to observe the same demeanour as others, for those who have only one heart and one soul ought not to appear dissimilar externally.§ The devout, reverential step of hooded men and their profound genuflections in their churches, were actually so many acts of faith—the result of a deep and practical conviction of the respect which God requires us to pay externally, as well as internally, to the mysteries or the symbols of religion. Let us hear a narrative of Cæsar of Heisterbach to illustrate this remark. "In the abbey of Hemmenrode was a certain convertite, a native of Cologne, by name Liffard, an humble, meek man, whose

ɔnstit. of the first Gen. Congregation in † Chronic. Cluniacens.
ɛt. Sutorus de Vita Carthusiana, ii. iv. 5.
erbert de Cantu Sacra.
lefons Von Arx.

* Illust. Mirac. Lib. iv. c. 8.
† The Road of Perfection, 42.
‡ Cæs. Heist. Illust. Mirac. ii. c. 22.
§ St. Bonaventura Speculum Novitiorum, c. 30.

office it was to tend the swine of the monastery. Towards the end of his life, as Lord Hermann, then abbot, related to me, he was tempted by the spirit of pride; for he began to say to himself, 'What am I doing here? I am well born, but on account of this vile office, despised by all my friends. I will not stay here any longer.' So he resolved to leave the monastery next day. But that night, as he watched in his bed, there appeared to him a venerable person, who made signs that he should follow him. He rose up, took his shoes, and followed to the door of the dormitory, which opened of itself. Thence they past to the door of the church, which in like manner opened to them. The figure moved up the choir of the convertites; he followed, and as they passed by the altar of St. John the Baptist, made a profound inclination. The other, who went first, said then, 'You have done well to bow reverently.' Then coming to the south door of the church, which leads into the cloister, they found it also open, as well as that which leads to the cemetery, all which are regularly locked every night. On their entering the cemetery the graves of the dead were all open, and the figure leading him to that of a man who had recently died, stopped and said, 'Do you mark this man? You will soon be like him. Now, whither do you wish to go?' Then as he was about to lead him to other putrid bodies, the convertite cried out, 'Spare me, Lord, spare me; for I cannot bear the sight.' Then replied the other, 'Why through pride will you desert the port of salvation? Promise to me on this spot that you will remain;' and he promised him. Then the graves closed, and they returned, each door shutting after them as they went through, and on passing before the same altar, he again humbled himself as before, and then felt an interior conviction how that first act of humility had endeared him to God; and entering the dormitory, the door shut of itself after them, and when he lay down again on his bed, the figure vanished, and from that hour the temptation left him."*

Hugo of St. Victor explains why in the diurnal and nocturnal offices the names of authors are not pronounced as they are at mass, by saying, "that herdsmen and workmen who assist at the latter would not know who wrote these passages, if they were not told; whereas clerks and domestics of the church know wh authors, from having often hea The monks loved the divine en of the choir; and what is lov done. Cardinal Bona mention of the Cistercian order, who from had leave from his abbot to abse from matins; yet he hardly ev himself of the liberty. Being he exposed himself unnecess cannot do otherwise," he repl remembering the consolation I in my soul during the divine o pained to the last degree not to in the church where angels Christ himself are present with th of men."*

When Laurentius Ferrarus, St. Martin's at Palermo, used t bells for the divine office,—"I brethren, joyfully," said he, "t our minds."† "While suffering severe master at school," say G Nogent, "I did not try to avoid siastical office; nay, when the h I did not even prefer my supper

When Gobert, of the abbey was travelling and singing the his companion, the barking of would induce him to break off had passed, that he might lose the harmony of the sacred c though he was only a lay broth clerical knowledge, the mere sou holy words filled his heart with s

Monks used often to remai church during the night, even w was no office. In the decretal franc, referring to the season fro to Advent, we read, "that the midnight, before matins, is to g the church with a dark lantern, one should be asleep there, a any one is praying, he is to pa in silence." We read in the c Melrose, at the date of 1259, was a monk in that abbey who years was never known to use hi slept before the altars. Eve winter he used to spend a gre the night in playing sacred m the harp in honour of the Bless By day, while reading the Psalte to sit near the door of the chur

* Illust. Mir. iv. 4.

* De Divin. Psal. 521.

† Sicilia Sacra, ii. 1082.

‡ Guib. Abb. de Novigento de Vi i. c. 6.

§ Hist. Monast. Villar. Lib. ii. a Thes. Anec. iii.

basket of bread; and no poor person departed without having something to carry away from it.*

Sugar always went to matins when he was at St. Denis; and when affairs of state called him to the court, or when he was travelling, he used to rise by night to say them at the same hour as he would have risen if he had been in the abbey.† Dom Martene, on occasion of his visit to Clairvaux, remarks that the abbot, in his 80th year, assists at nearly all the offices, and rises constantly at two o'clock for matins. He retires to rest at ten, having eaten but one meal in the day, and drank no wine.

How interesting is it to find the great St. Bernard, whose counsels directed kings, whose pen guided the Christians of the east as well as of the west, explaining to a monk of Clairvaux, why he had not replied to his letters on receiving them, by saying, that he was occupied in the celebration of the divine festival. "Your letters came to my hands on Christmas-day, when the solemnity of course did not permit me to think of any thing else."‡ Similarly he apologises to Oger, a canon regular, for replying to him in a very short letter, on the ground of its being the season of Lent. "There is a time for silence," said the wise man; "but what time will have its silence if confabulation is to claim for itself even the sacred days of Lent? When we cannot even speak to the present what we wish, can we dictate to the absent? but while I dictate or write, what leisure or silence can I have? But you say, I can do all this in silence? You cannot say so seriously, for what a tumult is in the mind of the dictator when a multitude of sentences resounds, where a variety of words and diversity of senses concur, where often that occurs is rejected, and that which punishes is required; when it is considered what is the best expression, the most consequent sentence, the most clear, the most useful, what is to come first, what last, and other things of the same kind? And do you tell me that this is quiet? and, because the tongue is silent, will you call this silence?"§ All that dramatic interest, therefore, attached to the festivals, of which we spoke in the fifth book, was felt in monasteries in the highest perfection, where it was the desire of every one to co-operate, in the deepest recesses of his soul, with the intentions of the church.

The secular clergy, who in a certain sense must move with the world, seem obliged sometimes to give up things of venerable and of useful observance, through compliance with the manners around them. If the public becomes too dissipated, or too much occupied with the world, to have leisure for assisting at the divine offices, these offices in the churches of the secular are either suppressed; (and whatever councils or synods may say,* requiring that the whole Paschal week, and the second, third, and fourth ferias after Pentecost should be celebrated with pomp as the chief day, all these great anniversaries are reduced to little more than an ordinary observance,) or else, as we see recommended in publications styled Catholic, they are to be changed and stript of their ancient universal character;† so that, in fine, to a certain extent, the result of their acquiescence amounts to an interdict, which comes to be considered an indulgence.

But the monks had no occasion for such sacrifices: whether people of the world chose to be pious or indifferent, their churches resounded with the praises of God and the holy circle of ecclesiastical rites was maintained in all its sublime order, unmained and unadulterated. The monks, not content with faithfully celebrating in their own immediate church, even made foundations to provide for the solemn rites of the divine office, wherever their influence extended. There was a priory at Aunay belonging to the abbey of Cluny, in which were to be always two monks along with the prior, who were to say mass there daily, and to sing vespers with notes every day.‡

The monks would not suspend their offices through any human motive. They had no parties of pleasure to arrange at certain periods of the year, which they preferred to the commemoration of an apostle. Not even the destruction of their monastery would cause an interruption to their psalmody. Ingulphus relates, that at day-break, the morning after the fatal night in which the abbey of Crowland was burnt, the monks performed their office with a lugubrious voice in the hall of Grimketulus, the corrodiarius of the abbey; and not till afterwards did they proceed to examine the smoking ruins, where the fire was not even then extinguished.§ And

* Chronic. de Mailros. Rer. Anglic. Script. i.
† Hist. de Suger, Lib. vi.
‡ Epist. 86. § Epist. 89.

* Synodus Ingilenhemens. ap. Canis. Lect. Antiq. † Cath. Mag. No. 38. 1840.
‡ Bibliotheca Cluniacensis, 1716. § 77.

let it be observed, that this constancy was the result as much of private inclination as of strictness of discipline. Thus, during the interdict, in 1199, occasioned by the conduct of Philip Augustus to Ingelberge, the prior of St. John-des-Vignes, at Soissons, and three of his monks, afflicted at the silence in their church, left the city on the day of the Assumption, and proceeded to a neighbouring mountain, where there had been formerly a hermit. In that desert place they sung vespers, and after a frugal repast took repose till midnight, when they rose to sing matins, during which, it was said, they were consoled by a choir of angels.* Even in death the desire of the monks always appeared to be to continue their holy song on earth to the last moment, before departing to the world, where it was to resound for ever. St. John of the Cross, dying in the convent of Ubede, after receiving extreme unction, at eight o'clock in the evening, requested the father provincial, and the other monks who wished to remain with him, to retire and take some repose, telling them that he would send for them in time. After the community had retired, he remained, kissing the crucifix, and murmuring words of love till nine o'clock, when he asked the hour; and the infirmarian having told him, he said, "We shall depart hence, to say matins in heaven, at midnight." Then, after reciting many psalms, and hearing some chapters read from the book of Canticles, he continued to ask repeatedly what the hour was, and when it was half-past eleven he begged that the community might be summoned, and then responded to the prayers in recommendation of his soul. As soon as the clock had struck midnight, a monk left the room to sound the bell. Opening his eyes, at the sound, he asked what it was, and when they told him that it was the bell for matins, "Glory to God," he exclaimed. Then having looked round on all present, he put his mouth to the feet of the crucifix, and said, "In manus tuas, Domine, commendo spiritum meum," and the same instant expired, as if he fell into a sweet sleep. This was on the 14th of December, 1591, in the forty-ninth year of his age, and the twenty-eighth of his profession.† How sublime was this undeviating course of the regular hours, which nothing could interrupt; not even the holy spectacle declared to be precious in the sight of God, of a death-

* Hist. de Soissons, ii. 67. † Dosithée, viii.

scene such as this! No wonde
bell of the monastery, which
their celebration, should awa
emotions in all who heard it
Methinks these details will eve
additional interest to that allusi
the poet, who describes the ri
William of Deloraine,

"When Hawick he pass'd, had curf
Now midnight lauds were in Melro

When the fleet of French
under Philip Augustus, bound
tine, encountered the dreadful
the straits of Messina, after the h
provisions had been thrown over
wind and thunder seeming to g
terrible, all hopes of safety were
to vanish; but after midnight
consoled the men, saying, "C
fears: already the brethren of
are risen to matins. The saint
not forget us, are reciting their
vice in honour of Christ. The
will deliver us from this great p
he spoke, the tumult of the at
subsided—the fury of the wind
peased, the moon and stars again
and the sea grew calm.*

We my observe, in conclus
monks in the middle ages were no
in theological science to defend th
of their discipline, in this respec
the cavils of objectors. "The v
the choir," says the annalist of t
chins, "is not a religion of ind
ignorant men, as Wycliff and
imagine, but of divine men, su
Athanasians, the Basils, the C
Chrysostoms, the Cyprians, the
the Ambroses, the Augustins.
in every age have attacked it,
Church has always pronounced
the nations in which it was o
The benefit resulting from hav
churches, or monasteries, at a s
tance from their homes, was deep
ciated by the people in ages
"Near a monastery," was then th
cation to enhance the value of a
as now it is, "near a pack of
The neighbourhood of St. Gal
Denis, of Glastonbury, or St. Alb
then indeed desired on different
from what it would be now.
places many felt their hearts ope
their souls instantaneously enfi

* Philipeid. Guillaume le Breton, (

l the servile bonds of this world. were extraordinary instances, but admirable were the general results ociety around them.

olemn and tender melodies of the by means of these institutions, access to those who, for want of ould have degenerated, as we now nany, from the dignity of their al vocation; for music of this nature ngthener both of the mind and of t. If a modern philosopher doubts the admirable order of the Lace- ms was more owing to the laws of s than to the elegies of Tyrtæus, not wonder that those who lived nasteries, should have imbibed so ly and generous sentiments merely ig the Gregorian chant with hooded affection for the divine offices dic- lelicate solicitude for the wants of io were employed in their celebra- which we find many traces. Hence, the Bald founded in the abbey of s, "fifteen tapers for the refectory, aced on the tables in winter, be- as the chronicles observe, "the ity sometimes goes very late to , from the service in the church ing been finished before night- "There was a poor man," says f Heisterbach, "who had kept i his youth, but in old age was to beg at the door of our abbey He never would leave the church is there was any part of the divine ebrating. Therefore, he was loved one."† Indeed, from an old com- ainst the monks of Mount-Cassino, ey mutilated their books in order psalters for the use of women and " we may infer how well their ere followed by the surrounding on. Three aged ladies lived close onastery of Bec. Their liberality onvent was unbounded, and they all kind attentions from the monks. ast who survived, we read, that inued her habits of devotion to , and in extreme weakness still in the church daily. So deeply scene or her adorations impressed thoughts, that even when carried d sitting by the fire, she still con- nought herself in the church. In ls of Corby, we read, that "about le of the fifteenth century Regina Salmsen and Veronica de Steinbrug were so devout, that neither cold, nor the night air, nor hunger, could ever drive them from the church of the abbey, but they lived in it constantly, to be objects of imitation to others."*

In the monastic churches, besides the regular offices, many devotions were observed, which endeared them to the people. Thus, in the annals of Corby, we read, under the date of 1402, that "the chapel of St. Gertrude is repaired, and it is commanded that every morning mass shall be celebrated for the sick in general, wherever they may be.† "In the abbeys of Ouches, Noyon, and in others, there was instituted," says Orderic Vitalis, "a solemn anniversary in favour of the fathers, mothers, brothers, and sisters of all the monks of the monastery. Their names were inserted in a long register, which is placed on the altar. The same day the almoner received in the abbey as many poor people as there were monks, and gave them an entertainment; after which, the ceremony of the Mandatum was performed by all the religious."‡ The verses for the solemn procession of the relics of St. Gall describe the faithful crowd sweetly singing, bearing the blessed burden through hills and vales—

"Scandens et descendens inter montium confinia,
Silvarum scrutando loca, valliumque concava,
Nullus expers ut locus sit istius solaminis,
Jamque cœlum, jamque terra, jamque pontus laudibus
Plandat, atque circumquaque vox emissa plebibus
Auctorem patremque tanta tamque clari luminis."†

The Benedictines of Einsiedelin, in their processions in the open air, use a portable organ to guide the voices of their choir. It was a custom then observed by all the inhabitants of the town, to wear long cloaks while in the church of the abbey, to which they used to hasten at all the regular hours, as if they were themselves monks. Indeed, there are few of the ancient chronicles, in which we do not find most remarkable testimony, to the benefit resulting from the churches of the monasteries to the community at large. Let us hear what is recorded under the date of 1330:—

"It is an ancient custom of the citizens of Pavia to visit often the thresholds of the saints. On the nativity of our Lord they proceed solemnly to the monastery of St.

iiques de St. D. an. 877.
Mirac. Lib. vi. c. 33.

* Ad an. 1452.
† Ap. Leibnitz, iii.
‡ Lib. iii.

Saviour with musical instruments, tymbrels, and trumpets, and silk banners, with the chief magistrate at their head. Similarly on the festivals of St. Peter and of St. Augustin, they proceed to the monastery of St. Peter in Cœlo-aureo, and offer palliums, the multitude of which may be seen on these festivals when they are extended in the church. On the vigils of St. Peter and of St. Augustin, crowds from many parts of Lombardy pass the whole night in the church. In the monastery of St. Peter, in Cœlo-aureo, where is the body of St. Augustin, there is, on every second feria of the year, a solemn sermon, at which nearly the whole city assists. On every third feria there is a sermon in the house of the hermits of St. Augustin. On the fourth, the sermon is in the church of the Dominicans. On the fifth, in that of the Carmelites. On the sixth, in the convent of the Minors; and on the Saturday in Lent alone it is again in the convent of the Dominicans. Besides these, there are particular sermons occasionally in different holy places. And the crowds which attend them are so great, that one might suppose the people rarely heard the Word of God; and there is always at the end a general confession and benediction. On festivals, and every day in Lent, the sermons are more numerous. On Good Friday every one, from the least boy of the town to the most decrepit old person, repairs very early to the convent of the Minors to hear the sermons on the Passion. I am deceived if I have not seen such multitudes that the whole city remained deserted. There one witnesses tears and groans abundantly, and the whole day is spent in hearing sermons in different places. In a word, the men have as much devotion as the women. So that if there be some bad amongst us, the greatest numbers of the inhabitants are devout and intent on the Divine Word."* It is marked in a calendar of the fifteenth century, that on Good Friday, in the church of the Great Augustins, at Paris, there is always, in different parts of the church, a sermon in Italian, German, and French.† At Durham, we hear of the fair iron pulpit, from which one of the monks used to preach every day of devotion at one in the afternoon. Salomon, abbot of St. Gall, shortly before his death, on Whitsunday, preached four times to the people. There was hardly a city or town in all France in which a Franciscan theologian from Paris did not preach in Advent or Lent. There was hardly one convent of the order that did not furnish six, ten, or twelve devout preachers;* the force of which distinction may be conjectured from what St. Thomas says, that "it happens frequently that they who approach with hardened hearts, by means of the word of preaching, are kindled to the divine love."

The churches of the monasteries possessed also a deep historical interest from the innumerable memorials which they contained, of pious gratitude and domestic affection commemorative of the dead who reposed beneath them; for they were generally full of sepulchres, many of them in the highest degree remarkable. Here lay emperors, philosophers, statesmen, and heroes, who had so often reposed a while in abbeys from the cares of their respective stations, or in their later years had sought in their peaceful solitude that calm for which they vainly sighed throughout a troubled existence. The historian makes us acquainted with the events of their lives: the monk recalls their memory in a manner perhaps still more forcible, by leading us to their tombs.

The abbeys of the west, so many of them founded by the Crusaders, bore record in marble of the perils and escapes of their benefactors amidst those great events. Thus in the Cistercian abbey of Breüil-Benoît, on the river Eure, founded in 1137, was a chapel erected in pursuance of a vow made by William de Marcilly, son of the first founder, to testify his pious gratitude for his miraculous deliverance from the hands of the Turks, and return to his parents and country. But what, above all, arrested the attention of those who visited monasteries with a view to interest of this kind, was the sepulchral lore in which they were so singularly rich; for in consequence of many considerations the desire to be interred within them was throughout the middle ages almost universal.

Louis-le-gros used often to explain his motive for wishing to be buried in the abbey of St. Denis, amidst the saints. "It was," he said, "in order that by the prayers of the pilgrims and others passing, he might obtain pardon of his sins."‡

* Anon. Ticinens. de Laudibus Papiæ, c. 17. ap. Murator. Rer. It. Script. tom. xi.
† Lebeuf, Hist. du Diocèse de Paris, i. ii. 2.

* Wadding, An. Minor. an. 1234.
† Opusc. iv. i.
‡ Chroniques de St. Denis, an. 1137.

hen humility shrunk from burial
e martyrs, men still clung to the hope
g associated in the grave with the
ic dead. Orderic Vitalis says, that
ear 1108, Philip, king of France,
, and seeing that his end was near,
oked the grandees of the state and
nds, and spoke as follows: "I know
e sepulture of the French kings is
Denis: but as I feel that I am a
inner, I do not dare to have my
ear the body of so great a martyr.
St. Benedict, that tender father
ks, and I desire to be buried in his
on the Loire." According to his
he was, therefore, buried in the
ry of St. Benoit de Fleuri, between
ir and the altar.* We find in-
of restitution being made to monks,
view to gaining burial in their

ric d'Etampes, son of Gaudric and
d, surnamed Payen, made a solemn
on of ecclesiastical goods to the
ry of Longpont. Frederic came
d deposed the act upon the altar.
nks proceeded to associate him in
ers of the community, in giving
book of the Gospels to touch, and
mised to bury him in their church.
ich, he gave the kiss of peace to
the monks.† When they could
actually sepulture with the monks,
n sought to have the benefit of
ayers. Thus, the archbishop of
pproaching his last hour, caused
be written to Pope Innocent III.
fter his decease were delivered
is seal to that pontiff by Magister
e Vico, in which he humbly be-
im to charge, by letters, the prior
ks of Grandemont, to pray to God
oul.‡

easy to account for this general
le. From the peace of the living
eace of the dead, the transition of
was natural. The monks who
l for the former, had leisure to
hat was conducive to the latter;
l time to think of those who were
l to the other world, and hence
vent and fraternal love they sought
e for every man a tranquil grave
eternal rest. They were ingenious
ising charity to the dead. In the
f Einsiedelin, there was an anni-

xi.
uf, Hist. du Diocèse de Paris, xi. 262.
t. Inn. iii. Lib. x. 47.

versary office for the souls of the poor strange pilgrims who had died there. "Let not the brethren slumber," says Cæsar of Heisterbach, "when they chant for the dead; because as knights are gathered together to a tournament, so flock souls to the office of the dead."* Men observed with what fidelity and reverence monks of all orders sung the requiem of those whose souls were commended to their prayers. Moreover, the Christian world could not be heedless of the fact, that it was in a monastery, that of Cluny, under Odilo, in 998, that the feast of All Souls, that most affecting, most tender commemoration, was first celebrated, which in the following year was regularly instituted for the whole church by Pope Silvester the second. It was evident that the interests of the dead were most studied and attended to in these communities. What could be more natural than that men should desire to come in personally for a share of the benefit? Those who best knew what passed in monasteries, from being themselves their inmates, may be proposed as taking the lead in manifestations of this desire. Thus the holy founder of the celebrated abbey in the forest of Fontevraud being on his travels, and perceiving himself about to die, had no other fear but that of not being interred in his beloved house. "O Fontevraud, Fontevraud," he cried, "I wished so much to rest with you!" Sending for the bishop of the city, he said to him, "Father, know that I do not wish to be buried at Bethlehem, where God deigned to be born of a virgin, nor at Jerusalem near the holy sepulchre, nor at Rome among the martys; it is at Fontevraud, no where but at Fontevraud that I wish to repose." There accordingly Dom Martene found his tomb at the side of the altar. Those who in life had given the strongest proof of attachment to the monks by founding abbeys, may be cited as following them nearest in regard to this solicitude. "King Henry," says Orderic Vitalis, "died at the castle of Lyons, in Normandy; but at his desire, his body after the delay of a month, in consequence of unfavourable winds, during which time it lay in the choir of St. Stephen, at Caen, was at length placed on board a ship by the monks, who were charged with the office, and transported to England, where it was buried with great honours in the abbey of Reading."† Of the zeal evinced by surviving relatives to

* Illust. Mirac. viii. 96. † Lib. xiii.

fulfil such desires, even when they were only presumed, many instances occur. Thus, in 1146, the marchioness of Lucard, taking offence at having been refused some favour by the abbot of Mount Sereno, and a few days after dying at Gerbestad, was buried there by advice of Hojer, count of Mansfeld. At that time the Marquis Conrad returned from beyond the sea, and on arriving in Bavaria learned the sad event of his wife's death. Hearing that she had not been buried in the abbey of Mount Sereno, by advice of Hojer, he become very angry, and declared that he would compel him to dig her up with his own hands. Hojer hearing of his anger, and wishing to regain his favour, went by night and persuaded the guardians to disinter her; it being six months after she had been buried. This being done, he conveyed the body to Wittin, where he met the marquis. Thence it was borne to the monastery of Mount Sereno, and honourably buried the same day; the marquis making donations to endow three altars for the repose of her soul, to each of which six manses were appropriated.*

Again, we must remember that monasteries were often the only asylums for the bodies as well as the souls of men on whom the world frowned. Hence we find such persons in their last sickness, eager to reach them before they died, like Wolsey pursuing his journey to Leicester, and greeting the abbot and his convent there with these words: "O father abbot, an old man, broken with the storms of state, is come to lay his weary bones among you; give him a little earth for charity." In the Saxon chronicle the account of the imprisonment and blinding of the innocent Etheling Alfred, son of King Ethelred, who was afterwards led to the monastery of Ely, concludes with these lines:

"Then to the monks they brought
Their captive; where he sought
A refuge from his foes
Till life's sad evening close.
His body ordered then
These good and holy men,
According to his worth,
Low in the sacred earth,
To the steeple full-nigh,
In the south aisle to lie
Of the transept west;
His soul with Christ doth rest."

There was, in fact, a spirit of generous independence in the religious orde prompted them to disregard all in granting burial to the dead, that act they might incur the res of the powerful. Hence, the abbeys with tombs of unhappy men, doomed. How many gentle, an and generous, over whose dark fate bard breathed one melodious sig honour is avenged by monks in the tions on their sepulchre! Ratherius sed ter Ratherius exul, is the sent the tomb of that great bishop of who after being successively expell the sees of Verona and Liege, die convent of Lobes, where he had o been a monk, and where his to erected with only this epitaph.* Cistercian house of the Compl academy, at Alcala, is the tomb of Walsh, a Benedictine monk and on which, it is stated, that after s an imprisonment of thirteen year Catholic faith, he died there an ex 1134, Robert II., duke of Norman at Cardiff, in the twenty-eighth ye imprisonment, after having been Tinchebrai. Orderic Vitalis onl "he reposes buried in the con the monks of St. Peter, at Glou Count Waldeve, accused of treason William, was kept in prison at Wi "During a year," says Orderic, penance there for the sins of his and never failed every day to s hundred and fifty Psalms of Davi he had learned in his childhoo surpassed most men in generosity as in courage. Devout adorer of listened with reverence to the mo cherished tenderly the church poor. For these reasons he was by all who fulfilled the will of G his deliverance was ardently desir gulphus says, that the Count's c the venerable Archbishop Lanfr clared that he was innocent of the racy, and that his death would be martyr; but that his impious wif buted to his death, and also, t Normans longed for his lordships o ampton and Huntingdon; so, in enemies prevailed, and sentence was passed and executed before the of Winchester had risen from the His body was cast into a trench, one dared to touch it. But afte

* Chronic. Montis Sereni ap. Menckenii Script. Rer. Germ. II.

* Trithem. Chronic. Hirsaug.
† Notit. Abb. Ord. Cister. ‡ I

was taken up, still quite fresh, by
el, abbot of Croyland, washed, and
with general mourning to the mo-
r of Croyland, where it was buried.
hus says, that the abbot continuing
l him in his sermons, the Normans
enraged and summoned him to a
at London, where he was deposed,
ned to prison, and sent to Glaston-
be far from all that knew him.
on this occasion, that Ingulphus,
ter studying at Westminster and
, and making a pilgrimage to Jeru-
had been prior at Fontanelle, in
ndy, was elected abbot of Croyland.
him in the next reign, the monks
g that the tomb of their benefactor,
Waldeve, should be exposed to the
nd the reign, resolved, by advice of
hus, to translate his remains into the
. When the day came, a crowd of
people assembled, and the monks
led with lights and all reverence, ex-
to find only his bones and ashes;
as the sixteenth year of his sleep:
en the tomb was opened, they found
y as whole as the day he was buried.
ad was joined to the body, and only
ed mark like a thread was round the
The Abbot Ingulphus knelt down
ssed him on the face. The body
n solemnly borne into the church,
aced in a tomb by the side of St.
c, on which, the monks placed the
g inscription: "This stone covers
epid son of Siward the Dane, the
t Earl Waldeve. He lived with
, feared for his prowess. Yet in the
f corruptible riches and honours, he
Christ and endeavoured to please
He served the church, loved with
the clergy, and in a peculiar man-
monks of Croyland, who were faith-
is memory. Finally, struck by the
f Norman judges, his limbs were
l to the earth on the last day of
The marshes of Croyland rejoiced
ss the tomb of a nobleman, who,
as he lived, loved this place with a
spect. May the Almighty grant
oul eternal rest in the citadel of
"*

after his election, Ingulphus had
to London, and made such interest
reat men, that he procured the
nce of his predecessor, Visketel;
accordingly sent an escort to con-
m from Glastonbury to Croyland,

* Lib. iv.

and, says Ingulphus, "with all favour and filial love beholding his worthy and venerable person, so excellent with the most holy piety, I replaced him in his ancient stall in the choir, and while he lived I only regarded myself as the procurator of the monastery. From him I learnt much concerning England. The venerable man died on the feast of St. Jerome, in 1085."

In the great abbey of the Celestins, at Marcoucies, was another memorable instance; for here, in the middle of the choir, with his feet towards the altar, lies a sculptured figure of the founder, John de Montaigu, who is buried under it; and the inscription on the tomb proves the pious fidelity of the monks to his memory; for it ends thus, "lequel en haine des bons et lòyaux services par lui faits au Roy et au Royaume fut par les rebelles ennemis du Roy injustement mis à mort à Paris;" and on another place were these verses—

"Pour ce qu'en paix tenois le sang de France;
Et soulageois le peuple de grevance,
Je souffris mort contre droit et justice
Et sans raison: Dieu si m'en soit propice."

By his side was buried Gerard de Montaigu, bishop of Paris, brother of the founder. It was the sight of this tomb, and the noble reply of the monk who showed it, that made Francis I. declare that "he would never sentence any man to death by commissioners."*

In Spanish histories we read, indeed, that the magnificent sepulchre of Alvarus de Luna, at Toledo, was destroyed by the infante Henry Peter; but, in general, this charity of the monks furnished an occasion of which princes availed themselves, to evince magnanimity, as when King John of Castille restored the sepulchre of that disgraced minister, and rejected with indignation the advice of his courtiers, when they complained that a man beheaded by his order should have a tomb among kings.†

Men who had owed deliverance from the hands of their enemies to the intercession of these men of peace, would naturally desire that their bones might rest near them, where the same prayers which had moved cruel men would be offered in their behalf to the God of mercy. Accordingly, the tombs of such men are often found in the monastic churches. Thus,

* Lebeuf, Hist. du Diocèse de Paris, ix. 276.
† Rod. Santii Hist. Hisp. pt. iv. c. 33.

in the Carthusian monastery of Mawrbach, we find the sepulchre of Frederic III. of Austria, who, in 1322, after the battle of Emphingen, in which he was defeated by the emperor Lewis of Bavaria, was thrown into prison, first in the castle of Dornberg, and afterwards in that of Trawsennicht, where he remained in misery until in 1325, when, after fruitless attempts by the pope and many great personages to obtain his release, he was delivered by means of the prior of this monastery, in which he now lies buried. One ancient chronicle remarks, that he bore his misfortune with great equanimity, and preferred suffering that cruel imprisonment to gaining his liberty by unlawful means; adding this curious tale, that when some one with more zeal than knowledge sent by necromancy an evil demon into the prison, by whom Frederic might have been delivered, the pious hero refused, and ordered the monster to depart, and guarded his forehead and breast with the sign of the cross. However, at length Gotfried, prior of Mawrbach, true to the etymology of his name, a peace-maker, went in the spirit of fortitude to Lewis, and said, "O prince, why do you not pardon your relative and friend? why attend to the counsels of the vain, who endeavour to subvert the clemency of princes? Do you not perceive that you will gain more honour by dispelling your indignation than by cherishing it?" Lewis was moved at the words of the monk. He ordered Frederic to be led into his presence, where the prior celebrated mass and gave them both the sacred communion from one Host. Frederic and Lewis then gave each other the kiss of peace, and became ever afterwards as closely united as Jonathan and David. Frederic returned to Austria as he came out from prison without having shaved his beard, so that he could be scarcely recognised by any one. His return was heard of with immense joy by all the people. Thenceforth he attempted nothing against Lewis, but lived quietly, and went no more to battle; but as Horace says, "post Punica bella quietus." Finally, in 1329, he found this quiet grave with the men who had delivered him.*

That the monastic charity, in regard to the burial of the dead, was extended also to those who died in a state of utter destitution, appears from a statute of the Capu-

* Anon. Lesbiensis Chron. Lib. v. ap. Pez. Script. Rer. Aust. i.

chins in their first general co held in 1529. "We decree," fathers, "that no dead bodies, be of our brethren departed, should ted into our churches, unless pe some poor persons to whom l been refused by the parish prie count of poverty. If such bod be brought to our convents a deserts, they must be received a for it is a work of piety. Let n received for their sepulture; bu rity let us pray to God for thei Perhaps one of the most affecting of this solicitude occurs in the St. Hughes, who brought with the Carthusian cloisters to the s coln, all the monastic tenderness burial of the dead he continued throughout his life, that the hi his order attributes the singul ficence of his own funeral—at sisted two kings, three archbishop bishops, more than one hundre and a crowd of counts, barons, an English, Norman, Franc, Bu Irish, and Scotch,—to the esp nance of the providence of God cating how much his piety to dead had pleased heaven.‡ It of him, on one occasion, that Rouen, and invited to dinner, b king of England, he refused to palace until he had assisted t dead; and to the courtiers who to hasten, replied, "Let the ki the name of the Lord; for it is l he should sup without us, tha should neglect humility accordi command of the eternal King were the lessons he had learn school of St. Bruno.

For all these reasons, then, th of the monks contained the sepu at least, the bones, of those who l to the dregs that cup of manifold which is administered for wise ficent purposes to many amongst dren of men. But now aband particular view, let us take noti tombs, which evince the desire o in general to obtain burial in ground. The number of these cient Benedictine abbeys of Eur be styled infinite; and after the

* A case however which subjected clesiastical censures.

† Annales Capucinorum, ad an. 15

‡ Dorlandi Chronicon Cartus. Lib.

§ Id. Lib. iii. c. 8.

y, the Mendicant orders took full
i the same ministry. The crowd of
ficent sepulchres in the convents of
ranciscans show, indeed, with what
ar love that order was regarded by the
t nobility. "From the first coming
se and the Dominicans to Venice,"
olo says, "that we find the dukes
ılly choosing to be buried either be-
heir doors or in their churches."*
a multitude of great princes and
i were entombed in the convent of
inors, at Vienna !† and in the houses
t order in France how many sepul-
of heroes ! many of whom, like Count
r de Sabran, in the convent at Paris,
een buried even wearing the habit.
ıs in the Franciscan convents, in
ıd, of Athlone and Kildare, that were
the tombs of the Dillons and of the
of Offaly.‡ Everywhere the same
was manifested, insomuch that some
es and secular clerks even denied
ıst sacraments to those who chose
sepulchre in the convents of the
iscans; and Pope Alexander IV. was
d to write against such injustice, to
e that these holy friars might con-
to provide those who turned to them
ıth with quiet graves.§

ıile proceeding now to view the tombs,
ay remark what an additional in-
must have attended such inspec-
from the circumstance of having for
a monk who was often a learned
ian and a saint. The office of escort-
rangers to the sepulchres of the kings
abbey of St. Denis, was, at one time
ırged by Mabillon. What must it
been to hear the comments of such a
de standing over the grave of St.
! We have only to cast our eyes
d us as we walk on, or to descend,
ıg these lighted tapers, to the crypts
so many sleep in dull cold marble,
d an interest in monasteries, which,
re had been nothing else to allege in
favour, ought to have secured their
vation to the end of time. Are we
abbey church of Cluny? how many
:hres of saints and illustrious per-
es on all sides! Are we in that of
aast, in Arras? we have around us
)blest tombs in all the low countries.

ıd. Danduli Chronic. passim, ap. Murat.
. Script. xii.
ecrolog. R. R. P. P. Minorum, Conv. Vienn.
z. Script. Rer. Aust. ii.
'adding, Ann. Min. iii. vi.
. iv. ad an 1260.

Dom Martene, on visiting the abbey of St. Germain at Auxerre, observes, "This place is perhaps the most venerable in the whole kingdom; and, after the catacombs of Rome, I do not know if one can find any more holy. More than sixty canonized saints repose here."* "The abbey of St. Victor without the walls and near the port," says Dom Martene, "is the most venerable place of Marseilles; all the land about it used to be called paradise, from the sanctity of the monks who inhabited it. Cassien was its founder; his sepulchre of marble is there, as also that of Pope Urban V., who had been abbot of this house." The subterraneous church again of the Minims at Arles, which was formerly a priory dependent on Lerins, inspires, he says, a respect which cannot be expressed. Here one sees seven marble tombs; amongst others, that of St. Hilary of Arles. Around the church are an infinity of marble sepulchres. Dom Martene thinks, "that the tombs around the little church of the Holy Cross, thought to have been built by Charlemagne, which stands near the monastery of Montmajour, to the south of Arles, were not those of the soldiers of that king slain by the Sarassins, but that the place was the ancient cemetery of the monks, who had a chapel in the midst according to the old custom."† But some ancient authors are very positive on this point. They say that great was the desire of many to be buried in this field of Eligius, from the idea that no diabolic delusions, like those read of in the gospels as dwelling near tombs, were suffered to linger round the dead bodies that rested in it. All that in Gaul, or round the Pyrenæan mountains, or the Apennines, fell in battle with the pagans, wished, they tell us, to have their burial there, and were borne thither, some on chariots, others on horses, others in boats that descended the Rhone, whose waters, to prevent their passing beyond it, would whirl them round in ceaseless circles if there was an attempt at further progress.‡ In this inspection of the tombs of the monastery, those of the religious naturally should have precedence. Let us observe a few of the most curious and venerable as we pass. But ere we take a step in advance, it is impossible to resist the solemn impression which comes over the mind on approaching them.

* Voyage Lit. i. 56. † Id. 281.
‡ Gerv. Tilb. Otia Imperialia, xc.

Luther, arriving on the eve of Palm Sunday at Erfurth, descended at the convent of the Augustins, where, a few years before, he had taken the habit. It was nightfall; a little wooden cross over the tomb of a brother whom he had known, and who had lately departed sweetly to the Lord, struck his attention and troubled his soul. He was himself no longer the poor friar travelling on foot and begging his bread. His power equalled that of Charles V., and all men had their eyes on him. That morning, on his march, he had sung the famous war hymn which Heyne compares to the Marseillaise; and the emperor was about to resist him, as he said in his imperial rescript, "though at the peril of his own blood, of his dignity, and of the fortune of the empire." The triumphant innovator was recalled to himself for an instant by seeing the tomb of a faithful brother. He pointed it out to Doctor Jonas: "See, there he rests; and I ——:" he could not finish. After a little while he returned to it, and sat down on the stone, where he remained more than an hour, and till Amsdorf was obliged to remind him that the convent-bell had tolled the hour for sleep.* Well might the heart, in which such tempests were still gathering, have wept at the image of that quiet grave. Let us now approach and mark each singly.

In the abbey of Clairvaux, Dom Martene saw the tombs of St. Bernard, of St. Malachy, and of some holy martyrs, which were behind the great altar. In a crypt near the cemetery of the abbots were ranged the bones of the monks who were contemporary with St. Bernard, and who are revered as saints. In the abbey of St. Germain-des-Près, the names of many monks of happy memory were handed down in ancient inscriptions, though all trace of their actions had been lost. But here we need not pause. These graves are all too old now to remember the sorrow which consigned its charge to each. Some tombs of monks convey lessons of humility, as in the epitaph of St. Bruno—

"Doctor eram, præco Christi, vir notus in orbe;
Desuper illud erat, gratia, non meritum."†

Others attest in a remarkable manner the virtues of their tenants. Such was that of John Walleis, an English Franciscan, commonly called Arbor vitæ, on account of the fruits of erudition for spiritual nourishment which he produced. He died at Paris,

* Audin, Vie de Luther.
† Pet. Sutorus de Vita Carthus. i. 3. 5.

smiling, with the words, "I am goi
country." And on his sepulchr
convent of the Minors, there w
sculptured in allusion to his name.
also was that of John Ballin, the
and monk of the abbey of Clairman
was at the end of the cloister near t
of the Blessed Virgin; for his epi
sisted of a picture of the flagel
Christ, having on the right our
sorrows, and on the left his own
with that of his patron St. John.†
Vitalis seems to think that the ve
images on some tombs bespeak the
of those they represent; for, spe
the abbey of St. Ceneri, in which 14
had cultivated the Lord's viney
which, having been ravaged by I
became a retreat for a tribe of m
robbers, who took possession of the
which it had stood: he says, "t
tombs placed in and about the ch
dently attest, to those who visit th
respect is due to the monks wh
repose."‡ On the tomb of St. Bon
in the convent of the Minors, at Ly
these verses—

"Ille hominum plausu nequidquam exc
Sed cura majore actus, melioraque ve
Pectore consilia, insani præconia vulg
Despicit, et varios ultro aversatur hor

On the death of this great docto
filled the whole church with grief,
by letters recommended all prel
priests throughout the world that ea
sing a mass for his soul. The wh
of Lyons, where he died, atten
council, assisted at his obsequies w
The Calvanists, on arriving here, t
body into the Arar; but the head
detached parts were preserved fro
into their hands.§ On some of the
chres we may read the whole hist
cloistral life, as in the epitaph
d'Authon, composed by John Bouc

"Dix ans avant que mourut ce bon pe
Austere vie il tint en monastere,
En mesprisant par merveilleux desda
Les gens du monde et tout honneur r

He slept on no soft couch:—

"Tousjours estoit le premier à matin
Combien qu'il fust noble des deux
Il ne vouloit ne chasse, ne venerie,
En solitude il vivoit tout seulet,
De conscience estoit fort timoreuse

* Wadding, An. Min. iv.
† Piers. Hist. des Abb. de Watten et
‡ Lib. viii. § Wadding, iv. an.

ed, repeating many fine verses:—

duqel repose sous la lame:
Dieu que pardon face à l'ame."*

iking were the tombs and epitaphs
t convertites in abbeys. Mark,
e, this inscription in the cloister
"Hic requiescit vir celebrandæ
magnusque seculi contemptor,
ı Dux Burgundiæ, postea sacerdos
us hujus sanctæ ecclesiæ Cluni-
Anima ejus requiescat in pace!
Deeply interesting were also
Palmers, such as that of Antonio,
Peregrinus; of the noble family
ıia, of Padua, who at length, after
nown for some time in the mo-
St. Mary de Porcilia, in Padua,
ence to Christ, in 1261, who is
rated on his sepulchre in that
one "qui omnia loca sancta visi-
The magnificent tomb over the
ouis de Blois, on which he was
ıe ornament and miracle of his
d the sepulchre of St. Remy, in
which bears his name, round
e represented the twelve peers of
s large as life, with their usual
s in the coronation of the French
nvey, moreover, a testimony to
of the times themselves, when
eceived such honours. Another
ıese sepulchres, which cannot be
thout intense emotion, attests the
nd renown of those monks, with
itings we are now so familiar.
find the tomb of Richard of St.
which these lines were engraved,
—

ingenio, doctrinâ clarus et arte,
eo hic tegeris, docte Richarde, situ.
lus genuit fœlici Scotica partu,
et in gremio Gallica terra suo.
Parca ferox nocuit, quæ stamina parvo
ore tracta, gravi rupit acerba manu.
ıamque tui superant monimenta laboris,
ıbi perpetuum sint paritura decus.
ıt lento sceleratas mors petit ædes,
opero nimis it sub pia tecta gradu."

ngelinus, when he visited Cisteaux,
pulchre of the great and celebrated
lanus, which was at the left side of
er, near the entrance of the church.
ph was as follows:—

brevis hora, brevi tumulo sepelivit,
qui septem, qui totum scibile scivit,

t, Bibliothèque Française, tom. xi.
ic. Cluniacens.

Labentis sæcli contemptis rebus egens fit.
Intus conversus, gregibus commissus alendis,
Mille ducenteno nonageno quoque quarto
Christo devotus mortales exuit artus."*

When Dom Martene visited that abbey, where Alanus, he says, had left, as a convertite, an immense fame, he found a French epitaph on his tomb, nearly to the same effect.† Round the sepulchre of Dun Scotus, in the convent of the Franciscans at Cologne, the names of fifteen doctors were inscribed in brass, amongst whom, William of Ware is designated, as Magister Guillelmus Varro, Præceptor Scoti.‡ The testimony of some monastic tombs may be cited also as attesting miraculous foresight. Such is that of Didacus Badam, a Minor friar, in the convent of Majorica, in Spain, on which is a rude inscription relating his history: the year and day of his death being stated, these lines follow:—

"Die hoc et mense migravit prædictus.
Quiescat in pace, sitque benedictus. Amen.
Vivens sic scribit de sua certus morte:
Incertus de hora, gaudet mortis mora;
Tempus si addatur, Summo dirigente,
Versus mutabitur, vivo congaudente."

In another chapel lies his brother, Garsias Badam, a man of holy life, on whose tomb we read,—

"Is qui jacet, mortis dum novit et horam.§

The sepulchres of the monks, again, are often made to convey solemn lessons to the living. Such is that of Willeram, a monk of Fulda, who flourished in the eleventh century, on which were these lines:—

"Fuldensi Monachus Wilram de fonte vocatus,
Hic licet indignus Pastor eram positus,
Nominis officium corrupit fictio morum;
Qui sibi nempe malus, cui valet esse bonus?
Correxi libros, neglexi moribus illos:
Justi suppliciis conscius ipse mihi;
Sed quia deliqui, tua Christe flagella cupivi,
Te tamen hoc solum det mihi propicium."‖

Such also was that tomb of Ponce, abbot of Cluny, predecessor of Peter the Venerable, who was represented upon his sepulchre in that abbey, lying with his feet tied and his hand cut off, to signify that he died excommunicated.¶ Such too was the tomb of Father Lupus, at Louvain, one of the most

* Notit. Abb. Ord. Cisterc.
† Voyage Lit. i. 214.
‡ Wadding, iv.
§ Ibid. tom. iv. 1257.
‖ Schannat. Historia Fuldensis, pt. i.
¶ Voyage de Deux Bénéd. i.

celebrated doctors of that university; of which the epitaph, composed by himself, was as follows:—

"Hæres peccati, natura filius iræ,
Hic jaceo, dignus nomine reque Lupus.
Indignus, non re, sed solo nomine doctor,
Verbis, non factis me docuisse fleo.
Perdocuisse alios, et non docuisse seipsum,
Quid juvat? O mundi fumus, inane, nihil!
Agne Deus, Patris doctrina, redemtio mundi,
Nunc tibi prostratum commiserare reum.
Et latro et meretrix gratis tua regna subintrant.
Gratia peccatis fiat, et ista meis."

The first line appears to have been borrowed from the epitaph on the great Adam of St. Victor, which was engraved on brass upon his tomb in that cloister at Paris. This, perhaps, was the most beautiful that could any where be found: it was as follows:—

"Hæres peccati, natura filius iræ,
Exiliique reus nascitur omnis homo.
Unde superbit homo? cujus conceptio culpa,
Nasci pœna, labor vita, necesse mori.
Vana salus hominis, vanus decor, omnia vana:
Inter vana nihil vanius est homine.
Dum magis alludit præsentis gloria vitæ,
Præterit, immo fugit, non fugit, immo perit.
Post hominem vermis, post vermem fit cinis,
heu, heu!
Sic redit ad cinerem gloria nostra simul.
Hic ego qui jaceo miser, et miserabilis Adam,
Unam, pro summo munere, posco precem.
Peccavi, fateor, veniam peto, parce fatenti:
Parce Pater, fratres parcite, parce Deus."

"These lines are a proof," says Pasquier, "that there were brave scholars at St. Victor's at that time: et certes j'oppose ceste pièce à tous epitaphes, tant anciens que modernes, et nous pouvons de cet eschantillon juger que les bonnes lettres ettoient lors à bonnes enseignes, logées dans ce monastere."* Finally, we may observe that the sepulchres of the monks often attest the divine peace which they enjoyed in the cloister, and expected in the future life. Such was that of brother John de Pontisara, in the abbey of St. Germain-des-Près, "in quo," as the epitaph attested, "sensus erat, bonitas, pax, et moderamen;" and that of brother Peter de Nangis, in the same monastery, whose peaceful goodness was also commemorated.† On an ancient tomb in Rheims was this inscription:—

"Hic tegitur, cujus in factis gratia, cujus
Pax in corde fuit, cujus in ore modus."

* Recherches de la France, Liv. iii. c. 29.
† D. Bouillart, Hist. de l'Abb. de S. Ger.

The epitaph on Folrad, abbot of contained these lines:—

"Felix illa hominum est mors et p
orum
Gloria quam sequitur, vita, salusq

The words on the tomb of Father in the convent of the Carmelites lypo,—"De paradiso ad paradisum 1522,"—were perhaps still more in their simplicity.† Amongst of the monks we find also ofte great prelates, who sought comm them in the grave. Thus the arch Rheims wished to be buried in th St. Remy. In the abbey of Clair the great altar, was the tomb o Blanchemain, archbishop of Lyon nounced his see, to retire to this In the north transept were the to holy bishops, who from the same pl to heaven. Under the choir of of the abbey of St. Matthias, was a great crypt, where Dom M the tombs of the first bishops who were all saints. "We cou says, "fourteen of them. This the most venerable place in Tre the abbey of Fecamp was the William, bishop of Bayeux, on these words, inscribed by Hildeb the sixth day which precedes the April, his course ended, his re commenced." At the cloistral g Maurice, at Angers, is the tomb of Ulgerius, who, from a poor became a celebrated master, a bishop of that see. He died in 11 following is the epitaph:

"Hic jacet Ulgerius teneris consuetus
Lingua, mente, manu fructificare
Hugus opus multis prodesse, monere,
Flentem solari, nudum vestire, supe
Frangere, ne quemquam lædere, rec

But, leaving now the tombs of gious men, let us cast a hasty glanc of the ancient kings and feudal pr lie near them; many of whom, as already observed, were moved by a while others, no doubt, were actu by an unavailing sentiment of re terror, in their desire to have bu It was no consoling spectacle, must have been deeply interesti hold many tombs of Merovingian

* Ap. Martene, Vet. Script. vi.
† Antiq. et Hist. Campaniæ ap. G Antiq. It. ix.
‡ Bulæus, Hist. Univ. Paris. ii.

abbeys of St. Germain-des-Près and of Denis. Those tragic figures, so barba- s and so terrible, which pass before us in pages of St. Gregory of Tours,—it: was e that they rested. Our proud Norman gs, too, and Plantagenets, who often in ir lives desired so ill of peace, and of ne the hardest, most iron, and implacable, o warred against their own fathers, seemed hemed at the memory of the cloister, and recognise their error when they chose ir tomb. The mausoleums of Henry and chard, kings of England, are found, not regal chapels under martial trophies of raldic blazon, but with that of Queen eanor, in the spot where holy virgins only ant round them, in the choir of their urch of Fontevrault. On the other hand, find the tombs of those heroic and bene- nt princes who are gathered to the kings thought,—

"Who waged contention with their time's decay,
And of the past are all that cannot pass away."

n had to repair likewise to the churches the monks; it was there that they found em: Alfred, Edward the Confessor, and St. uis, lay buried in monasteries. Charles artel, that great instrument in the hands Almighty God to defend the western urch, lay buried in a tomb of alabaster, the abbey of St. Denis, by the side of the gh altar. Iona, founded on Druidical ruins, Iona, the mother of monks, the oracle of e west in the seventh and eighth centu- s,—contained the sepulchres of seventy gs. Like Arles, in Gaul, it might be led a "city of the dead." In Cîteaux re found the tombs of the early dukes of rgundy: sixty princes of that house are ied there, along with many bishops. In e abbey of Longpont there were interred irteen counts of Soissons; but their tombs re without epitaphs, excepting those of oul de Nesle, and of his wife Ade.* In e monastery of the Holy Cross, at Ratis- n lay the early dukes of Austria. Here s the tomb of its founder, St. Leopold, ke of Austria and Styria; and also that Sigismund, king of Hungary, called by e the Solomon of Hungary. On a con- versy arising between him and his brother specting the kingdom, he began to despise e earth; and so, unknown, came to this bey, where, for twenty-four years, he ed in all patience and sanctity, as a lay- other and swine-herd; but, in the article of death, he revealed his name and condition to the abbot. On his account the abbey was richly endowed by the kings of Hungary. Here lie the bodies of many dukes and marquises, with no other monument but a square stone, round which is inscribed the date of their departure. Thus on one we read, "15 cal. Novembris obiit Leopoldus, dux Bavariæ; 10 cal. Februarii obiit Ernestus, marchio Austriæ; Pridie cal. Septembris obiit Henricus, dux de Medlico; 17 cal. Maii obiit Fredericus, dux Austriæ." Here are buried also Albert, marquis of Austria; Ægra, duchess of Austria, wife of Henry, duke of Medlico; Gertrude of Brunswick, duchess of Austria and Styria; Rigardis, landgrave of Waldersdorff; and Offnia, countess of Schaumberg; with a multitude of German nobles.*

In the abbey of St. Remy, at Rheims, were the tombs of Carloman, brother of Charlemagne, of Louis IV., and of Lothaire, at the side of the high altar; of Frederone, wife of Charles the Simple; of Gerberge, daughter of the Emperor Henry and wife of Louis IV., king of France; of Ragenolde, first count of Roucy; of Aldrade, daughter of Louis IV.; of Boson, brother of King Raoul, killed at the siege of St. Quentin in 935; of Hugues, son of Count Roger; and of Count Burchard, an Englishman, who died there on his return from Rome. Some of these, indeed, excite no great curiosity; but what a deep historic interest must have been awakened in the pilgrim's breast when he beheld in the abbey of St. Faron, at Meaux, the tombs of Ogers and of Benoist, two of the most illustrious courtiers of Charlemagne, who consecrated themselves there to God;† and when he was shown in the abbey of St. Michael de Coxen, founded by Charles-le-Chauve in that spot which only the love of the cross could make agreeable, the tomb of St. Peter Urseole, doge of Venice, which stands in the choir, his relics being in a wooden shrine in an adjoining chapel; it being to this monastery that he retired! With what deep feeling must he have beheld in the abbey of St. Arnoul, at Metz, the tomb of Louis-le-Débonnaire, and in the monastery of St. Alban, at Mayence, that of Fastradana, the wife of Charlemagne, of which the epitaph concluded with the words, "Spiritus hæres sit patriæ, quæ tristia nescit;" and in the abbey of Einsiedelin, before the chapel of St. John, the

* Hist. de Soissons, ii. 152.

* Gaspar Jongelinus, Notit. Abb. Ord. Cisterc. per Univers. Ab. Lib. iv. 11.

† Voyage Lit. de Deux Bén. 72.

tombs of the noble warriors who fell in the battle of Morgarten, where the Swiss defeated Leopold of Austria, in which was a perpetual anniversary founded for their souls' repose;* and in the abbey of Fulda, even the tomb and ancient epitaph of Wicelinus, son of Eginhard, who had been sent there by his father to study under Raban Maur.† But it would be long to tell of these. How much time should we require in the noble monastery of L'Espina, in Placentia, the cloister of which was built by the family of De Meneses, and the church by that of Alburguerque, before the sepulchre of the great John de Attenza, recapitulator of the laws which the Spaniards name de Las Partidas, and before the tombs of the Lords de Vega, the most noble family in Spain,‡ or in the abbey of Strata Florida, in which so many princes and nobles of Wales lay buried before the sepulchres, that revealed as much history as the annals of the country then preserved;§ or in Melrose Abbey, founded about the year 636 by the pious Oswald, king of Northumbria, which St. David gave afterwards to the Cistercians, before the sepulchres of St. David and of Alexander II., kings of Scotland; of James, earl of Douglas, who died in 1388; and of his wife Euphemia, daughter of Robert Stuart, king of Scotland.||

From the tombs of founders alone a history of nobility and knighthood might have been written, so exact and diffuse were the monks in commemorating the virtues of their benefactors. When such men composed their own epitaph, it is true that the style was often too much imbued with the monastic humility to render the testimony of much avail, as in the monastery of the Camaldolese, in a desert of Poland, where, near the great door of the church, was the tomb of the founder, Nicholas Wolski de Podhayco, without any other epitaph but the following words composed by himself:

"Commissa mea pavesco, et ante te erubesco:
Dum veneris judicare, Domine, noli me condemnare."

This noble Pole had been bred with the archdukes of Austria, and was distinguished for his chivalrous graces. In his youth he had visited Germany, France, England, and Italy, and was sénéchal in the imperial court of Rodulph II. After sixteen years he returned, full of learning and all virtue, to Poland. Great were his alms poor, and his munificence to the c Daily he heard mass, and recited t of our lady. He built and endowed nasteries of canons regular, beside which he lies.* But when the mon the epitaph of such men, there we details given which might serve t poses of history. In the ancient Lagny, in the diocese of Paris, tomb of its great restorer, Herbert, Champagne and Brie, in the time Robert, with this inscription,—

"Exempla morum, procerum lux, norma
Solamen miseris, exitium sceleris:
Gloria virtutis, laus famæ, forma saluti

Thibauld the Great, the fourth name, count of Champagne, who ha this monastery with goods, was als there in solemn state, in 1152. M the tombs of founders were often memorials of ancient families in ex each monastery thus prevented fron ing some illustrious name and mem

In the abbey of Hauterive was fi tomb of its knightly founder, Willia of Glana, whose portrait was pointe me in the hall, representing him complete steel. His son, the firs lay buried near him, as Wolfgang relates in his book, De Migrationib tium. Orderic Vitalis, speaking year 1107, says that many great England, Richard of Reviers, and surnamed Bigod, died, and were b the convents which they had fou their own estates; the latter at Tetf the former at Montibourg, in Nort In the abbey of St. Mary, at Lon belonging to the monks of Cluny, mandy, was the tomb, he says, of Gifford, earl of Buckingham, with taph: "He founded and built this in which he now rests. This power was the munificent friend of his c mighty by his valour, illustrious piety, and full of respectful tender monks."† In the abbey of Potie that of Molêsme, Dom Martene tomb of its founder, the celebrated de Roussillon, prince of Burgundy other provinces, who died in 890. was not alone in the capacity of that the knightly and feudal dead la here. One of the three cemeteries abbey of Clairvaux was set apart

* Tschudi Einsied. Chronik. 64.
† Schan. Hist. Fuldens.
‡ Ib. Lib. vi. 5. § Ib. Lib. viii. 10.
|| Ib. viii. 15.

* Annal. Camaldulens. 74.
† Lib. xi. ‡ Ib.

rangers who happened to die in that
n their journey; and this provision
count for many tombs which are
ithin monasteries, that seem only
with reminiscences of the chivalrous
In the abbey of Clair-lieu, Dom
e observed the tomb of Nicolas de
ourg, on which he read,—"The
who lies under this stone lived in
own."

sens, en pace, en vertu consommé."

monks had thus around them many
of men of knightly fame, to whom,
they still loved to ascribe a pacific
r, the epitaphs abounding in repe-
of the same noble soothing words.
piteuse et grand, sage, courtois et
honneur," as one reads on the tomb
il, duke of Lorraine, in the abbey of
é, near Nancy. In monasteries also
the tombs of greatest poets. Ron-
s in the priory of St. Cosma, near
on the left side of the altar; Tasso
convent of St. Onufrio; Dante with
nciscans at Ravenna. In fine, it
n within religious houses that those
tivated a taste for curious researches
ed the tombs of men of dark myste-
me, who perhaps, for many reasons,
ot have had burial elsewhere. Cor-
Agrippa was interred in the church
Dominicans, at Grenoble, as was in
e Abbey Michael Scot, whom some
in counting with the wizards. The
f their strong genius, which foresaw
pe, compelled men, studious and
, to obey their last mandate, who at
urial, round their secret strength,
d in solemn mourning. These were
nbs about which wild legends were
sung, like that respecting the grave
ester at the porch of St. John, which
become damp before the death of a
l, and to emit water, so as to flood
ce, whenever a chief pontiff was about
However, in general, it must be

ck Gerbert und Seinjahrhundert, 104.

acknowledged all were aliens in such cemeteries, save the holy and the good, whose graves were moistened with the tears of men; as at the funeral of Lord Nicolas, marquis of Est, in 1388, in the church of the Minor Friars, at which more than a thousand persons clothed themselves in black through veneration for his virtues.* These were the graves which acquired such importance in the middle ages, from the opinion which then prevailed, that men could strengthen their hearts and kindle their piety by visiting them; "for it was felt," as St. Bernard says to the knight templars, "that less devotion is experienced often where the living conversed, than where the dead repose."† Hence those long affecting pilgrimages to see a tomb, like that of the young Emperor Otho, in the year 1000, to Gnesen, to the grave of the friend of his youth, the holy Adalbert of Bohemia; progress, marked with such a solemn character, undertaken with such earnestness and single-mindedness, when, accompanied by many noble Romans, he entered the city on foot, bare-headed, and with naked feet; and again repeated, when, after celebrating Easter in the convent of Quedlinburg, where his sister Adelheid was abbess, of whom he took so affecting a leave, he proceeded to Aix-la-Chapelle, where he caused to be opened the grave of his great predecessor and model, Charlemagne. Thus did the heroic dead in the ages of faith fulfil the poet's words:

"——— We meet again
Within the minds of men, whose lips shall bless
Our memory; and whose hopes its light retain
When these dissevered bones are trodden in the plain."

By the low vaulted stairs, through which our guide and we did enter these dark precincts, let us now ascend, he first and we following his steps, till on our view the beautiful stained lights of the sanctuary dawn through the broad arch, that, thence issuing, we may again behold the sun.

* Chronic. Estense ap. Murat. xv.
† Exhort. Ord Mil. Temp. c. xi.

CHAPTER IX.

NOW have we left the church, and pursued the steps of our sage conductor to the library and the scholastic halls, where after brief space we shall be presented to the living, who in this vast sanctuary inherit peace. To the churches from the beginning were confided archives; for the holiness of the place secured their preservation. Justinian accordingly prescribes that his laws should be laid up in the holy church with the sacred things belonging to it. In great churches the need for a separate place for the purpose was soon felt; and, at least, in the fifth century, there was a place, as at Nola, set apart with appropriate officers of librarian or chancellor.

The first certain evidence of the existence of a church library, is in a letter of St. Jerome to Pammachius in 394. Soon afterwards St. Augustin speaks of the library of his church in Hippo.* In Rome, Pope Anterus in 238 had made a collection of the holy Scriptures; and mention of libraries is made by Leo the Great, in his letter to the Emperor Leo. Hilary gave books to the church of the Lateran. In the time of St. Gregory the Great, it had already become the custom for remote bishops, whenever they had any difficulty about a book, to apply to the pope. Such requests came to Gregory from Gaul respecting the Gesta Irenæi; when his words to the bishop Ætherius were, "De eo vero quod ecclesiæ vestræ concedendum ex antiqua consuetudine deposcitis."† Similar demands came from Alexandria respecting the martyrology of Eusebius, but he could not find their books in Rome. Martin I. excused himself to the holy Amandas, bishop of Tongres, as he could not give him the desired books, "nam codices jam exinaniti sunt a nostra bibliotheca, et unde daremus ei, nullatenus habuimus." To the bishop of Saragossa he says, "that it is impossible to find the Libri Moralium of St. Gregory, multitude of books." At the sixt council of Constantinople, in Roman deputies appeared with m ings of the holy fathers, which had given to them. Paul III. treated by Pepin to send some Gre to the abbey of St. Denis, which and sent in 757. "We have di your excellence what books we c an antiphonale and responsale, t mar of Aristotle, the books of D geometry, orthography, and gram in the Greek tongue."* In 85 abbot of Ferrieres, wrote to Bene to obtain a great quantity of books, promised, however, punctually to r

In the monasteries from the fi libraries. Thus St. Augustin spe abbey near Treves. "Coming to house where dwelt some of thy serv poor in spirit, in whom is the kin heaven, they found there a manusc taining the life of Anthony."‡ St. the Great also speaks of a book in nastery of the holy Archangel in Sic the sixth century, the cloisters were schools of manuscripts, for St. Ben quires the monks to practise such art analogous to their state.‖ The fir did instance of a rich monastic lib that of the monastery of Squillace, of Cassiodorus, who had been bo and who, after collecting a library as a statesman, continued to se manuscripts to enrich the collectio monks,¶ for which he advised them out more copies,** endeavouring to their task by composing his book D graphia. From the seventh till the century, this example was followed at Mount-Cassino, Nonantola, la Chiu posa, Piscara, and other Benedictine Guibert, of Nogent, speaking of

* De Heres. ad Quodoultdeum, c. 87.
† Epist. ix. 50.

* Cenni Codex Carolin. i. 148.
† Muratori Antiq. vii. 111. 835.
‡ Confess. viii. 6. § Epist. vii
‖ Regul. 58.
¶ Cap. de Instit. Divin. Script. Præf.
** Id. c. viii. c. 15. 30.

s of St. Bruno, says, "Choosing to he utmost poverty, they nevertheless a most rich library."*

idly books, however, were much neg- excepting by Cassiodorus at Squil- erbert at Bobbio, Hieronymus at sa, and by a few others. The libra- chapters in cathedrals also were ve. Those of Verona and Milan in th, and that of Vercelli in the tenth , were very rich collections. In eries it was in the twelfth century, all, that the reformed Benedictines, lly the Cistercians, enriched their s with books. Yet the zeal of the , says Blume, did not equal that of nch monks, whose maxim was "Claus- ne armario, quasi castrum sine arma- io,"† or, as John of Salisbury says, ster without books is a citadel without

ie thirteenth century, the Dominicans anciscans surpassed all their prede- in zeal for writing and collecting but towards the end of the fourteenth , the flourishing period of the spiri- chives drew to its close, and the on of printing diminished the impor- f the monastic libraries. The monks eprived often of their choicest books. Ambrosius Traversari expresses joy er a manuscript was given to him had belonged to a monastery, and he no scruple in taking from religious the books of deceased monks. Thomas is took from Bobbio a pile of the important manuscripts, which had lly come from England or Ireland: he removed to Rome, where some een lately brought to light by the ous Maï. The spoils with which is returned from St. Gall to Italy are nown. The most important manu- with which the Vatican had been d from the fifteenth to the seventeenth ies, had all come out of monasteries: of the books of Bobbio were removed ne, Turin, Milan, Naples, and Vienna. on took at least one manuscript from Paris. A worse fate awaited these ions in England; and wherever the a heresies penetrated, books could o chance, when even the famous illian library, first collected by Anger- ishop of Durham, was destroyed with o noble libraries of Cobham, bishop chester, and that of Duke Humphrey.

Vita sua, i. 10.
ufred. Canonic. Ep. xviii. ap. Martene, nec. i.

Weever says, that from Merton College alone a cart load of manuscripts were carried off and thrown away. Libraries as old as the seventh century, like that of Weremouth, to which the abbot Benedict had brought over such a quantity of books from Italy, then perished.

But let us return to happier times, and mark the progress of the monastic collections. Men of all classes contributed to form them. The monks, if Gerbert expresses their sentiments, applied to the work of collecting books, with a view to the peace resulting from study. This learned monk of Aurillac, writing to Eccard, abbot of Tours, says, "that the cause of his undertaking such labour in collecting books in Italy, Germany, and Belgium, was his contempt for the treacheries of fortune, which contempt was the result in him, not alone of nature, but of an elaborated doctrine. Moreover," he adds, "in leisure and occupation, we learn by means of books that of which we were ignorant."* It was to his love of peace that the monk of Croyland ascribes the liberality of the Abbot Richard, in the time of Richard III., to the library of that house, which he enriched not only with books that he purchased, but also with many that were written with his own hand.† Trithemius, who was such a great collector, speaks of his own motive thus, "Nothing is pleasanter, nothing more delightful than reading. I have passed nights without sleep, studying the Scriptures, and omitted to take my meals in order to save time for reading,—quicquid in mundo scibile est, scire semper cupiebam."‡ But it is Richard of Bury, who above all reveals what was in the mind of monks, when they applied with such diligence to form libraries. "In books," says this great churchman, "every one who seeketh wisdom findeth it. In these, Cherubim extend their wings, and excite the intelligence of the students, and they look from pole to pole, and from the rising to the setting sun. In these, the most high incomprehensible God is contained apprehensibly and adored. In these lies open the nature of celestial and terrestrial, and infernal things. In these are revealed laws by which all policies are ruled, the offices of the celestial hierarchy distinguished, and the tyrannies of demons described. In books I find the dead as if alive: in books I foresee the future, in books are manifested the laws of peace. All things else fail with time.

* Epist. 44. † Hist. Croyland.
‡ Nepiachus ap. Eccard. II.

Saturn ceases not to devour his offspring; for oblivion covereth the glory of the world. But God hath provided a remedy for us in books, without which all that were ever great, would have been without a memory. Towers fall to the earth, triumphal cities perish, nor can any king or pope confer a lasting privilege, unless by books. Finally, think what convenience or learning there is in books; how easily, how secretly, how securely, we may lay bare without shame to books the poverty of human ignorance. These are the masters who instruct us without rods, without anger, and without money. If you approach, they sleep not; if you interrogate them, they do not hide themselves; if you mistake, they do not murmur or laugh. O books, alone liberal and making liberal, who give to all, who ask and emancipate all who serve you. The tree of life you are, and the river of paradise, with which the human intelligence is irrigated and made fruitful. The contemplation of truth is more perfect by books, which do not suffer the acts of the intelligence to be interrupted; therefore, books seem to be the most immediate instruments of speculative felicity; consequently, no price ought to hinder a man from the purchase of books, unless on account of the malice of the seller, or the need of waiting for a more convenient time; for as wisdom is an infinite treasure, the value of books is ineffable, and therefore Aristotle, whom Averroes thinks was given as a rule in nature, gave 72,000 sestercii for a few books of Speusippus. The monks, who are so venerable, are accustomed to be solicitous in regard to books, and to be delighted in their company, as with all riches, and thence it is that we find in most monasteries such splendid treasures of erudition, giving a delectable light to the path of laics. O that devout labour of their hands in writing books; how preferable to all georgic care! O devout solicitude, by means of which neither Martha nor Mary can be corrupted. Truly the love of books is the love of wisdom, and a sensual or avaricious life cannot be combined with it: therefore some one says,

"Nulla libris erit apta manus ferrugine tincta,
Nec nummata queunt corda vacare libris,
Nummipete cum libricolis nequeunt simul esse:
Ambos crede mihi non tenet una domus."

No one can serve books and mammon; for the former reveal God. Truly an image of future beatitude is the contemplation of sacred letters, in which one time Creator, at another, the creature is and from a perpetual torrent of delight is drawn: how admirable is the pov books, while by them we behold the verse, and as if in a certain mirr eternity, the things which are not they were! We ascend mountain dive into abysses, we see creatures kinds, we distinguish the properti earthly bodies, and we even pass to template those that are heavenly. Lo, by books we attain to the reward of tude, while we are as yet only trav journeying towards it."*

On promotion to great dignities i state, monks loved to make donati books to the houses they left. Thus S Langham, abbot of St. Alban's, wh went out of England, left the monks to the value of £830. It was the ple they derived from purchasing book their libraries, that rendered Paris lightful to the monks and other eccl tics of the middle ages who visited it. blessed God of gods in Sion," exc Richard of Bury, "what a flood of ple rejoices our heart whenever we are at li to visit that paradise of the world, where days always seem to us too fe short, through the immensity of our There are libraries more redolent of d than all the shops of aromatics; the the flowering meadows of all volumes can be found any where. There in untying our purse-strings and openir treasures, we disperse money with a heart, and ransom with dirt books th beyond all price. But lo how goo pleasant a thing it is to gather togethe one, the arms of clerical warfare, that may be a supply of them for us to u the wars against heretics, if ever they s rise up against us!"†

The house-diaries of abbeys are ver ticular in noticing donations to the lil Thus in the annals of Corby, in Sa we read "This year 1094, John de trop gave to the library a folio bo Arabic, brought from Pannonia. In Marchwartus made a law that every r on the day of his profession, should useful and valuable book to the lil He desired also that every superior monastery subject to ours, should col chronicle of his house, and send it t to be a memorial for future ages. In Balthasar Rummer of St. Ansgariu

* Philobiblion, 15. † Id. c.

as a manual, in which all his holy labours in the north are briefly and studiously noted, according to years and days. In 1379, Joachim de Bramburg gave to the library various Arabic and Hebrew books, which had deen formerly taken in war in Hungary."

Laymen also co-operated. St. Louis left his books to be divided between the Franciscan and Dominican orders. Malatesta Novello of Rimini built and furnished a noble library in the Franciscan convent of Cesena. Henry III., archduke of Bavaria, gave a noble library to the abbey of Tagernsee, where he spent many hours of devout meditation.* The spirit of private collectors was hardly known. In every town in Italy, indeed, as Gerbert observes, books in abundance were to be found.† Frederic II. formed an excellent library,‡ as did in the fourteenth century Robert, king of Sicily. The crusades probably caused a number of Greek books to be brought to Italy.§ Coluccio Salutato, Petrarch, Niccolo Niccoli, and Thomas of Sarzana, afterwards Pope Nicholas V. were all eminent instruments in collecting and collating classical manuscripts; but still these men were far removed from seeking to have private libraries. Petrarch wished to sell his books in order to erect a chapel of the blessed Virgin.‖ Niccoli's library at Florence was placed in a monastery; and also in the following age, the public libraries founded by private persons were always attached either to a monastery or to a church. One may pause here an instant to admire the wisdom of these men in his respect. "It is natural," says Blume, 'that the property of communities should endure longer than what individuals may have accumulated for themselves. I know of no library which has been kept together in the hands of a private family for longer than 200 years. They are either dispersed or transferred to a foundation. Therefore it would be useless to write a history of private libraries."¶

What an affecting comment on this statement might be furnished by the letter of John Francis Picus of Mirandula, on the death of his uncle John Picus, to Baptist the Carmelite, in which, after observing that his death is as admirable as his life, since he departed full of holiness and charity, he adds, "It is not yet known what is to be done with his rich library. I hope, however, that I may be able to collect and arrange all the fragments and particles of his writing. Alas! fallacious hopes and vain desires! I beheld many chests full of scraps, nor did I find any thing which could be brought into light on its own feet. O if you had seen what things he had conceived, what he had undertaken, you would scarcely have been able to refrain from tears. In him revived all the philosophers and theologians, all the ancients and moderns, if not excelled, at least, if you will believe a disciple who loved him, equalled. Do you and these who are under you pour out prayers to Christ for this friendly man."* What is to be done with his library? Such is the sad question now at every scholar's death, which the wiser men of the middle ages in general took care to obviate, by collecting books for abbeys rather than for themselves. Muratori treats on the libraries of the monasteries, and gives some catalogues of books left to them by monks.† The library of Fulda, which perished in the thirty years' war, dated from the Carlovingians. Down to the beginning of the seventeenth century its collection of manuscripts was precious. Twelve monks had always been constantly employed in writing out books for it.‡ This vast library, the admiration of the Italian philosophers of the fifteenth century, was divided into forty-eight classes. Some fragments of its catalogue in the time of Charlemagne exist; the books were then chiefly lives of the holy fathers and monastic rules.§ The library of Corby in Germany, was also immense. This was plundered in the wars of the sixteenth century, and transferred to that of Wolfenbüttels.‖ The library of Gemblours, so rich in the historical antiquities of Belgium, was more than 700 years old at its late dispersion. In the abbey of St. Gall, in the eighth century, there were still but few books. The abbot Gotzbert was the first to enlarge the collection. The abbots Grimald and Hartmot enriched it with their private collections. The former gave the Epistles of St. Paul, Missals and Gospels, Homilies, Works of the Fathers, Lives of the Saints,

* Jaeck. Gallerie der Klöster Deutschlands.
† Tirab. iii. 3. 1.
‡ Petri de Vin. Lib. iii. Ep. 67.
§ Heeren Gesch. des Stud. der Klass. Litt. t. I.
‖ Epist. 34.
¶ Blume, Iter Italicum, i.

* Epist. Lib. i.
† Antiq. Italiæ, Diss. xliii.
‡ Ziegelbauer, Hist. Lit. de l'Ord. S. Ben. i. 483. Brower, Antiquitates Fuldenses, 45.
§ Schannat. Hist. Fuldensis, P. i.
‖ Heeren, Gesch. d. Class. Lit. i. 162.

a book on astronomy, another on medicine, a Virgil, a Chronica Julii Cæsaris, De Vita Caroli Imperatoris, De Bonitate Hludovici Imperatoris, De Regibus Merovingorum, and Epistola Alexandri de Situ Indiæ. It is not to be wondered at, that the books in this abbey were found by Poggius and Cincius concealed and neglected in the tower, when we consider the deplorable state to which it had been reduced for some time previous by the enemies of the monks, and by the barbarous lay nobles who had destroyed the ancient discipline.* For as Trithemius remarks, whenever there was decay of discipline, the library, like every thing, was neglected, as in the abbey of St. Martin, at Spanheim, till the year 1459,† when it again deserved the epithet of Bibliothecam illam solemnem.‡ When the reformers came to St. Gall, many precious manuscripts and records were seen carried out by children through the streets. Some were taken from them by the magistrates and laid up in the council-house. In one chest were found more than 600 brief but very old charters. There was also a census of the nobles and plebeians in the time of Louis-le-Débonnaire. Some of these manuscripts came into the hands of Goldast, others into those of Schobinger.§ In the books of the archives of St. Gall there are notices of the place from which each came. Thus in manuscripts of the ninth century we read, "Hæc a cœnobio S. Dionysi venit expositio;" again, "Istud, de vitibus a palatio Aquisgrani venit;" again, "Ado Episcop. Wienensis reliquias S. Desiderii cum actibus ejus vitæ misit ad S. Gallum." The library of Lobes, of which, the abbots were great promoters of learning, was also very great and precious. Trithemius increased the library of his abbey, enriching it with many and most rare MSS. on parchment and paper. During the twenty years when he used to visit different abbeys of his order in various provinces, he was able to examine all their libraries, and wherever he found a duplicate copy of a book which he had not, he procured it either by purchase or promise of another in its stead. "It happened often," he says, "in different monasteries and orders, that I found many volumes of astronomy, music, mathematics, philosophy, poesy, oratory, history, medicine, and art, which the good fathers either did not understand, or, fearing they might be an occasion of violating their holy rule, asked me to take away for myself, and to give them others printed, which they more wanted. So in the course of twenty years I have brought to this abbey about 2000 volumes. I have not seen or heard in all Germany of such a rare and wonderful collection as this became, containing such a number, not alone of common books, but of rare, hidden, secret, wonderful books, such as are scarcely to be found any where else." The manuscripts from this monastery, with those of the abbey of Lorsch, which were also precious, were removed to the Vatican in the time of Pope Gregory XV., when the library of Heidelberg was presented to the Holy See by Maximilian, duke of Bavaria, in the year 1622.

In France the monasteries were very rich in books. Stephen Pasquier cannot sufficiently express his admiration of them: "Though much," he says, "has been lost through the length of years and the misfortunes of our time, one may still gather out of the libraries of the monasteries, plusieurs beaux brins dont l'on peut embellir le public."* "I cannot omit mentioning," says Paradin, "that at St. John's in Lyons there are certain very ancient books written on the bark of trees, of which one is legible and contains a commentary on the Psalms; but the other, which is unbound and torn, is written in old characters, which, to confess the simple truth, cannot be read, though the letters are fine and clear. To many who are not skilled in such matters, they seem to be Greek letters, but they are Latin characters, of which the form only is unlike ours; so that, however clever a man may be, he would find it hard to read a page in a week. These are, in fact, the works of St. Avitus, archbishop of Vienne. Some think that they are written on linen, others that it is on junk of the Nile, others that it is on little pieces of wood glued together. It is impossible to divine exactly what they are. Certainly they are venerable and worthy of being preserved, through reverence for antiquity."† The library of the abbey of Cluny before the Protestants pillaged and burnt it in the sixteenth century, was deemed one of the wonders of the world, and in fact it equalled that of the emperors at Constantinople.‡ The literary treasures in the abbeys of St.

* Ildefons Von Arx, ii.
† Trithem. Nepiachus.
‡ Epist. ii. 3.
§ In Notis ad Vadiani Farrag. iii.

* Recherches de la France, iii. 19.
† Hist. de Lyons, liv. ii.
‡ Gervaise, Vie d'Abbeillard, v.

t Rheims, of St. Benedict on the of St. Victor and St. Germain at nd of St. Denis after its discipline en reformed by Suger, were also e. The most important manu- of the Petavian Library, collected Petau, and afterwards purchased ius, from his son Alexander, for livres, which forms the kernel of sent Alexandrine Library in the , came in 1562 out of the plundered St. Benoit-sur-le-Loire, from which also enriched his collection. The of St. Victor was full of the most excellent books. Frequently the manuscripts of the great men who lered particular abbeys illustrious eserved in them. Thus in Gem- om Martene saw that of the e of Sigebert, the letters of Guibert, e works of St. Ratherius. In the entury the library of the abbey of ard at Soissons was celebrated; cent of Beauvais speaks with rap- that of St. Martin at Tours. Re- the libraries in the Italian abbeys, bundant details in the interesting Blume. The library of the Augus- ermits at Padua was celebrated; f the middle ages speak of it with n.* Many of the manuscripts written there, though Tomasini at many were lost or damaged, theologians and other professors to proceed from this monastery, robably taken a great part away m. The library of St. John in at Padua, was perhaps the richest ity. The Dominican library of and Paul at Venice, is described ini and Montfaucon. Here was ides of the tenth century, and Guillelmus Pastrengicus, who g a Turk became a monk of that d enriched it with many oriental pts. In Bobbio, of which the vas celebrated already in 823, found a Sacramentarium Galli- f the seventh century. Gerbert, abbot here in 972, left part of his on leaving it. Dungal brought y volumes. In all there were nes of most ancient manuscripts, which the richest library in our uld envy. Here was a martyro- e ninth century; also the Liber bani of the tenth. On another ook were these lines—

"Sancte Columba, tibi Scotto tuus incola Dungal
Tradidit hunc librum, quo fratrum corda beentur,
Qui legis ergo, Deus pretium sit munsris, ora."

Here was also a vast collection of books on agriculture and on the laws and division of ground. The library of La Chiusa, between Susa and Turin, was famous in the eleventh century, when Geraldus, its librarian, was a most learned man.* At the fire in 899, which destroyed the renowned abbey of Nonantola, a great part of the books were preserved. Already in 1279 there was a catalogue made of its privileges, which began upon Papyrus. Another rich catalogue was made in 1632 by command of Cardinal Antonio Barberini. In the eleventh century a catalogue existed of its manuscripts, many of which Traversari found almost consumed by age. In the seventeenth century, under the Barberini most of these were removed to the library of the S. Croce of Jerusalem at Rome. At Camaldoli the archives were in the lower monastery at Fontebuono; the library was in the upper at the hermitage, one mile higher up the mountain, where lived the celebrated Ambrosius Traversarius, who added greatly to this collection. The French removed both to the town of Bibbiena; but the autographs of Ambrosius are found in the Camaldolese convent of St. Michael at Venice. The Cistercian convent of S. Maria Maddalena at Florence had a great library, much enriched by the celebrated Ferdinando Ughelli, a monk of the house, who is said to have found a treasure here, which he expended in the purchase of books. The Dominican library of S. Maria Novella vied with that of the Franciscans of the Santa Croce. In the abbey of Pomposa was one of the most beautiful libraries in Italy. The oldest history of this collection is a catalogue written in the eleventh century. Its author names the abbot Hieronymus, his predecessor, as the founder. By his order, a monk from the desert, by name and example Bonus, skilled in all arts, employed himself in collecting books, whether beautifully written or otherwise; for the said abbot resolved to have them all rewritten, so as to form one body of a library. No church, no city, not even Rome, could contend with Pomposa in the quantity of its holy books. All the old monasteries of Ravenna were also rich in collections of diplomas, many of which were on papyrus.

ent. Savonarolæ de laudibus Patavii.

* Mabill. Acta, vi. 2.

But we have not time to pursue these inquiries far; a few more notices and we have done. Throughout all Europe celebrated was the library of the great Archimandrian monastery of St. Saviour at Messina, which contained manuscript autographs of almost all the Greek Fathers.* In Spain celebrated were the libraries of the abbeys of Alvelda near Logrono, of St. Benedict of Sahagun, of St. Paul at Barcelona, of St. Vincent at Oviedo; and in Portugal at that of Alcobaça. Finally, most curious were the libraries in the monasteries of the islands of the Archipelago, as at Andros, Patmos, and Lesbos, and also in later times those on Mount Athos, which only date from the ninth and tenth centuries, of which the best account is given by John Commenus, and in Villois's Prolegomena to Homer.†

The inscription in the library Maruccelliana at Florence, "Publicæ et maxime pauperum utilitati," may serve to indicate the rule observed in the abbeys of the middle ages, where such collections were originally formed to benefit the poor. Richard de Bury expressed but a general desire when he wrote as follows: "Moved by Him who alone granteth and perfecteth a good will to men, I diligently inquired what among all the offices of piety would most please the Almighty, and most profit the church militant. Then before the eye of our mind there came a flock of chosen scholars, or rather of the elect, in whom God the Artificer, and Nature his handmaiden, had planted the roots of the best manners and sciences, but whom penury so oppressed that they were dried up, because these fruitful seeds, in consequence of want, were watered with no dew in the uncultivated soil of youth; so that their virtue lay hidden and buried. So the crop withered away, and the corn degenerated into tares; and they who might have grown up into strong columns of the Church, by the capacity of a subtle genius, were obliged to renounce studies. Thus they are repelled violently from the nectarean cup of philosophy, for which they thirst the more from having tasted it; and being deprived of the writings and helps necessary for contemplation, as if through a kind of apostasy, they return for the sake of bread to mechanical arts, to the loss of the Church and the scandal of the whole clergy. So mother Church cannot bring forth sons, but through want of few and little things with which nat contented, she loses pupils that afterwards have become champions of faith. Alas! how suddenly the s eclipsed in the bright Aurora, an planets made to move retrograde, ar stars to fall. What can a pious m hold more deplorable? What can excite his compassion? What can easily dissolve into warm drops a con heart? Therefore we considered how it would profit the Christian repub bear assistance to the poor, and nc students, not with the delights of S napalus, or the riches of Crœsus, bu scholastic mediocrity. How many we seen conspicuous by no lustre of and no hereditary succession, but assisted by the piety of good men, wh deserved apostolic chairs, in which have served the faithful, subjecte proud, and procured the liberty o Church? Therefore the result of our tation was pity for this obscure n men, who might render such serv the Church, and a resolution to them, not only with means of subsis but with books for their studies; a this end our intention ever watched our Lord. Truly this extatic love so r us, that renouncing all other earthly t we applied ourselves to collect books.

The libraries of the monks wer strict sense also public libraries; for were open to every one. That in th vent of St. Francis, at Padua, was during six hours every day in summe five in winter. But Montfauçon compl that the Benedictine library in St. G Maggiore was not sufficiently acces That of the Benedictines at Orlean open to the public three days in the v Before the great revolution there w Paris nineteen libraries constantly op students, whereas the number at pr does not exceed eight, all of whic closed during six months of the Dom Martene, on visiting the abbey Jean des Vignes, at Soissons, rem that all the books in the library wer chained.‡ They were, moreover, prot by sentence of excommunication ag all dilapidators; yet in certain case books might be borrowed for life;§ th Lupus, abbot of Ferrers, would hardly

* Sicilia Sacra, ii. 1001.
† *Heeren.* Gesch. d. Class. Lit.

* Ric. de Buri Philobiblion, Prolog.
† Bibliothèque Hist. des Aut. de la Co St. Maur. 22. ‡ Voyage Lit
§ Hist. de Soissons, ii. 128.

consented to this measure, judging from what he says in a letter to Hincmar. "The comment of Bede," he says, "on the apostle, from the works of Augustin, I fear to send to you, because the book is so large that it cannot be concealed in the breast, nor can it be well contained in a sack, and the beauty of the codex is such, that if it were to fall into the hands of the wicked, it might be lost both for you and me."* The twenty-two volumes which John, abbot of Cluny, left to that abbey were chained to the wall. Similarly the books which Octavianus Præconius, of the order of Minors, archbishop of Palermo, placed in the hall of his palace, in order that persons who came to transact business might not pass any moments in idleness while waiting for their turn, were chained to the walls.† In Italy one still sees the chains attached to books in the libraries Laurenziana and Malatestiana.

But though wearing fetters, they were not imprisoned. Books, though now unchained, are not always so accessible as they were when the monks were their keepers. When I was at Amiens, the librarian told me that he had to spend that day in the market, and therefore could not open the cases of the precious books which had come from the abbey of Corby. I could not refrain from expressing to him my regret that these treasures were not still in the hands of monks at Corby, though I should then have had to ride two leagues to see them. Truly I might have added, it would have been better to have had to speak to a Benedictine than to a corn-factor, or to the grenadier whom we find at the door of the Bourbon library at Naples.

In the middle ages there was more liberty of access to books. When Bessarion opened his library of St. Mark's church, he only forbad the removal of books beyond the city, and ordered that whoever was entrusted with a book within the city should deposit double its value. Antonio Agustin took a manuscript out of the Marziana library into Mendoza's house. Another was sent to him out of the public library in Florence.* When in some monasteries the effects of lending books were found so evil that the custom was prohibited, the council of Paris, in 1212, complained of the abbots who refused to lend books, and forbad them to pledge themselves in future to such refusals, "quum commodare inter præcipua misericordiæ opera computetur."*

Blume, after complaining of the ill-management and difficulties opposed to strangers in the capitular libraries, says, that in monasteries in the country he always met with the most obliging reception.

Nothing can be more affectionate than the terms with which monks of the middle ages invite visitors to their libraries. Lupus, abbot of Ferrers, in the diocese of Sens, writes to the Abbot Altisigus, in the diocese of York, saying, that as every animal loves its like, so he desires to be united with him in friendship and sacred prayers, on account of their common studies of wisdom.† And the letter of Wibald, abbot of new Corby, to the archbishop of Bremen in 1151, is enough to excite the envy of many of our contemporaries. "It was gratifying to us," he says, "that you visited our brethren and consoled them: but I wish you would return and remain longer; and, as you promised, that you would turn over and search not alone the volumes of our shelves, but also the schedules. I wish that we may have this delight together, in peace, and quiet, and leisure; for what greater happiness in life?"‡ These old writers accordingly are continually observing, that they have seen and read certain books in certain solemn monasteries, often in distant lands.

We find that the most delicate attention was inculcated by the monks from early time in the use of books. The rule of St. Pachomius enters into many details respecting their distribution and classification in the library, and the care to be taken of them; for instance, in not leaving them open when any one left his cell. The Coutumier of Cîteaux, speaking of the intervals of study, says, "If it be necessary to go any where, let the person to whom it was entrusted place it back in the drawer, or if he wish to leave it on his seat, let him make a sign to the brother sitting nearest him to guard it."§ The rule of St. Isidore requires that the books should be returned every evening. The regulations of the library of the abbey of St. Victor, at Marseilles, are ordained expressly, as the statute of Mainerius, in 1198, states, with a view to extirpate the least root of dissension which might inter-

* Lupi Epist. 76. † Sicilia Sacra, i. 203.
‡ Ant. Aug. Opp. t. vii. p. 185.

* Annales de Phil. Chrét. tom. xviii. 450.
† Lupi Epist. lxii.
‡ Ap. Martene, Vet. Script. ii. 424.
§ Ap. Martene, Antiq. Monach. Rit. Lib. i. c. 7.

rupt the unity and peace so necessary in all places, but so much more indispensable where the love of Christ causes many persons to dwell together under one roof.*

In respect to the care of books in the middle ages, we may form some idea of the prevailing manners from reading the curious instructions of Richard de Bury. "Not alone do we serve God," he says, "by preparing volumes of new books, but also by preserving and treating with great care those we have already. Truly after the vestments and vessels dedicated to our Lord's body, sacred books deserve to be treated with most reverence by clerks. In shutting and opening volumes they should observe a mature modesty, not too hastily loosing the clasps, nor failing to shut them when they have finished reading; for it is far more important to preserve a book than a shoe. The race of scholars requires to be bridled with the rules of elders; for some act with petulance and presumption, judging of things as if they had experience when they are void of it. You will see one youth lazily reclining over his studies, and in the winter season, when suffering from a sorry rheum, permitting drops from his nose to fall upon the page. I wish that such a scholar, instead of a book, may have to sit over leather with a shoemaker. He has a nail, too, like a giant's, with which he marks the margin of the passages that please him. He has, besides, innumerable straws, which he puts between the leaves to help his memory: these accumulate so as to swell the junctures of the binding, and there they are forgotten, and left to rot. He scruples not to eat fruit and cheese over the open book, and to pass the plate dissolutely over it, and, because he has no bag provided for alms, he commits the fragments to the book. What more shall I add? Leaning on his two elbows, he rests upon it, invites sleep, and doubles down the corners of the leaves, to their no small detriment. Then when the showers are passed, and the flowers have appeared in our land, this scholar, whom we describe, rather a neglector than an inspector of books, stuffs his book with the first violets and roses he can find, and turns over the leaves with hot hands, never thinking for a month to close the book, so that insects penetrate and eat into it, and at last it is so distended that one cannot shut it. There are impudent youths who will even make letters in books; so that wherever there is a broad margin you will find a monstrous alphabet, or something frivolous that occurred to their imagination, which immediately their unchastened pen presumed to put down. There are some thieves also who cut out leaves or letters, which kind of sacrilege ought to be prohibited under anathemas. An honest scholar will always wash his hands before taking up a book after dinner, and a crying child should never be suffered to admire the capital letters of books, lest his wet fingers should pollute the parchment; for he touches whatever he looks at. Moreover, laics, who handle a book turned upside down, as if properly directed, are altogether unworthy of having communion with books. In fine, all negligence in regard to books is excluded by the example of our Saviour; for when he had read from the book which was delivered to him, we read that he did not return it to the minister until he had closed it again with his most sacred hands; from which students ought to take example never to commit the least negligence with regard to books."*

This minute attention to the preservation of books belonged not merely to such men as Richard de Bury, who used to breathe books, like Cato, whom Cicero describes sitting in the library of Lucullus, not so much reading as inhaling them; "quasi heluari libris videbatur;"† but also to all members of every religious community which had maintained its discipline. In the manuscripts executed by direction of Regimbert, librarian at Richenau, under the Abbots Wald, Heit, Erlbald, and Rudhelm, certain lines are generally inserted, which, after stating that he had procured these books for the use of the brethren, conclude thus:—

"Adjurat cunctos Domini per amabile nomen,
Hoc ut nullus opus cuiquam concesserit extra;
Ni prius ille fidem dederit, vel denique pignus
Donec ad has ædes quæ accepit salva remittat.
Dulcis amice gravem scribendi attende laborem:
Tolle, aperi, recita, ne lædas, claude, repone."

Hugo of St. Victor observes, that the resin of the cedar-wood is useful to preserve books; for that, when anointed with it, neither insects nor age can consume them.‡ The binding of books formed one occupation of the monks, to which much importance was attached. Although hunting

* Ap. Martene, Vet. Script. i. p. 1020.

* Philobiblion, c. 17. † De Finibus, iii.
‡ Hugo de S. Vict. Institut. Monastic. Lib. iii. c. 56.

been interdicted to all ecclesiastics, ıe councils of Agde in 506, Epon in and of Pont Andemer in 1276,— ı prohibition had been extended ex- ly to monks in the time of Charle- ıe, and even to the Knight-Templars, ;, under that emperor, liberty was to the monks of St. Bertin at)mer, and of St. Denis, to hunt in woods, in order to procure skins nding their books.* Geoffroy, count ajou, founding a Benedictine house intes, in 1047, gave to it the tenth of :er on some lands in the Isle of Oleron,)ply covers for their books. At the of Pfeffers, as elsewhere, it was the n in time of war to conceal the library he church treasure with such care,)nly few persons knew the place. onsequence was, that, on their death, valuable things were often lost. Ac- gly, in the tenth century, under Ulrich,—and again in 1155, under Henry,—lost treasures of this kind ınexpectedly discovered. On the last)n the convent came into possession silver chalices, with vestments; and ı library, containing,—besides Mis- horal books, and works of the holy s Augustin, Jerome, Gregory, Isidore, and Alcuin,—a vast collection of al authors: "Virgil, Juvenal and ıs in one volume; Statius, Terence, ıs on the Bucolics, Lucan, Oratius, ;, Sedulius, two books of Arator, Cato Avianus; Waltar, Omerus, Fulgen- and the Trojan history, Donatus, ritus, Topics of Tully, the Prædica- ı of Aristotle, two books of Porphyry, ı of Geometry; and the Cantica Can- m, metrically and Teutonically com- ."† It is remarkable that Richard ıry, when enumerating the injuries d to libraries by wars, cites only in- es from heathen times. No doubt, nonasteries, in Christian ages, pre- l them from any wide destruction. r they did, however, at times, as in bbey of St. Salvator de Settimo, at nce, which contained an immense y, from the ruins of which the cele- l Medicæan collections were formed reased. "I remember," says Gaspar llinus, "that, when living in that , I used to wonder, on seeing how volumes were covered with mud, and ınd defaced; but an old monk told me what he had heard from the ancient fathers, that it was Florentine soldiers who had caused that destruction: for, being placed in ambush in the monastery, and sallying forth to repel the enemy from the walls, they had scarcely proceeded beyond the ditch, when the substructure failed; and there being a great confusion, in order to facilitate the return of those who were without, and who would otherwise have been slain in the trench, they took a quantity of books and made a bridge across with them, on which they passed back."*

But now we come to the place where so many of these volumes were written. On entering the Scriptorium, in the abbey of Fulda, you read this inscription:—

"Hic sedeant sacræ scribentes famina legis
Nec non sanctorum dicta sacrata patrum.
Hic interserere caveant sua frivola verbis,
Frivola, nec propter erret et ipsa manus.
Correctosque sibi quærant studiose libellos
Tramite quo recto penna volantis eat.
Est labor egregius sacros jam scribere libros,
Nec mercede sua scriptor et ipse caret."†

An ancient manuscript in the library of Einsiedelin describes St. Gregory writing his dialogues with Petrus Diaconus, on the deeds of holy men in Italy, in the monastery which bears his name at Rome, to which he used to retire from the burden of the pontifical office. These are the lines:—

"Sanctorum veneranda cohors sedet ordine . . .
Divinæ legis Mystica dicta docens.
Hos inter residens Agapetus jure sacerdos
Codicibus pulchrum condidit arte locum.
Gratia par cunctis, sanctus labor omnibus unus,
Dissona verba quidem, sed tamen una fides."‡

St. Gregory of Tours relates, that Leobardus the Recluse was frequently occupied in thus writing out books; and Sulpitius Severus says, that, in the greater monastery of St. Martin, no art was cultivated but that of writing, to which the younger were devoted, while their elders had leisure to pray. This, as Mabillon observes, was the great labour of the Benedictines, who thus transmitted the treasures of antiquity to our time.§ The Abbot Frederick of Hirschau, whom Trithemius styles the humblest of men, had his place and seat among the writers in the Scriptorium of that abbey, in nothing taking any distinction to himself.‖

hron. Monast. S. Bert. l. ix. ap. Martene Anec. iii. † Ildefons von Arx, i. 294.

* Notit. Abb. Ord. Cisterc. Lib. vii. 38.
† Schannat. Hist. Fuldensis, i.
‡ Annalium Camaldulensium, Lib. ii. 70.
§ Præf. in i. Sæc. 9. ‖ Chronic. Hirsaug.

The Scriptorium of monasteries used to be liberally endowed. Thus to that of St. Edmondsbury was assigned the profits of two mills; to that of Ely, the revenue of two churches; to that of St. Swithin at Winchester, the tithes of a valuable rectory. The art of transcribing manuscripts flourished till about a century before the discovery of printing. Heeren says, that by far the greatest number of corruptions in our manuscripts are to be ascribed to the negligence of writers during that interval; and that the care practised in the tenth and fourteenth centuries in transcribing is evident at the first glance.* Gerbert, in his history of the Black Forest, says, that, if there was nothing else, the beautiful writing of the tenth century, by means of which so many valuable monuments have been transmitted to us, ought to convince us that it was not a barbarous age. "Books were then so beautifully painted and embellished with emblems and miniatures, that the whole seemed to be the produce, not of human, but of angelic, hands. The fervour of abbots in that tenth century, in employing writers to preserve valuable books by multiplying copies, can never be sufficiently praised. Tangmar, in his life of St. Bernward, bishop of Hildesheim, says, that he established Scriptoriums, not alone in the monasteries, but in divers places, by means of which he collected a copious library of books, both of divines and philosophers. In fact, the art of writing never attained to such perfection as in the ninth and tenth centuries; and all antiquarians will admit that the form—more or less elegant—of characters in the manuscripts of different ages places before our eyes the state of the sciences at that time, according as it was more or less flourishing."†

The same parchment was sometimes twice or thrice written upon; but if in this way many manuscripts of the fifth, sixth, and seventh centuries were destroyed, it is some excuse that the monks who did so only followed the example of the Romans, who had always observed this custom; and that from the time when men began to write books, with a separation between the words, it was thought fair, before the art of investigating antiquity was advanced, to put aside, as not fit for use, the Romish Merovingian and Scottish writings, in which all the words were joined together, and to make them serve for some other work.

Writing books was the main employment of the monks of St. Gall in the ninth and tenth centuries, to collate which they brought manuscripts from Italy and France; and this was the object of most of their epistolary correspondence. They wrote only on parchment, which, out of the hides of wild beasts, they manufactured with such skill, that it is often whiter and thinner than the finest post paper. In the beginning of the ninth century their writing was obscured by many Merovingian and Longobardish signs; but from 820 this cursive writing was generally laid aside for the Carlovingian Roman characters. The great antiquarians, Mabillon, Baluze, Basnage, Calmet, and Gerbert, found few manuscripts to equal in beauty those of St. Gall. They were the work of many hands. Some made the parchment, others drew the lines, others wrote the books, others put in the gold and the initial letters, others painted them, others compared the text with the original, which work was generally done by night in the Scriptorium between matins and lauds; and the last hands were employed in binding them within thick boards, cramped with iron, lead, or ivory. The best and most eminent writers of this time were Sintram, Folkard, Wolfkoz, Gotzbert, Bernwick, Alfart, Thiothard, Rifine, Wikram, St. Notker, Burgolf, Albrich, Egloff.* Writing was learned by the verse, every where known, containing nearly all the letters of the alphabet,

"Adnexique Globum Zephyrique Kanna secabant."

The labour was great, and Eadbert complains of it, saying, "Qui nescit scribere non putat esse laborem, tres enim digiti scribunt, totum corpus laborat."† They sought also to write without ink, and to engrave the letters on the parchment with a style, of which examples are found in the manuscripts of St. Gall.‡ Waldo, abbot of St. Gall, affirming something, says, "Never, while I have strength in these three fingers:" for he was an admirable writer, adds Ratpertus.§ "All the Cisalpine world," says Eckehard, "admires the fingers of

* Gesch. de Class. Lit. im Mittelalter, i. 372.
† Hist. Nigræ Silvæ, i. 162.

* Cartæ Traditionum, et Catalogus Mstorum S. Galli, sec. 9.
‡ Cod. MSS. 243. † Ildefons von Arx.
§ Ratpert. de Origine S. Galli, ap. Goldast. Rer. Allem. i.

lintram, who wrote out the Gospel
ı we possess. It is astonishing how
nan could write out so many books,
we find works by him in most places
is kingdom. His writing was most
ıte, yet you will rarely find that he
o erase one word in a page through
nistake."* A book of the Gospels,
d letters, by him, still exists. Almost
monastery in Germany could boast
ving some book written by his hand.
the manuscripts of the abbey of
nsee, in Bavaria, the names of monks
ould write and illuminate best are re-
l. Thus we read that Ellinger made
ıtiful copy of Pliny's Natural History,
figures of the animals.† James the
ntine, a holy monk of St. Mary of the
s at Florence, who died at an ad-
l age in 1396, was celebrated for his
n writing the choral books. To him
ıouse owed twenty of the finest that
'orld ever saw. He wrote others,
are found in Rome, and in the
ıes of St. Michael and of St. Mat-
n Venice.‡ An old chronicler of the
ıtery of St. Riquier describes that
community as similarly employed
e time of Robert, king of France.
ts of great science, excellent pearls,"
s, "are now restored; while others
itten out for the first time."§
dents of St. Gall, who had made
progress in the ars lineandi, were
employed in writing out books.
Eckehard found any boys slow to
he made them apply to writing:
ere was a distinction made; for we
'If the work be to write the Gospel,
lissal, let men of a perfect age write
ı all diligence and attention."‖ The
monks seem to have brought with
into Germany the mode of writing
x tablets; for, in the manuscripts of
all, we read of pugilares Scotorum;
s, of the Irish, as is expressly stated
Martyrology of Notker. The notes
se old manuscripts are curious. Thus
e we read, "Anteriora ægrè sunt cor-
;" on another, which had been dis-
d by the transcriber, "Diabolus fecit
anctam epistolam vitio scriptoris de-
ri."¶ The copiers found their task
ous. One says, "Sicut ægrotus de-
ıt sanitatem, ita desiderat scriptor
libri;" another writes in old Ger-
man, "Written with great trouble;" another, "Libro completo saltat scriptor pede læto."* St. Notker writes of himself, "Nefas putavi, si illa enigmata Bibliothecæ S. Galli, cui Dei gratia multa accumulavi, scribere negligendo defraudaverim."† One is amazed at the labour of their hands in this work. Dom Etiennot, who travelled so much to search the libraries of different abbeys, wrote out in the space of eleven years forty-five volumes in folio, containing the result of his researches.‡ The anonymous monk of Ratisbon says, "that, besides being occupied in the task of instruction, he wrote with his own hand not only books of his own composition, but also twenty Missals, three books of the Gospels, two with the Epistles and Gospels, and four books of Matins."§

Harduin, who lived in a remote cell of the martyr Saturninus, built by the blessed Wandregisilus at Fontanelle, wrote with his own hand four volumes of the Evangelists in Roman letters; one volume of St. Paul's Epistles; three volumes of Sacramentaria; one of readings from the Gospels; one containing forty homilies of Pope Gregory; a book of Arithmetic, with letters concerning the Paschal time; one volume, containing from the eleventh to the eighteenth book of St. Augustin, De Civitate Dei; one of Venerable Bede,—"De Naturis rerum ac temporibus;" one of a Psalter, with the Ambrosian Hymns; one of the lives of St. Wandregisile, St. Ansbert, and St. Wolfrann; one volume of Questions of St. Ansbert to Siwinum, a recluse; and one Antiphonarium.‖ Maurus Lapi, a Florentine monk of Camaldoli, while living nine years in the desert, and more than forty-six in the monastery of St. Matthias de Muriano, read and wrote out more than 1000 manuscripts; the list of which, including the most excellent works of the middle ages, shows that he could make a good choice of authors.¶ Gerhard of Monte-Sereno, though having a defect in his sight, wrote out six Missals, one Plenarium, one Lectionarium, four Graduals, one Antiphonarium, two books of Homilies, two Passionals, four books of Morals, and two Matutinals.** Prodigious is the number of books which Trithemius says he has

e Casibus S. Galli, ap. id.
ıeck Gallerie der Klöster Deutschlands, i.
nnal Camald. Lib. lvii. § Lib. iv.
ıpit. Caroli M. 789. ¶ Cod. 6.

* Cod. N. 1019. † In. Cod. 14, p. 331.
‡ Bibliot. Hist. de la Cong. de S. Maur.
§ Ap. Mab. Vet. Analecta, 119.
‖ Chronic. Fontanellense, ap. Dacher. Spicileg. iii.
¶ Annal. Camaldulens. 67.
** Chronic. Montis Sereni.

written during the twenty-three years of his being abbot at Spanheim.*

Again, to remark the spirit with which the monks pursued these labours. Let us hear a monk of the abbey of Morigni: "May God reward all constructors, enlargers and protectors of this place, and have mercy on them; on me also, Teulfus, who have written these things, and who know not whether I have done it any service, excepting that I have, to the best of my power, corrected and accentuated the whole Bible from Genesis to the last Epistle of Paul; St. Augustin, from his book, De Trinitate Dei, till that of John, the Morals of Gregory, and other works—who for a long time was precentor, and afterwards attempted to be prior; but to govern as was required, partly through ignorance, partly through negligence, partly through infirmity, not of body but of manners, I could not. You who read this, I beseech, by the sweet name of my Lord Jesus Christ, to say, with all the affection you can, 'O God, merciful by nature, who showest mercy and hast pity upon all, show mercy, I pray, to Teulfus, unworthy of thy mercy.' But if you shut your bowels against me, and turn a deaf ear to my prayer, you will sin, both against God, who is charity, and against me."†

In the silence of their cells these men rejoiced in the thought that they could, by the labour of their pens, preach to the human race. "Happy intention," cries Cassiodorus to his monks, alluding to those who transcribed the ancient books, "praiseworthy assiduity, by the hand to preach to men, by the fingers to open the lips, in silence to give salvation to men, and with a pen to fight against the unlawful suggestions of the devil; for Satan receives as many wounds as the writer puts down words of the Lord. Resting in the one place he goes, by means of the dissemination of his work, through different provinces; his labour is read in holy places; the people learn from it how they may be converted from an evil will to serve God with a clean heart." Peter, the venerable abbot of Cluny, speaks in the same manner to Gislebert the recluse.

In a manuscript of St. Augustin on the Psalms, by the monk Radulf, in the abbey of St. Vaast at Arras, are verses relating what was the hope of the writer; for he says, that as many sins would be forgiven him, as he had written words in that book.* "In Arnesberg, a monastery of Præmonstré, as I heard from a priest of that congregation," says Cæsar of Hiesterbach, "there was a certain writer, named Richard, an Englishman, whose tomb was opened twenty years after he had lain in it, when his right hand was found whole and flexible, as if cut off from a live body, while all the rest was in ashes. It was a hand ever directed by charity. It is still preserved in that house."†

Having already in the third book gone over much of this ground, I pass on now as rapidly as I can; but it is impossible to visit monasteries, and omit all mention of some of the most remarkable features in their history.

The first institutors of the monastic life were pious men, who made more account of sanctity than of learning. "Monachus non docentis, sed plangentis habet officium," are the words of St. Jerome, adopted by the Cistercian order for its motto. To grieve, not to teach, was their office. This made St. Augustin exclaim, in allusion to St. Anthony, that the unlearned rise up and take heaven by force, while we with our learning are sinking to perdition.‡ St. Anthony had no admiration for learned men, and he used to say that a sound mind was more ancient than all the wisdom of letters. A certain philosopher, expressing surprise how he could persist in the monastic life without the consolation of books, he replied, "Nature is my book; for in all parts of the creation I read the oracles of God." The beginning of the book of St. Gregory of Tours, De Virtutibus et Miraculis, will show with what mind these monks withdrew from the study of profane literature, though it is true this holy man evinces his acquaintance with heathen literature in the very words with which he declares his sense of its vanity. All through the ages of faith men made more account of piety than of learning, according to the words, "Better is an humble rustic who serves God than a proud philosopher who neglects himself, while considering the course of the heavens;" and so also St. Hilary says, "Meditatio legis non solum in verbis legendi est, sed in opere et religione."§

Hear the words of monks most devoted to classical learning. "Those who live ill,

* Nepiachus.
† *Chronicon* Mauriniacense ap. Duchesne, tom. iv.

* Martene, Voyage, Lib. 64.
† Illust. Mir. xii. ‡ Confess. viii. 8.
§ In Psal. i.

and wish to speak well, and despise faulty language rather than corrupt manners, are thus instructed," says Lupus, abbot of Ferrers: "Omnis labor hominis in ore ejus, et anima illius non replebitur:" "for it is just that he who attributes the first place to learning, and not to sanctity, should be excluded in a destructive fast from the refection of wisdom."*

"Though you ask for the books of Tully, yet I know that you are a Christian, not a Ciceronian; for you only pass into foreign camps as a spy." So writes, in 1150, the superior of an abbey in Hildesheim to Wibald, abbot of New Corby, who replies to him: "You judged rightly of us: the dishes of Cicero we do not serve among the first, or to the chief table; but when replenished with better food, we partake of them as of the sweet meats which were served for the dessert."

Mabillon shows the error of some in the last century, who supposed that monasteries were instituted for the purpose of cultivating human science: for they who entered them generally counted sciences along with the other secular things which they abandoned for the love of Christ.† But, at the same time, he proves with what assiduity, as well as humility, studies were recommended within cloisters, under the influence of religion.‡

Cosma the Scholastic had more books than any one else in Alexandria, and he used willingly to lend them to any one who asked him; and you saw nothing with him but books and benches, a bed and a table; "and whenever I went to see him," says Sophronius, "I used to find him either reading or writing."§

In the time of Charlemagne there were opened many schools for the Greek. "Do not wonder," says a monk, "that the Abbot Hermann should have carried a Greek Testament always with him; for this learned and religious prior was skilled in the Greek tongue, which he had learned in the Caroline College at Osnaburg; for in that foundation all the clergy were skilled in both Greek and Latin."‖ Long before, St. Cæsarius of Arles used to celebrate the Divine worship in Greek as well as in Latin. The king, Charles, wished to make Compiegne a second Constantinople, and gave it the name of Καρλόπολις, and to a new founded abbey in Burgundy he gave the name of Alpha. This Græcomania shows that the language was much cultivated then. In the tenth century, at St. Martial of Limoges, it was the custom on Easter-day to sing the Gloria, Sanctus, and Agnus Dei, in Greek. At Auriol, near Marseille, there was a company of Greek monks. In 1167, William, who from a physician had become a monk, brought Greek books to Paris from Constantinople,* which greatly excited the interest of the learned. Philip Augustus founded a Collegium Constantinopolitanum for young Greeks; and the Dominican and Franciscan orders applied with diligence to the same study. The first who gave a translation from the Greek of Aristotle's Morals was Robert, bishop of Lincoln, in the thirteenth century. At this time many eminent Grecians flourished; as William of Morbeka, Thomas Cantiprantanus, Henry of Brabant, Bartholomew of Messina, Eugenius Ammiratus, and James of Venice.†

I am aware that some modern writers are of opinion that the monks, by preserving and cultivating the ancient learning, only retarded what they term the progress of the human mind. Capefigue says that their literature repressed the nerve, so French and so national, of the troubadours.‡ But it may be a question to be referred to others, whether the instantaneous development of their first thoughts, however French or elsewhere national, is always a mode of advancing the intelligence of men. Eurymachus, indeed, is very anxious, like most of Homer's heroes, to express whatever comes uppermost,

———— κέκλυτέ μεν, μνηστῆρες,
ὄφρ' εἴπω τά με θυμὸς ἐνὶ στήθεσσι κελεύει.§

But perhaps it was quite as well that the monks, instead of encouraging the barbarians around them to utter in verse whatever their minds first called on them to say, invited them to their schools, where they learned to hear a little before they expressed themselves.

In these isolated monasteries of the middle ages, so wild in their situation and so solemn in their structure, were found men of profound learning, as well as in the heart of cities, who were known to

* Lupi Epist. xxxv.
† Tract. de Studiis Monast. pt. i. c. i.
‡ Ib. ii. § Pratum Spirituale, c. 172.
‖ Chronic. Cœnobii Virgin. Ottberg. ap. Pauli Rer. et. Antiq. German. Syntag.

* Chronic. de S. Denis, ad ann. 1167.
† Staudenmaier Johan Scotus und die Weissenschaften Seiner Zeit.
‡ Hist. de Phil. August. ii. 190.
§ xviii. 351.

their contemporaries as lights both for divine and human studies: as Thomas of St. Victor is described—

"Est lux æterna Thomæ collata Priori
Qui meruit martyr juris amore mori."*

The early monks did not disdain the ancient learning, for we know that the missionaries of St. Gregory brought a Homer with them to England, and Raban Maur is commemorated as having first brought Greek literature to the Germans.† In the ninth and tenth centuries the monks of St. Gall could understand, read, and write the German, Latin, and Greek tongues; they were skilled as orators, astronomers, physicians, expounders of the sacred Scripture, in all history, and in classical literature. Those most versed in Greek were termed the Greek Brothers —fratres Ellenici. The professors held an epistolary correspondence with the court and the learned men of the age, and were often called to occupy distant sees. The monks of St. Gall were among the first to form the German into a written language; for it was not till the ninth century that it could be written. Part of the rule of St. Benedict, with the Pater noster, Credo, and Confiteor, translated into German, were the first examples, and these were written in the Greek and Runic alphabet of the Latin characters. Rapert, one of these in the ninth century, composed in German a popular hymn in honour of St. Gall. In France Orderic Vitalis particularly notices the monks of Bec as devoting themselves to the study of letters. "Such zeal did they show," he says, "in extending the sacred mysteries and in useful discourse, that almost all seemed to be philosophers, while those who were illiterate, called Rustics, might learn grammar from them." But all the greater houses contained men of eminent learning down to the latest times, when the Benedictine order gave to the republic of letters Ménard, Mabillon, Montfaucon, d'Acheri, Gallois, Delfau, Massuet, Bulteau, Gerberon, Gesvres, Lami, Garnier, Roussel, and Ruinart. The Mendicant orders produced also men of most profound erudition. Joseph Scaliger writing to Isaac Casaubon tells him to search in the king's library for some notes of a Dominican friar on the Alcoran, which will greatly assist his studies, and without which he will find obscurities that will be inexplicable. The English Franciscans were especially learned towards the end of the thirteenth century. Then shone Rodulph Coleburg, Roger Bacon, Henry Willot, Thomas Docking of Norfolk, Richard Rufus, Adam de Marisco, William of Ware, John Walleis, John of London,— who followed Roger Bacon to Paris, and, having been sent by him to Rome, was retained there by Pope Innocent,—Robert Crusius, and Richard Middleton, the last of whom is commemorated with fourteen other chief doctors of his order on the tomb of Dun Scotus at Cologne.*

Though we before visited the schools of the middle ages, we cannot refuse to take another glance at them, being now within the very walls where the greatest were established; and from the library and scriptorium we are naturally directed to the Scholastic Halls, so appropriately placed within the asylums of peace, as the very word Scholastic indicates, for it implies leisure from external material things, to be free to study as to adore God. These forests and valleys through which we have lately penetrated might have been designated in the middle ages as the studious walks and shades, the schools of sages. In the tenth century, when St. Wolfgang retired to Einsiedelin, that solitary monastery was embosomed in a vast forest, and yet crowds of pupils came there to its schools from all the neighbouring provinces. In every abbey there was a professor of theology and of philosophy. How strange it sounds now to hear of a Dom Badier professing philosophy at St. Denis, and of a Dom Lopin teaching philosophy on Mount St. Michael in Normandy, places in our ears only associated with the thought of barracks and state prisoners, who have no other idea of philosophy besides the revolt of the intelligence against God. The monasteries were schools of theology, philosophy, of languages, of writing, of art, and of law; for there too men "spent their youth in flowing gown, studying their Ulpian." In the time of Charlemagne letters as well as theology were taught in cloisters before numerous disciples; and in cities studious youths were permitted to assist at the lectures without being inhabitants of the monastery. Down to the seventeenth century the monks permitted laics to attend the scholastic classes

* Bulæus Hist. Univ. par. ii.

† F. Cornelii Monach. Breviar. Fuldense Historicum.

* Wadding, Ann. Minorum, iv. v. vi.

eir novices,* and these were sometimes dvanced in age; for one result of the astic influence was to convince men as Clement Alexandrensis says, "no could be unseasonable when it was a tion of giving health to the soul, that it l never be too soon or too late to philo-ize, as it could never be too soon or too to be happy: that both young and old philosophize; that the old may grow g again through the good things which to them from grace, and that the young be at the same time both young and hrough confidence in the future."†

ie ancient pulpits of philosophy existed ance till the revolution. Every monas- maintained some learned men to give c instruction; "and it is worthy of rk," says Conringius, "that in the , seventh, and eighth centuries, through- he whole western church, there was no listinguished by his writings who had een educated in a monastery."‡ An rian of Ireland observes, "that the ity with which the schools of the mo- ries rose from their ashes after being by the northmen, and resounded afresh the voice of instruction, seems hardly han marvellous. Only a few months a desperate inroad of Danes into gh, we are told of a youth of royal blood ring to its schools for the completion of ducation." In England, after the g of the Normans, every monastery public school; and where funds could nmediately be found, barns were hired e purpose, where the teachers gratui- attended. Thus in the time of d, abbot of Croyland, four monks from ham used to walk to Cambridge to gratuitous lessons, one day on Latin ture, another on Aristotle according to omments of Porphyry and Averroes, er on Rhetoric, from Cicero and ilian, another on the Scriptures and oly fathers. Paris owes its extension e north bank of the Seine to the school e abbey of St. Germain l'Auxerrois, was celebrated in an early age. The l even in the nuns' convent of Chelle Paris, in the time of the Merovingians, esorted to by crowds of both sexes to the scriptural lectures of St. Bertilla. ardour for study in the middle ages ot left without abundant means to carry effect. Instruction was widely dif- fused, and the idea of converting it into a monopoly never entered into the imagination of the monks. "This year, 961," say the annals of Corby in Saxony, "the school in the new church flourished as if contending with ours. Thus the mother loves the daughter, and the daughter honours the mother."* In the neighbourhood of St. Gall there were schools founded by the counts of Raperschwil, which the monks of course favoured, as they did every useful institution;† but it was in consequence of the tendency which schools of this kind naturally indicated, that Pope Alexander III. wrote to all the French bishops charging them to forbid the masters to receive money, "lest science should seem to be exposed for sale, which ought to be offered to every one gratis."‡

On the other hand, there was a certain race of wandering scholars lying out in the fields, who used to beg from monasteries with insolence, against whom it was sometimes necessary to pass decrees, as in the council of Salzburg in 1292, and also in 1456.§ All studies in the monasteries yielded to the labour of instruction. Abbon, the monk of the ninth century, who wrote the poem on the siege of Paris, begs indulgence for the faults in it, which he has not had time to correct, "ob scholarum pluralitatem."

Of the facility afforded to the poor of educating their sons by the schools of the monks, the history of Pope Sylvester II. furnished a memorable example. Born in the mountains of Auvergne of poor parents, the brethren of the monastery of the holy Geraldus at Aurillac took the destitute lad under their protection. The Abbot Gerald, the scholastic Raimund, the monks Bernhard, Airard, and all the rest, showed him a father's love; but especially under the instruction of Raimund were his extraordinary talents developed. After some time the brethren, with praiseworthy disregard of all selfish interests, sent him to travel, in order that he might find fresh food for his genius, and visit other schools. He first visited all the celebrated abbeys of France; in each of which he formed friendships, which proved the consolation of his future life; so that, when subsequently he passed into Spain and Italy, he was united in intimacy with Adalbero of Rheims, Notger of Luttich, Ecbert of Treves, Eccard, abbot

onteil, Hist. des François, viii. 544.
tromat. iv. 9.
e Antiquitatibus Academicis.

* Ap. Leibnitz Script. Bruns. iii.
† Ildefons. von Arx.
‡ Ap. Martene, Vet. Script. ii. 853.
§ Germania Sacra, ii. 331.

of St. Julian at Tours, Adson of Moutier-on-Der, Constantine, scholastic at Fleury, and with many other noble and learned monks.*

Besides the greater there were lesser schools adjoining every monastery for the children of the neighbourhood. Hence the old chronicler of St. Riquier, after stating that boys are educated there, adds, "The treasures of wisdom are dispersed on all sides; the country is rendered illustrious, and every where, and by all men, Centula is called happy."†

"After the pestilence in 1348 there was such a scarcity of men," says a chronicle of Soissons, "that no one could be found in the small towns to teach little children to read." Therefore, foundations were made by John Dumont for sending scholars to one or other of the five universities.‡ The decay of schools, and the consequent want of instruction among the people, previous to the great outbreak of heresy in the time of Luther, explained the desolation which ensued in some countries, as St. Vincent Ferrer clearly pointed out; and, in fact, where education was most extended, as in Spain and Italy, during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, these errors were not able to penetrate or take root.§

It would be long to tell of the great monastic schools which diffused such light throughout Europe during the middle ages. In the tenth century the most celebrated were Lobbes, where Rather, and Gorcum, where John Vendieres taught, Gemblours, Prum, St. Martin at Tours, St. Germain at Paris, Fulda, Hirschfeld, Fleury, Luxeuil, St. Boniface at Rome, Monte-Cassino. In that age flourished the great monastic schools of St. Gall, Reichenau, Einsiedelin, Peterlingen, Cluny, and among the mountains of Auvergne the cloister of Aurillac at the end of the ninth century, founded by the holy Geraldus,—St. Vincent at Toul, St. Felix and Clemens at Metz, and St. Remi at Rheims.|| Celebrated also were the monastic schools of St. Alban in Mayence, where the monks Theodorich and Dietmar flourished; of Hirschau, where studied Arnulf, Adalbert, and Meginrad, renowned through all Germany; of Corby, in Saxony, where the scholastic was the celebrated Wittichind; and of the abbey of St. Maximin at Treves, which produced at the same time many most eminent men, apostles and martyrs. So again, on the Danube, that of St. Blaze, in the Black Forest, founded in 960 by Reginbert, a nobleman of the court was distinguished; as was also Brannau, where the holy Austrik began his apostolic course.

At Montfauçon, on the borders of Lorraine, there were, in 914, learned monks, who had fled from England, and a famous school. At Castres, in Rovergne, the Abbot Durandus deserved immortality by his writings on theology and history. At the close of the tenth century were founded the abbeys of St. Peter in Bisuldum, in the diocese of Girona; St. Mary, in Taxo, in the diocese of Urgel; and St. Michael, at Cusan, in the Pyrenees; which contained most eminent schools under the abbots Pontius, Gondefred, and Guarinus; to the last of which came Peter Urseoli, the doge of Venice, with his friends Gradenigo, Mauroseni, and Romuald, the subsequent founder of Camaldoli, and the old hermit Marinus.* In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries the great schools of the Franciscans and Dominicans drew multitudes to their convents. More than 700 friars at a time, from every part of Christendom, have been known to resort to the Franciscan convent in Paris for the sake of study.† The scholastic halls in this convent were particularly grand. The greater schools were not exceeded by any others in the university. They were seventy-six feet long and forty-six broad, with eleven great windows. There were two lectures on theology, speculative and interrogative, every morning, and two every afternoon, on the Holy Scriptures. Daily, from four to five in the evening, the fathers used to dispute on these lectures, any one that chose answering and disputing against them. 222 youths were educated in the seminary, which contained an elegant hall, in which two of the younger brethren repeated parts of the divine office every night; but on festivals all were required to be present in the church at the same time. Here were four schools; one for grammar, another for rhetoric, another for logic, and the fourth for the master of the sentences and the physics of Aristotle.‡

Thus, reader, after a long interval here we find ourselves again raising our hands in admiration of the mere names of the monastic schools of the middle ages? Again, I ask, what must it have been to have entered that of the abbey of St. Victor at Paris, when it contained such masters as Hugo, Adam, and the two Richards? How deeply inter-

* Hock, 61. † Lib. iv.
‡ Hist. de Soissons, ii. 211.
§ Monteil Hist. des François, viii. 564.
|| *Hock, Gerbert* und Seinjahrhundert, 33.

* Hock, Gerbert. und Seinjahrhundert, 54.
† Duchesne, Antiquités des Villes de France.
‡ Wadding, An. 1234.

ating even now is it to visit the monastery of St. Dominic at Naples, one of those great schools whose masters possessed such an empire! St. Thomas of Aquin composed here many of his works, and here he aught theology during fifteen months. At later time King Alphonso I. of Arragon ed often to come here on horseback, to sist at the lectures of the professors. The aces of St. Thomas meet you at every ep. You see his small cell, now a chapel, is class, and the remains of his chair. Of e great men who presided over the school f St. Gall, in regard to poetry, music, and inting, I shall have occasion to speak ereafter. In learning, they held the first ace. When Eckehard II. entered the uncil of Mayence, six bishops rose up to lute him as their old master in the school f this abbey.*

Through the ninth, tenth, and eleventh enturies, all the masters were great men. he Emperor Otho I. would do nothing ithout the advice of Eckehard I. sister's on of the recluse Rachild. He was the ost learned and magnanimous man of is age, and the most pitiful to the poor. le left behind him a description of the eroic deeds of Walter, which Eckehard IV. fterwards copied out in a more complete rm, and styled "Lydius Charlomanicus." n pursuance of a vow, he had begun to rite also a life of St. Wiborad. Eckehard I. Palatinus was a stately and most noble erson: "nemini unquam Benedicti cucullus ecentius insederat." He made no distinction between the noble and other students, nt employed those of least talent more in riting, painting, and gilding. He knew ow to write down in short hand the substance of every thing that was said, as soon s it was uttered. He was subsequently alled to the court of Otho I., and appointed ver the imperial chapel. Two discourses, hich he had taken down in short hand, till exist, which Eckehard IV. has inserted in his chronicle. Eckehard IV. composed an emblem to express each of the arts, with its attributes. Notker, the physician, was maternal uncle of the Abbot Notker: he was skilled in medicine above all other men of his age, and was held in great respect at the court of Otho I. Curious proofs of his discernment are recorded. So strict a disciplinarian was he in the cloister, that he was surnamed "Piperis granum." In old age he lost his sight. The veneration of his contemporaries is well expressed in the notice of his death: "Obiit Notkeri benignissimi doctoris et medici."* Notker Labeo, or the "thick-lipped," was considered the most learned man of his time, as well as the most benign.† He was a profound theologian, astronomer, and mathematician, deeply versed in the Greek and Latin and German tongues. He acquired from his contemporaries immense applause by his works on the German tongue, and his name will be for ever dear and venerable to all who study the old German literature. He formed many learned men; and amongst them Eckehard IV., a classical author of the middle ages. On his death-bed he commanded that the indigent should have a dinner in his presence, that he might use his eyes for the last time in seeing the pleasure which they received. This joy was granted to him. They dined before his bed, and he expired amidst the tears and lamentations of the poor. He died in the seventy-sixth year of his age, in 1022, of the plague which the army had brought out of Italy. His disciple, Eckehard IV., concludes his account of him with these words:—

"Hic finis est hominis post imparis eruditionis,
Hunc merito flebunt, simili, qui deinde carebunt."‡

Of his German works, there remain his translation of the Psalms, of Aristotle, Boetius, Martianus Capella, and a short treatise on musical instruments. His translations of Job and of St. Gregory's Morals are lost. On the same day with him died, of the plague, three other professors: Rudpert, Anno, and Erimbert, who were all placed in one grave. Eckehard IV. was also a great proficient in the German, Latin, and Greek tongues, profoundly versed in heathen and Christian antiquities. He published the chronicle of his house, from the time of the Abbot Salomon to that of Immo: a work of high value, not only for the history of Germany, but for that of all Europe. His second work is the celebrated manuscript, "Liber Benedictionum,"§ or the poetry of the mysteries and the festivals, with paintings, and containing benedictions for different occasions. He died in 1070.

The Latin tongue was so thoroughly taught in the school of this abbey, that, in the readings which were always made at table, no fault was ever observable. Except-

* De Casibus S. Galli, ap. Goldast. ii.

* Necrolog.
† Chronic. Hepidanni ad an. 1022.
‡ In Lib. Bened.
§ In Cod. MSS. No. 393, in 4to., of 263 pages.

ing the smaller boys, no student ever dared to speak in any other tongue but Latin. No where else, in all Germany, did one write such good Latin: and treatises were written here at once in Latin, and not, as elsewhere, translated into it from the German.* In general, the method of instruction in the monasteries of the middle ages was so successful, that John of Salisbury says, that every one, who is not absolutely deficient in natural abilities, can learn to write and speak Latin perfectly in one year.† The professors of St. Gall explained Cicero, Quintilian, Virgil, Lucan, Flaccus, and Statius; and gave their scholars to read Sallust, Livy, Trogo, Frontinus, Solinus, Varro, Juvenal, Terence, Persius, and Sophocles. The subjects for their poetry were generally taken out of the Bible, or Church history, legends, and pieces for festivals. The declamation proper for poetry was indicated to the reader by musical notes, of which the manuscript poems of Sedulius and Adelhelm are an example.‡ In dialectics and logic their masters were Aristotle, Plato, Porphyrius, and Boetius. Notker Labeo, the thick-lipped, wrote a translation, in German, of Aristotle's Logic. Music was taught with great care. They studied also mathematics and geometry; and Notker Labeo drew mathematical figures for the students, and explained in German the meaning of the different terms. According to them, the patriarch Abraham was the inventor of these figures. In astronomy, which they named "astrology," they did not confine their researches to the constellations and course of the sun. They sought also to use the telescope and the astrolabe, and were able to make a celestial globe, perhaps the first that was ever seen in Germany. Their astronomical guides were Alexander, Higius, and Aratus. They held Zoroaster, whose kingdom they said was Bactria, to be the greatest astronomer, and King Ptolemy, as the inventor of the sun's hours, and of the astrolabe—an astronomical instrument which the painters at that time used as an emblem of magic. Such diligent readers were they of the classics, that they often used the ancient terms, and applied them to contemporary things. Thus the Christian Church was "Senatus populusque, Respublica." They borrowed figures, in speaking, from the ancient history, and styled St. Gall "Prætor," and "Censor." Above all, they were assiduous in studying the Holy Scriptures, and

* Eckehard in Cas. xi. † Metalog. i. 24.
‡ In Cod. 242.

the fathers, especially Origen, Athe
Augustin, Jerome, Gregory, Isidore,
sostom, Bede, Sedulius, Boetius,
Primasius, and the ecclesiastical his
Their philosophic views were often ex
in verse: as for instance, of praye
said,—

"Precibus Deus non mutatur, præscien
operatur."

Of penance,—

"Vult velut ignarus Deus, ut fatearis an
Intime salvamur si continue fateamur."

They had some strange notions: as,
stance, that the letters of the languag
Adam and the serpent spoke had a r
power. As for science, in opposit
religion, the monks of St. Gall hel
religion must always be regarded as
vated above all sciences; though
and learning must be used in its d
after the example of St. Athanasius,
tin, and Boetius. Besides the study
ancients, the vulgar tongue was by no
neglected at St. Gall: the monks
themselves with diligence to its for
and made it the object of study.

"Primus Barbaricam scribens, faci
saporam," says Eckehard IV.;* and
pert wrote a German grammar, expl
scientific words.† In the German w
of their composition we find an el
which was then new: so that mo
effected towards its refinement in the
tenth, and eleventh centuries, than wa
during the seven hundred years foll
and Ildefons von Araæ says, that no G
can fail to regret bitterly that the
masters of the tongue should have bee
aside by those who, of late years, have
to improve it. We may remark, i
that every where the monks labou
their schools to preserve the popular lan
of the country in which they were
England, when, under the severe ordi
of the Normans, the old Saxon char
seemed about to be lost, there were p
in the monasteries, says a late writer
preferred them still; and we are ind
to such men for their preservation. In
was one. Bewailing the loss of many
charters in the fire of 1091, "a few
before," he says, "I had given sever
of the treasury, of which we had dupli

* In Lib. Bened. 155.
† Goldast. Rer. Allemann. tom. ii.

ey might be kept in the cloister for g the juniors the Saxon hand. Having ng slighted because of the Normans, ›ecome unknown, except by a few of iors; the juniors, therefore, were in- l to read the old letter, that they inderstand and maintain our charters ıey grew old."

to return to St. Gall: so general e studies, that Abbot Ulrick VIII.'s ans Rimel, and his porter, Laurence , could both speak Latin, Greek, and , besides being skilled in many s of science. The grand days of bey ended with the thirteenth cen- ur, in the fourteenth, the secular superseded the monks, and every ınk to the lowest ebb. A great re- owever, again took place: for, in the enth century, most of the Swiss sent their novices and younger mem- study in the abbey of St. Gall, to nany abbots applied for monks, in › restore the discipline of their own

Of other great monastic schools, details might be produced.

ıld, abbot of Corby, in 1149, writing egold, master of the school, concern- great men who have benefited the by their writings, cites Bede, and ıe, Heimon, Antpert, Raban, John and others, whose works we read. s, also, that we should study Pytha- Plato, Sophocles, and Simonides.*

ninth century, the school of the ery of Hirschau possessed those great ors, Ruthard, Richbod, and Harde- f the last of whom we read,—"a octor, and famous throughout the dear to kings, and most dear to his n life and erudition most eminent."†

abbey of Tagernsee was perhaps est school in Bavaria. Here flour- nany learned men. Werinher was ted as a teacher. The Greek, Latin, ebrew tongues were cultivated in it ıccess; and botanical studies were by a garden provided for the pur-

union of scholastic instruction with s education in the monasteries of ddle ages was conformable to the nt and practice of all Christian y: "Sapientia," says Lactantius, eligione inseparabili nexu cohæret."§ were, therefore, attached to the residence of bishops, and to every church. Hence we read of Wilfrid, the holy bishop of York, that great men committed their sons to be educated by him, whether they intended to militate for the Lord or for the world;* and of Egbert, of the same see, in the words ascribed to Alcuin:—

"Indolis egregiæ juvenes quoscunque videbat
Hos sibi conjunxit, docuit, nutrivit, amavit."†

The monks, however, dwelling within vast abbeys in the country, and surrounded with every thing favourable to study, were, in a still more especial manner, the instructors to whom men most desired to commit their sons; and certainly they did not betray the trust reposed in them. In their cloisters the wish of St. Clement of Alexandria was realized: men honoured the young, and supplied them with the education of God—τὴν παιδείαν τοῦ Θεοῦ.‡ When Abelard, in the abbey of St. Denis, composed that learned poem in elegiac verse, in which he lays down the best rules to lead a holy and learned life, uniting piety and study, he did but explain the monastic education in general. "The schools in the monasteries," says a great professor of the Academy of Paris, "were more than schools of learning: they were, in a high sense, schools; for the moral faculties were singularly well cultivated. The great originality of the middle ages was this cultivation of self-knowledge. Less inventive than antiquity, these ages did nothing but study man. Thus theology itself was the study of man: for the relations of God with man required that study.§ "The first instruction for youth," says Bonald, "that of which it is not given to man to appreciate the value, or to estimate the influence, consists in habits, rather than in reasonings; in examples, rather than in direct lessons."‖ This was supplied in the monastic schools; where the duties of life according to the law of God, not the metaphysical theories of heathen, or the subtleties of a later philosophy, were to be the chief subjects attended to.¶ "You have sent your two nephews to be instructed by me," writes Peter of Blois, "the one a boy, the other a youth; and you say that the latter has a great genius, and that you never met with any one of a more subtle vein; and this, because, omitting the study of authors, he has fled at once to the

Martene, Vet. Script. xi. 334.
bert, Hist. Nigræ Silvæ.
ck Gallerie der Klöster Deutschlands, i.
. iv. c. 3.

* Will. Malmes. de Gestis Pont. Anglor. iii.
† Alcuini Poema de Pont. Eccles. Eborac.
‡ Stromat. iv. 17. § Michelet.
‖ Législation Prim. iii. 40.
¶ Petr. Bles. Serm. 29.

intricacies of the logicians. But I believe the result will not be exactly what you suppose. Not in such things is the foundation of learning; and, to many, pernicious is that subtlety which you extol. For what does it avail to spend his days on things which can never profit him, either at home or abroad, in the forum or in the cloister, in the court or in the Church, or any where but in the schools? What is more sharp than the beard of corn?—and yet what is it good for? Such is the genius which is all subtlety, without gravity. Do not, therefore, allege any more the subtle vein of your William: for I fear I shall only have twice the labour with him; since I must first eradicate what has taken root in him. If John only perseveres in his disposition, the younger will supplant the elder,—Jacob, Esau."* As Trithemius says of St. Bonaventura, "The monks taught and explained the whole sacred Scripture and theology: teaching with a certain spiritual sweetness, they delighted—and, with delight, they moved and inflamed the affections of their auditors." All that our wisest poets wished that youth might obtain was granted here; and Cowper himself would find his fondest speculations realized. "When I was seven years old," says Bede, "I was given to be educated to the most reverend Abbot Benedict, and then to Ceolfrid; and thenceforth my whole time was spent in meditating the Scriptures, and observing the regular discipline and singing in the church: and I found it sweet to be always either learning, or teaching, or writing." To the wisdom of this training the most learned men of later times subscribed, when the Jesuits instituted their last noviciate, or year of retreat, to repair the breaches which an application to human sciences might have caused in the soul.

When the system of the ages of faith was yielding to that which now prevails, there were not wanting voices from the cloister, like that of Savonarola, to assure fathers of families that "an education which consists in making children study some profane poets, and then sending them to a banking-house to take lessons of exchange and usury, was as prejudicial to their souls as to their intelligence." But the sentence had gone forth, and monastic education was to be superseded by that which sends men for contemplation to the gambling-room, and for philosophy to a London tavern.

The great authors of the middle ages were studied assiduously by their contemporaries in the monastic schools. "It was of prodigious service to me," says Peter of Blois, "that in my youth I was made to learn by heart the elegant letters of Hildebert, bishop of Mans."* The works of Gerbert in innumerable manuscripts were propagated through all the monasteries of Europe, in the first half of the eleventh century.† Professors were formed on the model of such men. Writing to Matthias, king of Hungary, Marsilius Ficinus says, "that in Nicolas he will hear the blessed Thomas Aquinas."‡ Bulæus excuses himself from enumerating the writings of St. Bonaventura, saying, "because they are daily in the hands of the learned."§ From a copy which was given to me by a holy priest of the society of Jesus, I find that his meditations on the life of Christ were printed so early as in 1490, which shows how well their value had been previously understood.

With respect to the classification of sciences, and the order in which they were taught in the schools of the monks, there are modern professors who acknowledge that the system they followed, which was that of Vincent of Beauvais, is better than that of Lord Bacon and the Encyclopædists of the eighteenth century. It was in fact a natural order, not partial and arbitrary, but highly reasonable and just. The dignity of the office of instruction was never more profoundly felt, or practically maintained, than in the middle ages and in these schools. How sublime are the words of Pope Gregory X. writing to the king of Sicily respecting the duty of attending to the interests of learning! "The first formation of the supernal hand before its fall," says the pontiff, "had an intelligence little less than the angelic, and penetrated the secrets of celestial things with the serene force of light, and obtained knowledge of sciences from the depth of an illuminated breast; but after the fall, it could no longer behold, without the interposing cloud of worldly darkness, what it formerly contemplated. But the immense benignity of the Creator, unwilling that such an ingenious creature, formed in his own likeness, should become utterly vile, to repair gloriously, as if by accident, what was injured by the deadly food, decreed that rude man whom natural reason could scarcely lead to the perfection of discretion, should be instructed by sciences

* Epist. ci. † Hock, 153.
‡ Epist. ix.
§ Hist. Universit. Paris, tom. iii.

and arts, and that the nations dispersed into the variety of many idioms, should be again united as it were, by means of one universal source of communication in the one literary order of Latinity: thus the deeds of our fathers are recorded in books; thus the contests of truth and falsehood are related: thus are taught the process of generations and corruptions of all bodies, the qualities of elements: thus the harmony of voices enables men to conceive how the Lord may be served by musical modulation: thus the scholastic doctrine estimates terminations, distinguishes the length and breadth, and height and depth, the movements and construction of the heavenly bodies, and the whole physical order, though apparently transcending the force of reason. Greatly then does it concern all orthodox kings that they should possess in their kingdoms industrious men, illustrious for science and virtue, conducing to the glory of their reign, under the Prince of Peace."* In point of fact, too, the instructors of youth held a lofty position in society.

While presiding over the school at Rheims, Gerbert was in relation with all the most eminent personages of the day. He was greatly esteemed by Adelheid, the second wife of Otho I. and by Theophania, the wife of Otho II. and daughter of the Greek Imperial house, and also by Adelheid, the wife of Hugues Capet, who entrusted him with the education of her son Robert. Ruthard, head of the school of the monastery of Hirschau, refused the episcopacy of Halberstat, which was offered to him by the emperor, saying, "let it be given to one worthy of it. I hesitate not to prefer the monastic quiet, and the study of the Scriptures, to all the honours and riches of the world."†

"According to the sentence of my heart," says Peter of Blois, "if there be a Paradise in the present life, it is either in the cloister or in the schools; for whatever is without these two is full of anxiety, disquietude, bitterness, fear, solicitude and sorrow."‡ "Scholastic labour," he says elsewhere, "although inefficacious to salvation, partakes nevertheless of a certain worldly decorum and secular innocence."§ The greatest intelligences of the middle ages fled to it, sooner or later, for peace. "For these cares and troubles," says Gerbert, writing to Raimund, the monk of Aurillac, "the only remedy is philosophy and the studies in which we have so often, as in this turbulent moment, sought a refuge from the storms of fortune raging against others or ourselves. The state of the republic in Italy seeming to admit of no other means of escape from the yoke of tyrants, but by engaging ourselves in commotions and horrors, we have chosen the certain leisure of studies, rather than the uncertain business of wars. Farewell brother Airard, farewell the most holy order; and you my director and instructor, be mindful of me in your holy prayers."* How affecting are these revelations of the hearts of such men! In later times, the great John Gerson fled to the same peace. Towards the close of his life he retired to Lyons, opened a school for boys, and wrote Tractatus de parvulis trahendis ad Christum. In dying, he ordered that the words of the holy mass "Sursum Corda" should be the only inscription on his tomb.

Mildness and benignity constituted the mode of treating students in the monastic schools. This is expressed in the imagery of the Campo Santo at Pisa, where grammar is represented by a woman who gives suck to a child. When Suger was first received as a little boy at St. Denis, the monks sent him to the priory of St. Martin in order that his tender age might not be exposed to the severity of the rules observed in the abbey. Gentleness is the favourite quality ascribed to the professors, as in the necrology of St. Gall, where the death of one of them in 915 is thus noted, "Non. Maii obitus Failani doctissimi et benignissimi magistri." All the letters from the students of St. Gall, of which fragments remain, indicate the same treatment. "From the time that I was placed under the yoke of your authority," says one disciple to his master there, "you have educated me without any remuneration from my friends, with no less love than if I had been your own son: but as it is written in the Gospel, 'the labourer is worthy of his hire,' I propose to go to my sisters in the island which is called Lindova, and there I think that I shall receive some little present, with which I can return to your presence." These poor boys were educated thus tenderly, however humble might be their birth. Another of them writes to his parents, and says, "You have followed the best of counsels in sending me to the monastery of St. Gall for edification in discipline and learning. There I confess I have found these two

* Ap. Martene, Vet. Script. ii. p. 1274.
† Gerbert, Historia Nigræ Silvæ, i. 123.
‡ Pet. Bles. Epist. xiii. § Epist. 139.

* Epist. Gerberti, 45.

things abundantly: but this is my demand, that you would out of your compassion send me a little present of two shirts and a linen tunic, that I may appear honourably with my fellow-students, and not with the shame of nakedness."* Wherever a contrary system was introduced, we read of its being condemned. Thus Euffridus, a holy man of the diocese of Cologne, one day hearing a great crying from the school, entered, and seeing a scholar about to be flogged, rushed up like a lion, raising his staff against the scholastic and his assistant, and delivered the boy from their hands, saying, "What are you doing, tyrant? You are placed here to teach, not to kill scholars." The other remained mute and confounded.†

Guibert de Nogert, after describing what he terms the cruel love of his pedagogue, to whose private tuition he had been committed in his boyhood, observes "that it was irrational not to allow him time to play, because the puerile, and indeed the nature of grown men," he says, "is beyond measure distended by the assiduity of meditation, it is weakened, and rendered lethargic. In proportion as the acumen of the mind kindles to perseverance in study, does it on the other hand cool from its strength being too much exhausted, and from excess of rigour it becomes dull. Therefore it is necessary for the intelligence, while encompassed with the weight of the body to be more temperately exercised: for even in heaven there is one hour's silence, from the impossibility of exercising the gift of contemplation without intermission. Much more are mortal minds incapable of excessive labour. God has not made nature uniform, but has delighted us with variety, and the mutations of day and night, spring and summer, autumn and winter. Let every one therefore who has the name of master, take heed, and let him moderate the discipline of boys and youths, because we ought not to treat them as if there were in them the plenary gravity of old men. My master punished me for not knowing what he did not know himself, but it was too bad to expect from a fragile little breast what he had never given to it. And nothing is more difficult, than to give instruction to others when one's own ideas are not clear. All this I say, my God, not that I would injure such a friend, but in order that every one who reads may understand that we should never teach for certain any thing that we may fancy, nor involve others in the clouds of our own conjectures."‡

Within monasteries such was not the discipline; for we find men looking back to them with love, as to the play-place of their early days. Colemann says, that he had heard Hemming, the sub-prior of Peterborough, describe the juvenile sports of St. Wulstan, and how he used to play on the meadows with other boys, and that, at a time when he was a mirror of saintly youth.† The Pré aux Clercs was an important spot to the students of the abbey of St. Germain-des-Près at Paris: so was the river or the pool to those of other monasteries; for some of them, like Beowulf himself, would not have feared to struggle with a fancied foe beneath the waters. The abbot Oderisius erected a bath in the abbey of Monte-Cassino in the tenth century.‡ Baths also were in the monastery of St. Benedict at Capua. The rule permitted even the monks themselves to bathe; which custom St. Dunstan and Lancfranc sanctioned.§ In the annals of Corby, at the date of 1264, we read that the junior brethren used to perform a sacred comedy of Joseph, sold and promoted, but that this was ill-interpreted by the other superiors of the order; and in a manuscript of Clauster-neuburg, there is mention of a pious drama, in which our Lord's resurrection was represented. In the monastery of St. Blaise, in the Black Forest, there was a book containing the play of the three Magi, in which the neighbouring nobles, such as the counts of Lupfen and Furstenberg used to perform. From the faculties which Pope Honorius III. yields to William, bishop of Modena, of absolving scholars who should strike one another lightly and without rancour,‖ it is clear that juvenile sports had all reasonable scope. The amusements of play-days in the abbey of St. Gall, in the tenth century, were throwing, running, wrestling, and having a mock fight with stones.

"Hac galea lapident pueri, plaudantque tenelli,
His stadiis ad metas tendant, his præmia prendant,
Hos Thalos juvenis dextret, manus uncta palæstret,
Dorsa tegat nudus, solet ictus clam dare ludus.

* *Ap. Goldast.* Aleman. Antiquit. II. 1.
† *Cæsar Heisterbach* Illust. Mir. Lib.

* Guiberti Abb. de Novigento de vita sua, Lib. i. cap. 5.
† Dissection of the Saxon Chronicle.
‡ Chronic. Casinensis, Lib. iv. 3.
§ Hist. Casinensis, Præf.
‖ Italia Sacra. i. 122.

ebis nulla hodie sint quæso flagella,
ator sileat oculosque videndo reflectat,
iihi donetur, hodie sibi talpa putetur,
ater elysiis videare quiescere campis."

all, swimming, wine, and lights,
s, play till after dark.

peditant festo tria Gaudia, (Pax Pater esto)
, lavacrum, vinum."*

h were their three joys. The wine
allusion to the foundation made by
nbert, a vassal of the abbey, from his
at Elk, for giving each of the students
ss of wine on Easter day. King
d I. and Bishop Salomon III. gave
certain days of play, and the occasion
latter being given is thus related.
spending some days at St. Gall, the
Salomon, bishop of Constance, on
iorning of his departure, wishing to
lieu to the scholars as he passed by
hool, opened the door and went in.
r it was the law then as now," says
iard, "that all strangers entering
d be made prisoners till they ran-
l themselves. So the scholars cried
iat they made prisoner not the Lord
t indeed, but the Bishop: he willingly
ed them; so they placed him in the
r's chair. 'Well,' said he, 'but if I sit
master's seat, I will use his autho-
'Be it so,' said they; 'still as our
r, we will ask you to ransom yourself.'
he, as he always delighted in the
s of St. Gall, rising up, embraced
kissed them all one after another.
' said he, 'if I live I will ransom
f.' Then going out, and calling the
rs before the door of the schools, he
ned that thenceforth the boys should
three successive days of play every
and should have meat for dinner on
of them; and then he departed." He
shed under the Emperor Lewis, and
ive kings, who were all his friends.
r him there were fifty-two priests in
bbey, twenty-four deacons, fifteen sub-
ns, and twenty boys.† The walks of
udents were another recreation. In
ghth century, the abbey of Reichenau
g a cell and school in Ober Bollingen,
Meinrad one of the monks being sent
eside over it by the abbot, we read
he walks which this professor used to
with his scholars on the other shore of

acation Song of Notker Labeo in Lib.
. 257.
ckehard de Casibus S. Galli, c. i.

the lake and in the deep forest of Ezelwald, inspired him with such a love for solitude, that at length he left his office of teacher, and became a hermit in that wood.* Such were in general the tranquil recreations of the pacific household. The remorse inspired by accidents arising from rougher sports, indicates with what eyes they were regarded. Meinher the second abbot of Monte Sereno, in 1137, had a brother, Wicmann, who was present at a certain juvenile play when one boy was killed. As a penance, he immediately resolved to leave the world and follow his brother; but he would never consent to rise higher than subdeacon.†

We have before heard that it was in the monastic schools that king's sons had generally received their education, procul à strepitu offendiculisque aulicis, as the old writers say. Here in effect we find them along with those of the humblest subjects; and indeed it was a noble and kingly culture, which imparted the sense of duties, which dried not up the heart, neither rendered the body incompetent for exercise, nor the mind for the meditation of moral truths. From the time of Charlemagne the sons of the French kings were always brought up in monasteries, and generally at St. Denis, where they received a Christian education, and were trained to a manly and pious discipline. Dagobert, son of the king of Austrasia, was educated in a monastery of Ireland, and after a seclusion of many years there, being recalled to his own country, he became sovereign of all Austrasia as the second Dagobert. Louis VII. says of himself in a certain charter, "we passed the time of our boyhood in the cloister of the church, as if in a certain maternal bosom."‡

In the thirteenth century the emperor Philip, from having received his education in an abbey, was said to have retained ever afterwards a great fondness for the sacred offices. "He loved to assist at them, and in the house of the Lord, before whom is no respect of persons, he used to appear with so little regard to his dignity, that he used to suffer the poorest priest or scholar to repeat the responses at his side, as if he were only his fellow-scholar." This emperor excelled all men of his age in chivalrous deeds and renown.§ The chro-

* Berno Augiens. in Vit. S. Meinrad. 11.
† Chronic. Montis Sereni ap. Menckenii Script. Rer. Ger. 11.
‡ Ap. Script. Fr. xii. 90.
§ Hurter Gesch. Inn. iii. 11. 94.

nicle of St. Richarius says, "that in this monastery dukes, counts, sons of dukes, and sons of counts, and sons of kings, were educated: whatever was most sublime in dignity in the kingdom of the Francs rejoiced in having a relation in the monastery of St. Richarius. Many of our abbots were counts, shining in nobility of birth and strict observers of the sacred rule."* So it was every where. The young Count Elzear de Sabran was educated with the monks of the abbey of Marseilles; Cosmo de Medicis, the father of his country, in the Camaldolese convent of the angels at Florence. The books of the middle ages contain many incidental testimonies to the character of the students in the monastic schools. Of St. Bernward, thirteenth bishop of Hildesheim, the old writer of his life, Tangmar, says, "When a youth in the schools, his genius and virtue were admirable. When I used to take him with me on some service without the monastery, I used to be struck more than ever with his extraordinary qualities, which at other times, when he was in the midst of the other youths, I could not so easily estimate. Often for the whole day we studied on horseback, at one time reading a no less prolix lesson than if we were at leisure in the schools, at another poetizing and making verses by the way; then descending to prosaic ground, we used to argue on questions of philosophy. He excelled no less in the mechanical arts than in all liberal science. He wrote beautifully, he painted well, he sculptured, and constructed buildings."† Peter of Blois, writing to the abbot of Gloucester, says, "You ask me whether I knew this new bishop of Paris, and what I think of his life and manners. It is of curiosity to inquire thus; but I know that the love to your Lord Henry of blessed memory, the late bishop of Worcester, obliges you to inquire of us. I knew him when he was a boy, and I devoutly loved him as a little scholar. Peter de Verno, his master, used often to tell me with what solicitude and devotion he used secretly to exercise his boyish years in works of piety. As a youth he walked in sanctification and honour. In later life he dispersed all his property in England and gave to the poor, impoverishing himself to enrich three industrious scholars. He is now transplanted, that his light may shine to all men. He is nearly related by blood to the kings of England and France, but the humility of his mind exceeds the nobility of his origin."* Cæsar of Heisterbach relates a vision, disclosing the sanctity of a scholar. "In Bonn," he says, "was a certain recluse, who one night perceived such a light through the chinks of her cell, that she thought it was day. Opening her window, which looked over the cemetery, she saw over the grave of a scholar, who had been lately buried, a woman surrounded with a blaze of glory, which was the cause of the light. She thought she heard a voice saying that it was the mother of Christ come to take away the martyr; for truly scholars, if they live innocently, and learn with zeal, are martyrs."†

In the third book we have seen the causes which led to the establishment of the universities, to which the superiors of monastic schools so unwillingly sent their students. It was impossible, however, to resist the new attraction. So that Stephen Laxington, an Englishman of angelic life, the nineteenth abbot of Clairvaux, erected, in 1240, the college of the Bernardines, at Paris, for the students of that abbey.‡ The abbots had houses for their respective students in different universities. Those of Trouast, of Mount St. Michael, of Daunè, Dardene, Barbery, Daval, De Savigny, De Mondaye, De St. Barbe, and De Belle Estoille, had hostels for their pupils, in the university of Caen, and all these abbots used to assist at the opening of the schools, which was a very honourable thing to see, adds De Bourgueville.§

We before remarked the extraordinary privileges granted with a view to draw scholars to these academies. Many who had assisted to destroy the institutions of the middle age,—the houses of the templars and of the lepers, coming to have doubts as to their own mission, founded colleges for the poor;—little popular states, as it were, in the heart of Paris, which were multiplied in a few years. Nevertheless, these only seemed to give occasion to the monastic student for following the example of St. Benedict, who, when a youth, chose to forego all the advantage of attendance at the public schools, to be "scienter nesciens et sapienter indoctus," rather than sully the purity of his soul by remaining to witness the disordered life of the students.

* Lib. iii. c. x.
† *Vita Bernwardi, Ep.* Hildesh. ap. Leibnitz *Script. Brunsv. illust.* tom. i.

* Pet. Bles. Epist. cxxvi.
† xii. 46.
‡ Notit. Ab. Ord. Cist. i.
§ Les Recherches de Normandie.

en the monastery of Clairvaux, in times, first instituted a house for its at Paris, the abbot sent to the t Arnulph, abbot of Villiers, to ask istance; but the latter was astonished novelty, says the chronicle, "for he that the order had been founded in irit of great simplicity, and that it ntinued to his time to evince the t humility and sanctity, and it seemed e that monks should now forego the al exercise, and give themselves to udy of letters. He considered the of the apostle, 'Scientia inflat.' So urned answer that he would give g; which the abbot of Clairvaux ll. Future generations," adds the cle, "will judge whether the man of iscerned the truth, and whether the humility will continue in religious as in times before the ordination of tudies."*

erience too soon justified these fore- s. The universities proved a snare entangled and captured many. That les, founded by Frederic II., out of o Bologna, produced fruits worthy of hor, even while men of great merit, s Peter of Ireland, the master of St. as, taught philosophy in it. O how Thomas, while studying under him, ted the sweet days that he had l at Mount-Cassino.†

universities contributed to create a al mania in certain cities, and as an ous author says, "both in arts and to hasten the resurrection of Pagan-

The universities opposed every that broke the spiritless uniformity g from the notions of centralization. e quarrel of the empire with the h, they almost always took the side temporal power, which had more tive presents than the popedom.§ were often hostile to heroic virtue. of Paris decided against the maid of ns. They were not destined to in- the beatitude of which we are yet to

As the agents of Henry VIII. dis- d they could be bought over for a n sum to betray justice, though they afterwards turn round and for greater betray the purchasers. The univer- Paris was dead before the revolution. Rollin, it produced no man of emi-

ist. Monast. Villariensis, i. c. 8, ap. Mar- hes. Anecdot. iii.
uron, Vie de St. Thom.
io de l'Art. Chrétien, 445.
adin, Vie de Luther, i. 40.

nence. The bishops did not confide their scholars to it, but kept them in their seminaries. They found after all that the monks had been right at first.

Philip, abbot of Goodhope, in answer to a certain John, formerly a disciple of Anselm, who after becoming a monk seemed to regret the time of his studies in Paris, says, "Blessed is the man, not who hath heard Master Anselm, or who hath studied at Paris, but whom thou, O Lord, doth teach thy law."* "We can neither condemn nor approve of your wish to study at Bologna," says Pope Clement IV., writing to a clerk named Raymond de Engoyssolis, "for the name of study," he continues, "taken properly, seems so fair that it soothes the ears of all who hear it, to whom it presents either a lover of study, or one studious only in name, although often one thing is acted and another pretended."† "There was a certain youth at Daventium," says Thomas of Kempis, "pursuing his studies as a scholar, and sometimes he used to be invited and tempted by offers of presents to remove to Paris: but by the advice of devout persons he declined exposing himself to such dangers. Meanwhile, it happened that two of his fellow students, who had gone from that school to study at Paris, after a short time died there, both on the same day. The said youth, hearing of this, was struck with the uncertain good attending scholastic things, and induced to become a disciple of Christ among monks."‡

"Misericordias Domini in æternum cantabo," after citing which words a Saxon monk exclaims, "O Lord my God, my Creator and Redeemer, what mercies hast thou shown me from the beginning of my life to this day. Not an hour or moment has passed in which thou hast not multiplied upon me thy mercies, for thou didst preserve my infancy and youth, and give me such success in the schools, that in my eighteenth year I was placed over sixty or eighty scholars to examine them in Greek. Then when my parents, elate with such a reputation in Paris, wished me to remove to Erfurth for university studies, thou didst inspire me with better resolutions; for then I began to think and say, If now I were to be a doctor, and every day to hear the salutation, Domine Doctor, and if after this life I should descend to

* Epist. vii. ap. Bulæus, Hist. Univers. Par. tom. ii.
† Ap. Baluse, Miscellan. tom. iii.
‡ Thom. à Kemp. Dialog. Novitiorum.

eternal flames, what would all my philosophy and learning avail? So the words *ewechlike* and *ommermer* made me determine to forsake the world and its delights. Therefore the mercies of God I will for ever sing, who inspired me with the good will to enter this holy order."*

The monastic students did not pant after the waters of the university with the ardour which impelled the Saxon innovator to repair to Erfurth and Wittenberg. "When Arnulph II., the nineteenth abbot of Villiers, in the eight century, was a youth, he did not wish to be sent to Paris to study," says the chronicle of that abbey, "rather desiring to be edified in charity than to be inflated with science, imitating the example of St. Benedict, who devoted himself wholly to religion, omitting the schools. Nevertheless, at that time the monastery had many students at Paris."† Writing to one of his clerks, Petrus Cellensis says, "your place of exile is sufficiently replete with joys, however vain. Who besides yourself would not esteem Paris a place of delight, a garden of plants, a land of first fruits? Nevertheless, in laughing you have spoken the truth; for where there are greater pleasures for the body, there is the place of banishment for the soul. 'Ubi major et amplior voluptas corporum, ibi rerum exilium animarum; et ubi regnat luxuria, ibi miserabiliter ancillatur et affligitur anima.' O Paris, what a fit place art thou for taking captive and deceiving souls! In thee are placed the nets of vice, and the snares of evil, and the ar death, which pierce the hearts of the So thinks my John, and therefore he it an exile. May you always estee an exile, and hasten to your true c There you will find face to face in t of life not figures and elements, b nity and truth itself, without the la reading or the weariness of seeing out danger of mistake or error in standing, without the care of retainin fear of forgetting. O happy school, Christ will teach our hearts by the his power; where we shall learn, study and reading, in what man may be able to live eternally happy! the book is not purchased; the M the writings is not paid. There is cumvention of disputations, no intr of sophisms, but a clear determina all questions, and a full apprehen all reasons and arguments. The avails more than reading, simplicit than ability. There no one is refut cepting those who are excluded: b one word of final judgment, Ite and all objections and questions are for ever. I wish that the sons would apply themselves to these studies, rather than to vain and per discourses. Certainly they would more abundant return of fruit, greater and more availing honour."*

But it is time that we pass still into the interior of the abbey, and i respecting the rules and customs house of peace.

* Johan. Buschii Liber Reformationis Monaster. Saxoniæ, c. i. ap. Leibnitz, Script. Brunsv. i.

† Hist. Mon. Villar. c. xi.

* Epist. Lib. iv. 10.

CHAPTER X.

FTER describing in minute detail the miseries that marked a courtier's life when Henry the Second was the English king, Peter of Blois concludes, ning all up, by saying that "in the there is no order."* Perhaps we l not find a more expressive term for ing the contrast between the peaceful a cloisters and that of other men, than ning the converse of this sentence, and g that in the monastery there was . Hugo of St. Victor, indeed, sup- order in the court; but his distinc- make the contrast no less striking. different," he says, "is the order of loister from that of the court: there it in council with the rich in secret y the innocent: here you sing, 'Non cum consilio vanitatis, et cum impiis sedebo.' There your right hand is f gifts; here you wash your hands with nocent. There the poor are robbed; to the poor free offerings are made. e the sinner is praised in the desires soul; here the just man is blessed."† aps again we could not better pourtray heerful diversity incident to the cloisrder than by confronting it with the ng picture of its exact opposite, which produces as the vision of a reprobate. he numerous vast halls, swarms of he says, "were sitting, standing, or ng about, all in the same state of deble woe. And no variety, no division ne, no hour, no day or night changed nelancholy monotonousness. One so- amusement was there. Now and some one reminded the others of their r faith; how during a short time ad feared and worshipped God. Then l burst of laughter, as at a most porus absurdity, pealed through the hall. wards they all grew grave, and some with all their faculties to call back verence and sanctity of their former feelings, but in vain." In the monastery the rule was variety in uniformity, and the consequences were peaceful joy, and hope that never withered. "Recollect," says St. Basil to a fallen virgin, "recollect the tranquil days, and the illuminated nights, and the spiritual chaunts, and the sonorous psalmody, and the holy prayers."* "Whatever is done by the monks," says a great English philosopher, "is incited by an adequate motive. Their time is regularly distributed; one duty succeeds another, so that they are not left open to the distraction of unguided choice, nor lost in the shades of listless inactivity. There is a certain task to be performed at an appropriated hour; and their toils are cheerful, because they consider them as acts of piety, by which they are always advancing towards endless felicity."† The hours in monastic life deserved the appellation given to them by the Pathagorean poet, where he speaks of the three sisters, "Good-legislation, Justice, and Peace," which were also called hours, from time being essential to the exercise of their respective functions.§ Such were the fruits of the monastic rule, order, variety, and peace.

The most celebrated of the primitive rules of the oriental monks were those of St. Anthony, St. Macaire, St. Hilarion, and St. Pachomius. In the last half of the fourth century the rule of St. Basil gave greater regularity to the monastic institution. St. Augustin found monks in Italy, and, in fact, the monastic order was soon spread over the west. In a work of the fifth century we read, "These men generally live in remote places, even when they reside in cities. Their conversation is without ostentation: they have one place of assembling; they are humbly clad; they care not how vile may be their food and drink; they have appointed hours for singing psalms and hymns to God; they fast till evening; they sleep upon rushes, and

et. Bles. xiv.
lugo de St. Vict. De Claustro Animæ, Lib.

* Epist. 45.
† Johnson, Rasselas.
‡ Olymp. xiii.

during the night, there are stated vigils and times of prayer. They never mistake the approach of day, but the first dawn raises them and matutinal devotion is exercised in offering praise to God."* There were, however, then various orders in the west. The Italian monks generally followed the rule of St. Basil, but in Gaul each great monastery gave name to a certain class as following the customs of that chief house, which in the sixth century all lapsed into the holy institute of St. Benedict. Towards the end of the fifth century at Nurcia, a few leagues east from Spoleto, at the foot of the Apennines, St. Benedict the great was born, the patriarch of the western monks. At Subiaco, and in twelve other monasteries built by him, he left a certain form of order, but gave no laws or precepts to bind these in union round a common centre, according to the idea which had originated with Pachomius, but which had become nearly obsolete, each monastery following the rules of its own abbot.† There were nearly as many rules as there were cells and monasteries; yet all were united in peace and charity. There was supposed to be but one order of monks in the Church. Three centuries after the great Benedict, in the year 751, the second of that name was born. St. Benedict of Aniane was by race a Goth; he was bred a page in the court of Pepin-le-Bref, became a warrior, and served in many of the expeditions of Charlemagne. In 774 he renounced the world and became a monk in the abbey of St. Seine, from which he passed afterwards to that of Aniane, where he became abbot. He it was who conceived the plan of reducing the rites of all the different monasteries to one common standard. This great work was begun at the solemn assembly of the abbots of the western empire at Aix-la-Chapelle. The wars and troubles of the ninth century revived, however, the confusion, which was not finally removed till the rise of the celebrated congregation of Cluny under Odo. The rule of St. Benedict used to be called κατ' ἐξοχήν, the rule, the holy rule, both by councils and chapters. Mabillon proves against Maresham, that the first monks of England followed this rule,‡ which St. Boniface introduced into Germany. Kero, a monk of St. Gall, translating it into the barbarous idiom of that people.* The one name of monks, therefore, began to be distinguished into various branches at the end of the ninth century, when the congregation of Cluny, on account of customs superinduced to the rule of St. Benedict, began to be called the order of Cluny, the chief features being the subjection of other monasteries to the abbot of Cluny. In the eleventh century succeeded the congregation of Camaldoli, founded by St. Romuald; that of Vallambrosa by St. John Gualbert, that of Cisteaux by St. Robert, and many others which were all subject to the rule of St. Benedict; so that until the thirteenth century, and the rise of the Mendicant orders, there was but one order of monks; for though there were the titles of Cluny, Camaldoli, and others, yet they were all confederated in the union of one rule. The habits indeed were different, the ancient Benedictines wearing black, whence they were called the black monks; the Cistercians at first grey, and afterwards white. Hence St. Bernard, in his Apology to the Abbot William, says, "Unum ordinem professione teneo, ceteros caritate;" but there was still but one genius of the ancient monastic order, and one object with them all.

What now was in general the fundamental character of all monastic rules? It was an adaptation to the end of procuring a pacific life in common for men, whose years were to be spent in contemplating or in announcing their benignant Lord Jesus Christ, either as being born or nursed, or as teaching, or fasting, or preaching, or labouring, or dying, or rising again, or ascending to heaven, or coming again to judgment. When a Benedictine monk first subscribed his engagement, he laid the instrument on the altar, repeating, "Suscipe me, Domine, secundum eloquium tuum, et vivam; et non confundas me ab expectatione mea!" These words having been thrice repeated by the assembled brethren, the newly professed prostrated himself at the feet of each monk in succession, beseeching him to pray for him, and as he was raised by each he received the kiss of peace. "The rule of St. Benedict," says Michelet, contrasting it with that of St. Columban, which soon perished through its excess of mysticism, "is a rule of good sense, a rule of labour, grave and practical." As the above terms of subscription indicate, it is a rule conformable

* Consultat. Zachæi et Apollonii, Lib. iii. c. iii. iv. ap. Dacher. Spicileg. x.

† Mabill. Præfat. in V. Sæcul. Ben. § iv.

‡ *Præfat. in I. Sæc. Bened. 8.*

* Ap. Goldast. Rer. Alem. ii. 1.

to the word of God. Similarly again, in the rule of St. Francis there is nothing but what is prescribed in the holy Scriptures, as the blessed Cæsarius de Spira shows. The seraphic father only says, "The rule and life of the friars minor consists in observing the holy Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ, living in obedience, without property, and in chastity." Bernardine, general of the Capuchins, says, in his apology to Cardinal Sanseverino, "The perfection of the seraphic and evangelic rule consists not in syllables or sentences, but in spirit and in truth."* The order of the bare-footed Carmelites offered, as St. Theresa said, "these three steps to Christian perfection, poverty in common, retreat from the world, and manual labour." "In correction, and admonition, and discipline," say the Præmonstratensian statutes, "all is to be done according to the rule, 'Cum dilectione hominum et odio vitiorum.'"† John Andræa, a most eminent lawyer, when in Rome, examined the statutes of the Carthusians, and then said, that he had never read or heard of any drawn up with greater discretion, sobriety, humility, or charity than these; and soon afterwards with his patrimony he built the Carthusian monastery of Bologna.‡ "On entering a religious order," says Father Judde, "a man finds that the rule has only developed what he had long been accustomed to read in his own heart." Thus before the constitutions of St. Ignatius, St. Francis Xavier governed in India nearly in the same manner as the holy founder did in Europe. The first fathers, on receiving the constitutions, found that they had themselves had the same thoughts.§ A modern French author,‖ alluding to the reform instituted by St. Benedict of Aniane, produces some of the minute articles which were designed for the domestic regulation of monasteries, respecting habits and diet, and then complains that these are miserable prescriptions, quite foreign to a religious sentiment or moral institution. But he should have observed, that these precepts began by enforcing attention to the original rules which had extorted his praise, and though to a professor before a promiscuous assembly these minute articles might seem trifling, to any experienced superior, who had to govern a number of men living in one house, they would probably appear a necessary part of the material element of a religious community. The prescribing a particular diet for each season, the prohibition of indiscriminate bleeding, and the providing peculiar indulgences for the sick or delicate, or even the regulating the hours of opening and shutting the gates by the alternation of certain months, furnish weak grounds for the conclusion that the monastic institution had lost its grandeur, and had become full of puerilities and servitude. The superiors of religious houses knew perfectly well the distinction which this historian seems to propose as the result of his own philosophy. "Habetis dilectissimi: you have here, my beloved, according to your request, certain customs which we observe, in which are many mean and minute things, which perhaps ought not to be written, unless because your love was resolved to judge nothing, but to embrace whatever was prepared." So speaks Father Guigo, prior of the Carthusians, at the end of his "Customs," about forty-four years after the foundation of the order by St. Bruno.* Indeed, the fourth chapter of the first book of this collection, treating on the spirit and end of this order, supplies an admirable answer to such objections. Richard of St. Victor, while showing that the discipline of the body is useless without the discipline of the mind, observes, that "where exterior discipline is wanting, the interior certainly cannot be maintained."† "Every power," says St. Thomas, "which can be ordained to action requires habit by which it may be well disposed to act, and therefore habit is necessary to the will, which is an intellectual power."‡ The object of the monastic regulations was to produce habit.

The wisest politicians have admitted that the best way of learning how to govern a state well was to study the constitution of religious orders. Their soul, indeed, was obedience, without which, as the historian of the Carthusians says, "not even the desert could yield peace," and therefore St. Bruno renounced that sweet solitude at the voice of the sovereign pontiff.§ But for men humble and gentle, as even the profane historian remarks, "the service of the Church was a true liberty."‖ The services and practices of religion exalt and

* Annales Capucinorum, ad an. 1536.
† Statuta Ord. Præmon. c. vi.
‡ Pet. Sutorus, De Vita Carthusiana, ii. iii. 3.
§ Œuvres Spirit. iv. 65.
‖ Guizot.

* Annales Ord. Carthusiensis, Lib. i. c. 80.
† Ric. St. Vict. Allegoriæ Tabernaculi Fœd.
‡ Q. L. Art. v.
§ Pet. Sutorus, De Vita Carthus. i. v. 1.
‖ Orderic Vit. Hist. Nor. Lib. iii.

ennoble, and correspond with those lofty sentiments of the dignity of our origin, which are found in the writings of the great men who collected the traditions of antiquity, while those of the world seem often invented, in order to degrade and humiliate men, while, by flattering the passions, they reconcile them to the vileness and absurdity of the offices required. "Why should monastic obedience seem grievous?" asks a master of novices. "What a hard obedience do unhappy men render in the world, without any consolation or fruit from it!"* The motto of the congregation of the Oratoire might have been that of all the religious houses, "Ici l'on obéit sans dépendre, et l'on gouverne sans commander." The monastic rules excluded despotism. "For no superior or subject," says Peter of Blois, "is it lawful to follow his own will; for the legislator of monks prescribed, as if by a general edict, that all should follow the rule as their master; and from this law neither the abbot nor the prior is excepted."† In point of fact, too, the government of monks was full of indulgence and condescension. Seldom could they address their superior in words like those of Eurylochus in the name of his companions to Ulysses, complaining of his iron nature in ordering them to wander all the night long:—

Σχέτλιος εἶς,——πέρι τοι μένος οὐδέ τι γυῖα
κάμνεις· ἦ ῥά νυ σοίγε σιδήρεα πάντα τέτυκται.‡

William of Jumiège says of Robert, abbot of St. Evroul, who established a monastery on the shores of Calabria, that "he disdained his own body, but supplied all who were subject to him with food and clothing in abundance, while endeavouring to maintain their hearts under a regular discipline."§

"It is not for me," says Peter the Venerable, abbot of Cluny, "to deter novices, and by my probation of a year cause them to be rejected for ever. It is not for me to refuse to supply meat and drink, and clothing, and other necessaries, according to the diversity of infirmities, climate, and times, lest, while I do not render to man what is man's, he cannot render to God what is God's. Nor shall charity give place here to the dictates of a proud superstition."‖ "Nothing is contrary to the rules," he says again, "which is done from charity; if we change or modify some minor regulations, we do it for the good of others; and we broadly reply to those who accuse us of innovation, that charity justifies and calls for such dispensations."* The cloister, notwithstanding the strictness of its discipline, did not furnish an exception to the result which a modern author ascribes to the organization of society in the middle ages, saying, in allusion to it, "Jamais l'individu n'a tant vécu." We find that the monastic superiors followed the method of Pythagoras, who used to adopt a different mode of discipline with different persons. When Abaris the Scythian came from the Hyperboreians, advanced in age, a priest of Apollo, and versed in sacred things, though rude and uncultivated in Greek discipline, he did not lead him about first through various contemplations, but dispensed with the long silence and the long hearing, and at once admitted him to familiarity with his doctrines.† The priors of the middle ages acted thus. When Count Guigo was admitted into the monastery of Cluny, the holy Abbot Hugo, knowing that he had been brought up delicately from a boy, and was accustomed to have only soft furs or silk next his skin, granted him a dispensation from wearing the usual coarse woollen vest; for he foresaw that he who was first in the secular warfare would no less desire to contend with the best in the spiritual, and so the event proved."‡ St. Adalhard, in the ninth century, though the names of the brethren were inscribed in his heart, yet had always a certain number of them written on a tablet, which he held in his hand, that he might sedulously examine and study the manners of each, as thinking that he would have to answer for them in judgment. Therefore, knowing what was peculiarly expedient for each, he provided what was conducive to their salvation.§ Orderic Vitalis says of Theodoric the first abbot of Ouche, in the eleventh century, "he admitted men of different ages and degrees to conversion under the rule of the holy Father Benedict. He led humbly to follow a better life in the school of Christ, Goufroi, Rainaud, Foulques, and some other learned grammarians. He treated with goodness the

* Joan. à Jesu Instruct. Magist. Novitiorum.
† Pet. Bles. Epist. 131.
‡ *xii. 279.* § Lib. vii 30.
‖ *S. Pet. Ven. Epist.* Lib. i. 28.

* S. Pet. Ven. Epist. Lib. i. 28.
† Jamblich de Pyth. Vit. 19.
‡ Bibliothec. Cluniacens. 459.
§ Vita S. Adalhardi Mab. Acta S. Ord. Ben. iv. 1.

old man Riculphe, and the country priest Roger, the gardener Durand, and some other simple disciples. He trained also to the art of reading well, singing and writing, and other useful works, proper for the servants of God, Herbert and Berenger, Goscelin and Rodulphe, Gislebert, Bernard, Richard, and Guillaume, and many other young men of good dispositions: in fine, many of the peasants seeing such zeal and sanctity, found also their salvation there."* St. Bernard advising Turstin, archbishop of York, to hold what he holds, and exhibit a monk in the episcopal dignity, adds, "that if some latent cause should compel him, or the Lord Pope indulge his desire of quiet, he advises him not to be deterred by reported asperity of food or clothing or poverty, provided he may pass where he can hope to find greater purity; and moreover that in houses of this kind souls are in such a manner consulted for, that according to age and weakness a fitting care of bodies is never denied."† St. Bernard furnishes a remarkable instance of the forbearance of monastic superiors in his own conduct towards Nicolaus, the notary, a cheat and impostor, who left the Cistercians under him, carrying off books and money; having frequently forged letters in his name, from having possession of his seal. St. Bernard says that he had long known the man, but had waited for his conversion or open declaration of treachery.‡ It was characteristic, however, of all monastic rules to imply a state of life from which no doubt men of the luxurious habits belonging to the modern civilization recoil with a kind of horror, as from an austerity which neither reason nor religion sanction; though a little consideration would lead any unprejudiced mind to a conclusion widely different from theirs, so clear is the truth observed by St. Augustin, that it "is easier for those who love God to retrench their cupidities than it is for those who love the world to satisfy them."§ "We are apt enough," says a late historian, "to ridicule the austere observances of some orders; yet we may be assured that without such austerities monastic piety could not long subsist. Those who live on the luxuries of nature will receive the yoke of the passions."‖

Having already alluded to the belief and practice of men in ages of faith in this respect, I shall now pass on hastily; only observing, by the way, that even the ancient philosophers practised acts of self-denial to teach them patience and endurance, as Socrates was known to have done.* Homer, as Cardan remarks, makes his Ulysses not courageous, for he prefers Ajax to him; not strong or swift, for he makes Achilles superior to him; not rich, for he gives the first place to Priam; not powerful, for he subjects him to Agamemnon: but he ascribes to him the virtue of endurance.† Not alone with the mysterious depths of religion, but also with all that is great and heroic among men, was the austerity of the cloistral life in harmony: and hence it was a popular saying of the middle ages, as we learn from Hugo of St. Victor, "That a soldier and a monk wear the same cloth."‡ The mild and delicious graces of faith would never have been seen in the world, if there had not been also witnessed, as Hugo of St. Victor says, "the sackcloth of Jerome; the tunic of Benedict; the mat of Eulalius; the tears of Arsenius; the nakedness of Paul; the pot of Elisha.§

Men of counterfeit gaiety, who live in the crowd, though often heard to exclaim, "O how full of briars is this working-day world!" are filled with sadness on visiting a Carthusian or Cistercian house, from believing that the inhabitants of these serene abodes, inaccessible to bitter care, are in a state more wretched than the general infelicity of man: they even evince displeasure, declaring loudly that they do not pity them, since by their choice of life, they have brought that misery on themselves. But we have only to wait a little to be convinced of their error: for the wind of adversity, sooner or later, is sure to blow upon that smiling surface, and then all is visibly reversed. Let the moment of reflection come; who are, then, the self-tormented? Will it be for them to compassionate the monks? Morality may spare her grave concern, and her kind suspicions. They will have to say of them what the Book of Wisdom affirms of the just: "Illi autem sunt in pace." And if the scene is so quickly altered in the present dark, uncertain life, where a blow, or a sickness, or any political convulsion, is sufficient to make the dissipated and the

* Lib. iii. † Epist. 319.
‡ Epist. 298. § Epist. 220. ad Bonif.
‖ Europe in Mid. Ages, vol. ii.

* Aul. Gell. ii. 1.
† Cardan de Sapientia, i.
‡ De Claustro Animæ, Lib. ii. 18.
§ Id. Prolog.

religious change parts, in regard even to the external condition,—what will be the contrast hereafter, when every one will be obliged to distinguish good from evil, without having any longer the power to make a choice! This,—this was the reflection that reconciled men in ages of faith to the austerity of cloisters. "O what folly," exclaims an ascetic, "to fear the monastic discipline, and not the flames of inextinguishable, eternal fire! Ah! there is too great a difference between the humble habits of monks and the ghastly aspect of demons; between the devout chant of the religious and the intolerable wailing of the damned."*

The habits of the monastic order were not the inventions of caprice, but the result of experience, which determined what dress was most simple, œconomical, and conducive to the purposes of the life to be pursued by monks. Paul IV., on his election to the papal chair, being mindful of the ancient friendship which, from tender years, existed between him and Jerome Suessanus, the hermit of Monte Corona, sent orders to him to come to Rome. The obedient man arrived, and was received by the pope with a joyful countenance. After embracing him, the pontiff, raising him up, said, "What covering is this, Jerome? What austerity is this? It is too vile: you must lay it aside." The old man answered, "Holy Father! when clad in this habit, I can walk more easily amidst the oaks and brushwood; nor would any other be suitable to a penitent." "You shall be no longer in the woods and desert," said the pope; "but you shall remain here with us, and from a hermit become a cardinal." Prostrate instantly on the earth the old man fell; and, with tears, implored the pontiff not to execute such a resolution; declaring that he knew of no happiness beyond the solitude of the desert. The pope found that it would be too grievous to press him farther: so the holy man returned in triumph to his cell in the woods. This is that blessed Hieronymus Suessanus, styled always "the hermit of Monte Corona who refused the cardinal's hat." He was an excellent physician, and skilled in the healing art, on which he had expressly written.† Nevertheless, though "the brushwood" accounted for much, it cannot be doubted but that there was a true connection between the solemn religious habit and the spirit of the n
orders. "A vain heart," says St. I
"induces a note of vanity in the
and the external superfluity is an i
the interior." There was besides, p
a certain tradition of antiquity, wh
not without its influence, in the
choice of colour: for, though one
suppose that the example of Pyth
who used to wear a white habit,* w
in view, yet many of the first Chr
who passed from the schools of th
sophers and retained their habit,
presumed to have handed down
general notion as to the kind most
to the life which corresponded,
Church, with that of their former co
St. Clemens of Alexandria says, th
follows Moses, in praising white g
as most proper for peaceful men,
children of light.† Isaiah, he say
barefoot; Elias and St. John the
were coarsely clad.‡ Popular loc
dictated, in later times, the choic
seraphic father; though poets f
suitable to an angel as to him w
open the gate of purgatory: of wh
say,—

"Ashes, or earth, ta'en dry out of the
Were of one colour with the robe he

"The fewer things a man wa
nearer he is to God," replied Soc
one who ridiculed his custom of
barefoot, and having but one d
summer and winter. Sublime
which ought to content those m
who now disdain the habit in whic
wished to die. But, in these mo
times, men, who could endure to
appellation, would shudder at the
of wearing the canonized habit of a
which, of old, was of itself an ind
both of the obedience and the ch
its wearer! for it was assuredly a
charity to let men see, by the very
with which they clothed themselv
they were still in the midst of then
who followed in the narrow track of
founders, bound together in a ve
society to preserve, not so much
perty or the exemptions, which mig
become even pernicious, as the s
the holy orders of St. Benedict
Francis, so inseparably connected

* Dialog. Novitiorum.
† Annal. Camald. Lib. lxxii.

* Jamblich. de Vit. Pyth.
† Pæd. Lib. iii. c. 11.
‡ Id. Lib. ii. c. 10.

literal observance of their rules. "I knew many young men," says Father Elzear l'Archer, a Franciscan, "who, from having only beheld certain preachers of our order in the pulpit, before they had pronounced a word, were already converted in their hearts, and had resolved to leave the world, merely by the force of these men's countenances. Hence it is so often said, that our habit of itself preaches; and that it has a thousand tongues, each the most eloquent."*

The fasts and abstinence, as regulated in the monasteries, were far from being contrary to what the philosophy of the ancients deemed wise and expedient. Amidst banquets like the Syracusan and Italic tables, that Plato condemned, men may now speak disdainfully of them and obtain applause; but, with such manners, it will be still true to say, in the words of that philosopher, that no man under heaven can ever be wise.† Pythagoras prescribed abstinence from certain kinds of food, from being convinced that the juice of meat tended to render wickedness robust. "Who knows not," adds a great French physician "that men fasting are more disposed for meditation; and that, after a feast, the mind is weakened. The art of abstinence is the art of living well."‡ St. Clement of Alexandria remarks, "that much food produces indolence, and oblivion, and stupidity;"§ and Alanus de Insulis does not confine the evil to the soul, for he says, "Do you know whence come infirmities of body and mind? certainly it is from excess of food, and the deluge of potations."‖ Hence the saying of the middle ages: "Plures crapula quam gladius." Besides, it was impossible that men of gentle and refined natures should not love and adore that Orphic life, innocent and primeval, free from the slaughter and the blood of animals. "The less one seeks," moreover, as Hugo of St. Victor says, in commenting on the rule of St. Augustin, "the more strictly one lives, the happier one is: for an abstemious life kills vices, extinguishes desires, nourishes virtues, strengthens the soul, and elevates the mind to celestial things." With what horror men in the middle ages regarded the shame and sin of gluttony, may be witnessed in the curious letter of Peter of Blois to Richard of Salisbury.* Truly, if we abide by the sentence of their philosophy, there ought to be no hesitation in deciding between the simple diet of the monks, and the luxurious grandeur of worldly tables, as described by Le Grand d'Aussy, from the pages of Froissart and other old authors; between those of "voracious Burgundy, loving feasts," and the boards of that austere community of Cîteaux, reviving the manners to which the Church alludes in the vesper hymn for the feast of all the saints of the Benedictine order:—

"Vobis olus cibaria
Fuere, vel legumina;
Potumque lympha præbuit,
Humusque dura lectulum."

Antiphanes, the Delian physician, said that one cause of the diseases of men was the diversity of food; and Cardan, in the same capacity, speaks of the excellence of fish, as being simple and light nourishment.† St. Bonaventura, accordingly, observes that monks in the cloister, in consequence of their temperate and austere life, generally live to a great age.‡ In monasteries of Carthusians, as an historian of that order observes, it is common to find fathers of eighty and a hundred years of age,—witnesses that their discipline does not impair the strength of nature.§ The Père de Geramb remarked monks in the convent of St. Catharine, who, at the age of eighty and ninety-six years, showed all the vigour of youth. The common opinion, that the Carthusians take a vow to abstain from meat absolutely, is without foundation: for there is nothing in their statutes to forbid them from eating it in cases of necessity.‖ Father Elzear l'Archer, the Franciscan, after observing how abstinence is conducive to health, says, "if it were not for their life being sapped at the foundations, which are the feet, in consequence of the ice and rock and craggy paths which they have to pass over, I believe that our poor friars, from being so abstemious, would live to be so old that it would be necessary to knock them on the head at last.¶ "Why do philosophers and hermits live longer than other men?" is a question put by Cardan; who replies, "Because they lead a simple, abstemious life, in har-

* Sacré Mont d'Olivet.
† Platonis Epist. vii.
‡ Alibert, Physiologie des Passions.
§ Pædag. ii. 1.
‖ De Arte Prædicatoria, Lib. iv.

* Ep. 85.
† Prudent. Civilis, 43.
‡ De Reformat. Hom. Inter. c. 30.
§ Pet. Sutorus de Vita Carthusiana, Lib. i. c. 8.
‖ Id.
¶ Le Sacré Mont d'Olivet, 581.

mony with nature."* In fact, the monastic rules imposed nothing novel in that respect. When the rule of St. Benedict was first introduced into Brittany, there had been already seen there the pattern of a simple, natural life, austere but healthful, in the monks, who had been long in that country.† Mabillon justly observes, that the experience of many ages, and the admirable frugality of the most holy men of Germany, must disprove the assertion of the moderns, who pretend that the monastic discipline cannot be borne under that sky, and with the bodily disposition of that people.‡ And, besides, we must remember the maxim of all religious orders, which Fulbert of Chartres thus expresses: "Abstinence only from meat does not so much avail with the Lord, as the mortification of vices."§ It is certain that the abstinence and fasts of the religious orders, like parts of sacred vestments, are now only vestiges of primitive times, which originally formed no distinction between monks and other men. Le Grand d'Aussy, citing the statutes of the reform of St. Claude in 1448, says that he cites the rules of the monks frequently, because, from their nourishment, one can learn what was the general food of the people :‖ so that, even down to that period, the discipline of monasteries presented no such prodigious contrast as we might now suppose to that of the majority of secular houses. So strictly was Lent observed by the people at large, that, even so late as in 1629, there were only six oxen and about sixty calves killed for the Hôtel-Dieu and the whole city of Paris: for the hospital had then the exclusive privilege of selling meat in Lent, on the deliverance of a physician's certificate, signed by the curé. In 1665, the number was increased to two hundred oxen and two thousand calves; and so it went on increasing, until, as at present, the consumption became nearly the same throughout the year.¶

The discipline of religious houses as that of the church generally, both in the east and west, has varied in different ages with respect to the kinds of food which constituted abstinence. Socrates says, "some abstain from all animals, others eat only fish, others eat fowl, with fish, believing them born from the waters, in consequence of the text in which Moses records, that the waters were commanded to produce them on the fifth day, an interpretation general from the fourth century, and which St. Basil and St. Ambrose seemed to authorize. In the most austere religious orders, fowl and game were permitted at certain seasons. St. Columban fed his monks with that food during a scarcity. Chilperic invited St. Gregory of Tours to take some soup, adding that he might eat it as it was made of fowl. However in 817, the council of Aix-la-Chapelle forbade the use of such food excepting during the days of Easter and Christmas; and in consequence of this regulation the royal donations of fowl yearly to many different monasteries were annulled, or rendered only obligatory at those seasons. This rule of the council did not affect the tables of seculars, for until the eighteenth century, no one scrupled at them to eat various kinds of aquatic birds on days of abstinence.* At one time again, the Sundays of Lent were of abstinence, and at others not. In the tenth century, meat was then eaten. Photius, patriarch of Constantinople, affected rigourism, and accused the west of not observing Lent strictly; but Ratram, monk of Corby, Hincmar of Rheims, Eudes, bishop of Paris, and others replied to him, and showed that such things vary.†

Local circumstances sometimes affected the discipline of houses. Thus the abbey of Mount Sereno being on the top of a lofty mountain, and far distant from places where fish could be obtained, Pope Innocent III. gave the community leave to eat flesh, especially as their rule of St. Augustin did not forbid it.‡ In the abbey of St. Gall on days when meat was permitted, the monks eat bears' flesh, and that of wild horses, wild bulls, ibexes, marmots, pheasants, swans, peacocks, and all other birds.§ In the eighth century, St. Chrodegand, bishop of Metz, speaks of acorns failing, as if they constituted an important article of food. Philippe-le-Hardi, duke of Burgundy, who had a Dominican for his Confessor, used to regale that monk every year on the festival of St. Thomas of Aquin, with a lamprey; and if it was impossible to find one, he used to give him forty-five sous in silver. With respect to

* Cardan de Consolatione, Lib. ii.
† Lobineau, Hist. de Bret. Liv. ii.
‡ Præfat. in III. Sæc. Ben. 2.
§ Fulb. Car. Epist. 36.
‖ *Hist. de la Vie* privée des François, ii. 233.
¶ *Id. ii. 112.*

* Le Grand d'Aussy, i. 326.
† Id. ii. 39.
‡ Epist. Inn. Lib. v. 10.
§ Udefons von Arx Geschichte d. S. G. i. 250.

the order observed in the refectory, many minuter rules were laid down; but we have no space to devote to them. The place of each monk who held office, the position of the tables, the number and kind of vessels, the books to be read according to the alternations of months, were all determined. In the abbey of Croyland, it was ordained that every day after dinner, as soon as grace was said, there should be prayers for the soul of King Ethelbald, the founder, and that the bounty of King Wichtlaf, who left his drinking horn, should be commemorated.

The silence observed in religious houses was another feature of monastic discipline, at which men conversant with the lessons of ancient wisdom will be less disposed to wonder, than those whose minds are formed by the common opinions of later times. One of the first proofs which Pythagoras required from his disciples, was whether they were able ἐχεμυθεῖν, that is, to keep in silence what he taught them; for he laid more stress upon the being able to keep silence, than on the being able to talk.* Cato used to say, "I wish that all men were mute; there would be then less improbity,† forcibly expressing only what Plutarch lays down in his treatise on "speaking too much." It was Simonides who said, "that he had often to repent having spoken, but never having kept silence." "In speaking we have men for our masters," says the Chæronian sage, "but in keeping silence, the gods," which was an allusion to the mysteries. "Silence," he adds, "is not only without thirst, as Hippocrates says, but it is without pain and sorrow; it is Socratic and magnanimous."‡ Alluding perhaps to which opinions, St. John Climachus styles "a silent man a son of philosophy." The antiquity of this discipline among Christians has been often shown. "Extra Psalmos silentium est," says St. Jerome in his epistle to Marcella, speaking of a Christian community. At Nitria in early times it was a rule that no one should speak till after sext. At none began prayer and psalmody, as if in paradise. From complin till the "Pretiosa in conspectu Domini" at prime, silence was obligatory in every religious house. The regular places of a monastery where silence was to be observed, were the dormitory, the refectory, the infirmary, the library, the chapter room, the cloister, and the conventual garden.*

We may remark that the defence of this discipline among the worshippers of peace, furnishes occasion to the monastic philosophers for evincing the profound knowledge which they possessed of human nature. "Choose silence," says Peter of Blois, "if you wish to have peace of heart."† St. Bernard calls the tongue, "the instrument that serves to empty the heart." "As a furnace," he says, "of which the mouth is always open, cannot retain the heat within itself, so neither can the heart preserve in itself the grace of devotion, unless the mouth be closed with the grace of silence." The holy Carthusian Patriarch Bruno knew well how to appreciate the force which is vouchsafed to man, and the dangers which encompass him in the frigid atmosphere of the present life, when he wrote at the head of his laws "Silere." If any chose to be disputatious, and to inquire why such laws should be necessary, the Cistercians might have deemed it sufficient apology for their custom to reply with Shakespeare,

"Why, 'tis good to be sad, and say nothing."

In point of fact, however, there are many men to whom this part of discipline is full of charms. Hear how Cardan speaks of himself. "I feel that I am little fit for conversation: first, because I love solitude; for never am I more with those whom I love, than when I am alone. But I love God, the good Spirit. When I am alone, I contemplate the immense good, the eternal wisdom, the Author of light, the true joy, the foundation of truth, the Author of all things, who is happy in himself, and the desire of all the happy. What other mind can I love? What intelligence more sincere, more lofty, more secure than the divine? Libraries are crammed with books; minds are spoiled by erudition; men transcribe but write not: what then can I hope from the converse of men—garrulous, avaricious, lying, ambitious men? But you say, man is a social animal, and why renounce friends in the world? I know that these things can be objected to me; but I am not ignorant that many things may seem hard and absurd, which when investigated ap-

* Jamblich de Pythag. Vita, c. 20.
† Aul. Gel. xviii. 7.
‡ C. 20.

* Joan à Jesu Instructio Magistri Novitiorum, c. 25.
† Pet. Bles. de Silentio servando.

pear very different; and that on the contrary, there are other things apparently gentle and useful, which in reality are absurd and hard."*

The nocturnal vigils again presented a point of contrast between the cloister and the world, sufficiently remarkable, and though men at present may not be long sleepers like Epimenides, no part of monastic discipline seems to them to present a more vulnerable side. Who is this that moves solitary along the dusky aisles,

Νύκτα δι' ἀμβροσίην, ὅτε θ' εὕδουσι βροτοὶ ἄλλοι;

In ages of faith it was the monk, and truly his motive was sublime. Within monasteries there were, at least, four hours of spiritual exercise and solemn music, while the rest of the world was buried in sleep. When I was in Camaldoli, the monks used to begin matins in the church at half-past twelve. At three they returned to take repose, and at five rose for the day. At the Carthusian monastery of La-part-Dieu, in a deep black forest of pines on the mountains of Freyburg, the monks rose at eleven, and remained in the church till two. They then returned to rest till five. The day closed with them at seven in the evening, when they retired to rest. So that the very observance of hours separated them from the world, and I confess on going back to it, I almost envied them even this distinction. In the abbey of Croyland three lights used to burn in the cloister, and four in the dormitory every night till day-break, in order to guard against fire and many other dangers, as Ingulphus says.† The chronicles of St. Trudo say, "that lights all night were necessary in the cloister of that abbey, to obviate that horror of darkness which the children and the monks would otherwise have had to encounter in going to matins and returning."‡ In the houses of the knight templars also lights used always to burn through the whole night.§ The holy fathers, as we observed in the fifth book, were unanimous in recommending the practice of devotion in the night. The monastic observance is therefore no novelty. "Our sleep," says St. Basil in his epistle to St. Gregory Nazianzen, "ought to be short, and interrupted by the thoughts of salvation. The middle of the night ought to be for those who are entirely devoted to a spiritual life, what the beginning of the day is for persons who live in the world." St. Chrysostom speaks of it as a monastic custom to assist at the divine worship before day at the crowing of the cock. "A sleeping man," says Clemens Alexandrinus, "is like a dead man. Oftentimes during the night, one ought to rise from one's bed and give thanks to God, πολλάκις καὶ τῆς νυκτὸς ἀνεγερτέον τῆς κοίτης καὶ τὸν Θεὸν εὐλογητέον."*

The more ancient monks determined their time of rising by the course of the stars, as Cassian relates.† The monks of Cluny observed this rule.‡ Gnomons were used in the day, or hour glasses, as Cassiodorus relates in his divine readings. Petrus Damianus alludes to another but difficult mode of knowing the hours, which was, from the quantity of Psalms sung.§ Some ascribe the first clock to the invention of Pope Sylvester II.; but a clock was sent as a present to Charlemagne from the king of Persia, two hundred years before Sylvester. The ancient Romans had a boy to announce the hours. They superstitiously thought it better to number the hours before meridian, than those after it, a fancy which appears also in the work of Hesiod entitled "Days."

Such then in brief, were the most severe prescriptions of the monastic discipline. To the multitude they may appear painful, for without love, all things are bitter and tasteless, but whatever is bitter becomes sweet by love, as the holy fathers of the desert and the monks of later ages found, the former using herbs and bark of trees, dry bread and cold water for nourishment, the earth for their bed, a stone for their pillow, sackcloth for covering, and the latter the diet and necessaries belonging generally to the poor, in all which things, they both found an ineffable sweetness on account of love, which renders all difficult things light, and as it were nothing.‖ The legislator of Fontevrault shows that the members of his order will do nothing through fear, but that they will observe all their rule through the love of Christ, and through that good habit and delight in virtue which will belong to them.¶ Strict indeed was the obligation of monks to

* De vita propria, c. 53. † P. 105.
‡ *Chron. Abbatiæ* S. Trud. vi. ap. Dacher. *Spicileg. vii.* § Regula lxx.

* Pædagogus, Lib. ii. c. 9.
† Lib. ii. c. 17.
‡ Bibliotheca Cluniacensis, 448.
§ Opus. 13. cap. 17.
‖ Idiotæ Contemp.
¶ La Reigle de l'ordre de Fontevrauld, c. liv.

comply with their holy institute. The exact observance of the rule of St. Benedict, during the ninth and tenth centuries, was an object even of the greatest interest to kings. Every monk was bound to learn it by heart, word by word.* A German historian says that no monarchs could have more at heart the discipline and maintenance of their troops than the Emperors Otho I. and Conrad II. had deeply fixed in their breasts as their fond desire, the exact observance of the rule of St. Benedict, by the monks who professed it. Otho I. swore that he would break his crown and give the fragments to the abbey of St. Gall, if it were necessary to promote the observance of the rule. He delayed to give the kiss to the new elected Abbot Notker, merely from observing him dressed with more elegance than he thought would have been sanctioned by St. Benedict. Monks were buried holding the rule in their hand, to signify how much depended on their having well observed it.

"We arrived at Fontevrault," says Dom Martene, "while they were celebrating the obsequies of a young monk who had died that day. In the morning he had been carried into the church of the nuns, where high mass had been sung for his soul, and all the sisters had given him the holy water. Thence he had been carried into that of the monks, where we saw him clad in his monastic habit, holding in his hand a taper, with the rule, which was as the sentence of eternal happiness, if he had well observed it, or of his damnation if he had ill observed it."† But the due observance was known to be spiritual rather than merely literal, for hear how St. Bernard himself speaks: "How do they hold the rule, you say, who are clad in skins, and fed with flesh, and dispensed from manual labour? Attend to the rule of God, from which the institute of St. Benedict does not dissent, 'Regnum Dei intra vos est.' Therefore, brethren, do not found a calumny upon corporal observances, and neglect the chief things of the rule, which are its spiritual institutions. Better is humility, clad in skins, than pride in destitution. Better is a little meat for use than much vegetables for satiety. Esau was reprehended not for flesh but for pottage; and Adam was condemned, not for flesh but for fruit; and Jonathan was judged, not for flesh but for honey; whereas Elias eat flesh with innocence, and Abraham placed flesh before approving angels. Wine in moderation, as St. Paul prescribes, is better than water and avidity. Nor should you glory in the labour of your hands, since Martha, who served, was reproved, and Mary, who sat still, was praised; for the true labour is that which is spiritual."*

When any one monastery became eminent for the regularity of its discipline, the abbots of other houses used to propose it as a model to their own community. Thus, in the seventeenth century, the superiors of many abbeys in Switzerland applied to St. Gall for monks to effect a reform in their respective houses, when some were sent in consequence to Mariaberg, in the Tyrol; to Rheinau, Engelberg, Disentis, Pfeffers, Fulda, Hirschfeld, Ettenheimmünster, and Kempten; only at the latter convent they were opposed by the lay nobility.

The venerable abbey of St. Venne, at Verdun, twice reformed all the monasteries of France. In the eleventh century its holy abbot, Richard, restored the discipline of more than forty principal abbeys, which communicated the reform to others; and, in later times, Dom Didier-le-la-Cour, prior of the same house, caused the spirit of St. Benedict to revive in nearly 300 monasteries, and the congregations of St. Venne and of St. Maur to be instituted.

One great object of the journeys of the monks in the middle ages was to visit different monasteries, with a view to examine their customs, in order to transfer those that were excellent to their own. Thus we read of St. Botulphe, after the middle of the seventh century, that in his monastery in Lincolnshire he established many holy customs and rules of life which he had learned in monasteries beyond sea. "He taught his disciples the precepts of salvation according to the rule of blessed Father Benedict, mingling old with new and new with ancient things; at one time teaching the institution of the ancients, at another what he had discerned by himself."† Ingulph, abbot of Crowland, in the time of William the Conqueror, says, "Remembering that, to the honour of God and the edification of his people, in the monasteries beyond sea of Fontanelle, Jumièges, Cluny, and others, the mandatum of the poor was always observed after high mass, and that the people of God were

* Capit. Aquisgran. 817.
† Voyage Lit. de Deux Bened. 1717.

* S. Bern. de Præcepto et Dispensatione, v. 6.
† Mab. Præf. in iv. sæc.

much edified by it, and that in our English monasteries it was omitted or unknown, by the advice of our whole convent, I ordained that it should be daily practised in our monastery, directing that the almoner should leave the choir after the consecration, and proceed to the gate of the monastery, and introduce three strangers into the great parlour; or, if there should be no strangers, three poor old men; and if there should be none such, three honest boys; and then, at the end of mass, their feet should be washed, and provisions given to each of them, which they might eat there or carry away with them as they chose.*

Brother Udalricus of Cluny, being sent by the abbot into Germany, and coming to a monastery in the Black Forest at Spires, the abbot of that house, William, requested him to state the particular customs that were observed at Cluny; "for," said he, "your church, by the mercy of God, hath obtained no small reputation of religion among us; therefore, you would confer a great favour on me, if you would inform me what are the customs and institutions of your predecessors there: for even if they are not observed by us, it will serve to humble us, if we learn how you live and converse."† "I hear," he continues, "that your readings on private nights in winter are very long. Will you relate in what manner the Old and New Testament are read, both in winter and summer?" Udalricus, after giving him this satisfaction, informs him of diverse customs observed at Cluny. "On Maunday Thursday," he says, "the poor are introduced into the cloister, and placed on seats in order; the lord abbot and assistants proceed to wash their feet, while 'Mandatum novum' is read. Then the wine is blessed, and two denarii are given to each of the poor. After collation in the refectory, the monks rise to charity, and no one then presumes to abstain wholly from the wine which is produced; but every one tastes a little. When a monk desires to confess, he stands before the priest, and drawing his right hand from under the sleeve, places it on his breast, which is the sign of confession. If any one incurs a venial sin, he does not for that day kiss the text of the gospel, nor go to the peace, or to the offering."‡ From all other Benedictine monasteries one monk used to be sent to Monte-Cassino, in order to observe the discipline there,* and for a similar purpose the abbots of Firmitas, Pontigny, Clairvaux, and Morimond, were obliged to visit Citeaux separately every year.†

Reading occupied a large portion of time in the monasteries of the middle ages. In the Benedictine houses all were to study, as well as to labour with their hands. In Lent every one received a manuscript from the library, which he was to read through in order, and return it in capite quadragesimæ. From the morning until tierce the monks were then to be employed in study, and no one was to cause any distraction by conversation. On Sundays all were to study.‡ Pope Leo IV. decreed, in the Roman synod, that on every day the monks should be instructed by reading or pious discussion amongst themselves.§ The novices were required to learn the New Testament by heart, and every day they were to devote half an hour to study it.‖ After vespers the juniors and others might study history or philosophy.¶ In the rule of St. Isidore it is required that after vespers the monks should meditate or dispute on questions out of the divine lessons till complin.

The word collation originated in the practice in monasteries of taking some slight food and drink on fasting days, in the evening, before going to hear read the collations of Cassien, previous to singing complin. In reply to the abbot William of Spires, Udalricus of Cluny thus describes the order of study in that abbey: "The Pentateuch is read between Septuagesima and the beginning of Lent, both in the church and in the refectory, each day the reader beginning where he had last finished. During the nights of Lent we read the exposition of St. Augustin on the Psalms; during which reading a brother goes about with a lantern to see that no one perchance sleeps. During the Passion we read the prophet Jeremiah, but only in the church. During the Paschal octave the Acts of the Apostles, and thence to the Ascension, the Apocalypse, and the canonical Epistles, which reading continues till Pentecost; including the book of Kings, of Solomon, Job, Toby,

* Hist. Croyl. 103.

† Antiquiores Consuetudines Cluniacensis Mon. Procem. ap. Dacher. Spicileg. iv.

‡ Ib. c. xii. 18.

* Hist. Cassinens. Sæc. v.

† Angelo Manrique Cisterciensium Annal. tom. i.

‡ Reg. c. 55.

§ Præfat. in 1 Sæc. Ben.

‖ Joan à Jesu Instructio Magistri Novitior. c. 19.

¶ Ib.

h, Esther, Esdras, and Maccabees: hich are read only in the refectory, ıever in the church, excepting in por- on certain Sundays. From the calends ɔvember Ezechiel is read only in the :h, and finished before the feast of Iartin; and then we read Daniel and welve Prophets, with homilies of the ed Pope Gregory upon Ezechiel. ng Advent we read the prophet Esaia, ı is generally finished in six nights. ı follow the epistles of Pope Leo, De rnatione Domini, and other sermons e holy fathers, especially of St. Augus-

We then read the Apostle; the tle to the Romans is read through in nights. If the Apostle should be ıed before Septuagesima, we read the sition of St. John Chrysostom upon Epistle to the Hebrews. This is the ı of the year."*

the wise communities of the western ts, attached to the soil by labour, beheld for the first time work by free s. In the rule of St. Benedict, as a ch historian observes, "one is struck e admirable equilibrium of devotion ɔractice. Labour is the first word of Benedict's rule. In vain did some of rish seek a more mystic rule under of St. Columban, admitting only r and contemplation according to the tal idea. The rule of St. Benedict guished it in the west. This order to the ancient world, worn with y, the first example of labour per- d by free men. For the first time, itizen, humbled by the ruin of the turned his eyes to the lands which ad despised, and remembered the r which was commanded at the be- ng of the world in the sentence pro- ced on Adam. This great innovation e and voluntary labour, effected by nonks, is the basis of the modern y."

n arriving at the monastery of St. itius," says Julian, who had been sent ıe Roman pontiff, "I found there old men writing: I asked, where he abbot? and they replied, 'In the r beneath the monastery he is cutting .'" Speaking of Herluin, founder of and of his first monks, William of ège says,—"You would have seen . after the office of the church, going he fields to spend the day in agricul-

ntiq. Consuet. Clun. c. 1. ap. Dacher. Spi- iv.

tural labours; the abbot carrying the seeds on his head, and holding tools in his hand; some clearing the ground, others carrying manure on their shoulders, and spreading it on the ground; no one eating his bread in idleness, all returning to the church at the hour of the divine office, and then sitting down to a meal of oaten bread and herbs with salt and water.* When the monks of Cluny used to go into the fields to work, they would begin by standing in order with their faces to the east, and then, after short prayers, they proceeded to labour with their hands.†

From the travels of Dom Martene we can learn how strictly the monks complied with this injunction of their rule down to the latter times. "In the abbey of Orval," he says, "we saw angels, in mortal bodies. Zealous imitators of the first fathers, they observe unequal hours in the distribution of their exercises; they work in the fields, and take their dinner there during the harvest; they are always gay, and one sees the joy of their soul painted on their countenances."‡ On arriving at the abbey of Gembloux, we heard that the day before the monks had been at work five hours in the fields, gathering in the harvest.§ "On weak and delicate brethren," says the rule of St. Benedict, "such work, or arts, should be enjoined, that they may neither be idle, nor oppressed with violent labour. If there should be artisans in the monastery, let them exercise their art with all humility, and let not avarice creep in by the sale of their works, but let them always be given cheaper than the same would be sold by seculars, that in all things God may be glorified."‖ Many monks, who studied mechanics in the time of Pope St. Gregory VII. are spoken of as being most skilful workmen. They were architects, carvers in wood, workers in metal; and even the common arts for the use of the monastery, such as those of shoemakers and vestment-makers, were exercised by monks.¶

Trithemius mentions that there were 150 monks in Hirschau; and, besides these, there were sixty bearded brethren, who were not clerks, but called convertites, who were employed in manual labour, and imitating the contemplation of the monks.

* Lib. vi. c. 9.
† Antiq. Consuet. Cluniacens. Mon. Lib. 1. c. 30. ap. Dacher. Spicileg. iv.
‡ Voyage Lit. de Deux Ben. 148, 9.
§ Ib. 117. ‖ Reg. cap. 58.
¶ Voigt Hildebrand und sein Zeitalter.

"Amongst these were men skilled in all mechanical arts: carpenters, masons, smiths, sculptors, carvers; and also tailors and shoemakers: all these met in common in the church at nocturnal vigils, and had permissson either to follow the monks' offices or to hear shorter, and all dined together in the refectory. The master of these convertites was one of the best monks, and most learned in the Scriptures and skilled in preaching: 'Magister Barbatorum' was his name. On Sundays and festivals after prime, and again after sext or nones, he preached on vulgar observance. There were also fifty oblats—men who retained their secular habit, doing all kinds of menial work, helping the builders and carying water, and ready for any duty, —who also served in the hospital, and all with the alacrity of charity; and they also had a master, who was a monk. Thus there were in all 260 men, serving God in all the fervour of charity and peace of religion, in all cleanness of heart and poverty of spirit, so that it was truly admirable to think of it. At complin every night, they all met in the church; and, when the office was finished, all retired in silence to their cells. O how beautiful and delightful to behold such peace on earth, such a fraternity among men!"*

From the seventh century, in the abbey of St. Denis, there was a certain number of poor, called Matricularii from their names being inscribed on the boards of the abbey; and these were supported and employed in various ways.* "Al the monks," says Peter the Venera bot of Cluny, "have servants and labourers, we employ them only for uses, and never vex them by exacti impose any thing insupportable. see them in want, we support ther our own. We have servants and servants, not as servants and maid-se but as brothers and sisters; and w permit any one to injure them."† Benedictine order, the abbots and ab on certain days of the year, were to ter to their inferiors in the kitchen rule of St. Ferreolus, as also the of Bec, precribes that this shall b three times in the year. All this of monastic works I saw realized, resided in the abbey of Camaldoli; remember being much struck at th of the servants and herdsmen, wh to be assembled every evening to rosary and the litany, immediatel the monks had sung vespers. In sion one may observe, that the divi labour was as well ordered in mons as in the most industrious city. were charged with attending to the in of the cloister; others were to presi the crops and harvest. One was to the tributes; another to regulate t mestic economy. One had care of th another had to receive the pilgri strangers; another to wait upon the

* Trithem. in Chronic. Hirsaugiensis.

* Lebœuf, Hist. du Diocèse de Paris, i
† S. Pet. Ven. Abb. Clun. Epist. Lib.
‡ Michaud, des Monastères au Moyen-

CHAPTER XI.

"SCRUTABOR Hierusalem in lucernis:" at hearing which words of the Supreme Judge, St. Bernard exclaims, "Quid in Babylone tutum, si Hierusalem manet scrutinium!"* Now, where abuse or degeneracy existed, there was Babylon, in the judgment of the ages of faith; and the difficulty of concealing or disguising any evil which insinuated itself into the manners or institutions of the middle ages, is one of the most remarkable features which distinguish them from later times. "Many, by the persuation of others," says Peter de Blois, "believe that their perversity is hidden; but they are perilously deceived: for let every superior be assured, that, on some side or other, he will be always infamous, unless he evince true sanctity in his works: Vox populi vox Dei.†'" It was equally impossible for relaxation in communities to be palliated or kept secret: it soon became noised abroad. Hence inquiry and reform were words as familiar in those times as conversion; and, according to the advice of the councillors of Albert V., duke of Austria, abbots rather desired the reform of existing than the erection of new monasteries.‡

But there was another kind of examination anticipated, and very differently regarded; which Hugo of St. Victor thus describes: "Balaam, turning his face towards the desert, and raising up his eyes, beheld Israel dwelling in tents by tribes; and the Spirit of God coming upon him, he said, 'How beautiful are thy tabernacles, O Jacob! and thy tents, O Israel!' The vain people turns its face towards the desert, while in secret thought it examines attentively the conversation of those who live spiritually, it raises its eyes that it may see Israel."§

To the vain people, thus idly engaged, many objections are familiar, founded upon the imaginary or real abuses which existed occasionally in the monasteries of the middle ages. These are vain, as will be evident, after a calm investigation: nevertheless, it will be necessary to touch upon this ground, so as to endeavour to form a correct estimate of the validity of the charges which are adduced against the peaceful communities to which Christianity gave rise. Now, in order to discover the abuses which arrived in monasteries, to what books should we refer? To those of the monks themselves, and of the men who loved monasteries. If we read the Apology of St. Bernard, we shall find that the modern unbelievers have nothing to urge against the abuses of the monastic state, that was not exposed with far greater force by that great father of monks and of the Church.

"In exposing abuses," says St. Bernard, "I do not fear that I shall give trouble to those who love the order; but I feel assured that they will look gratefully on those who attack what they themselves detest."* "In all the religious orders," says John of Salisbury, "there are found some of the faithful and some of the reprobate. Nor is the truth of religion or of profession on that account obscured: for what profession is there, or what society has ever been read of, into which some blot did not penetrate?" After a long condemnation of the vices which could be discerned in monasteries, he concludes thus: "This does not refer to the men who observe their profession. There is no life more faithful, none more simple, none more happy, than theirs within the cloister, performing their duties humbly, in all obedience and reverence, in all sanctification and honour, conversing with God; and, as if terrestrial angels, ignorant of all the perturbations of the world. If there be any thing in what is said which may seem to afflict them, it should be referred to fraternal charity."† See your vocation, brethren," says another guide: "to enter a monastery is the beginning of the utmost perfection; but to live not perfectly in a monastery, is the utmost damnation."‡ In the earliest

* Serm. 55. † Epist. 15.
‡ Senat. Dialog. Historic. Martini Abbatis Scotorum Vien. ap. Pez. Script. Rer. Aust. ii.
§ Serm. 78.

* Apologia ad Guillel. c. 7.
† De Nugis Curialium, c. 21.
‡ Nuremberg Doct. Ascet. t. iv. 36.

records of monastic history some traces of evil men are found. The desert had its Sarabaïtes, those unworthy children. In the latter times, pretended Franciscans, and pretended Clares, caused scandal in Italy, and gave occasion to papal censures.* In every abbey, perhaps, lay some dead member, to use the expression of the Carthusian Sutorus, who cites in confirmation of it the text, "Non est domus in qua non jaceat mortuus."† Speaking of these monasteries, the abbots of the middle ages repeat the words of St. Augustin, and say, "I do not dare to pretend that my house is better than the ark of Noa, where, among eight men, one reprobate was found,—or better than the house of Abraham, where it was said, 'Ejice ancillam et filium ejus,'—or better than the habitation of our Lord Christ, in which eleven good men tolerated the thief and traitor Judas,—or better than heaven itself, from which the angels fell." In a poem respecting the religious orders, written about the end of the twelfth century, the source of all danger to the cloistral discipline was thus pointed out:—

"Qui sunt in claustro quasi Sathan in paradiso.
Plurima falsorum sunt vere pericula fratrum,
Et venit a falsis fratribus omne malum."‡

But there were many springs from which the waters of bitterness might flow. Guibert, abbot of Nogent, ascribes the decline which had occurred before his time in the monastic discipline to the custom of receiving children, whose presence introduced carelessness and tepidity into the order.§ The unhappy Gottschalk had thus been offered, by his father, Count Bernus, a Saxon, to the abbey of Fulda, where Raban Maur, against the youth's inclinations, persisted in thinking that the act of his parents bound him to the state separate to God. Gottschalk appealed to the Archbishop Otgar, of Mainz, who convened a synod, to which came twenty-eight bishops and six abbots; and the result of which was, that Raban was summoned to answer before the Emperor Lewis, to whom he addressed a writing in his own defence, entitled "De Oblatione Puerorum," of which there is a copy in the abbey of Melk, in Austria. Gottschalk, however, remained in the monastic state, though he removed to the abbey of Orbais, in the diocese of Soissons.

Against this custom, founded upon passages of the Old Testament, but often the result of ignorance or unworthy motives in worldly parents, both the monks and the sovereign pontiffs continually raised their voices. The monks were careful to show the importance of undertaking that holy life, not through the advice or influence of parents, but willingly of their own accord, and solely moved by the vocation of Christ.* That all service and sacrifice must be voluntary, is shown by one writer of the middle ages in these words: "Ego quidem homo sum, non asinus, ut spontaneus inviter ad onera, non compellar invitus."† To provide against the incautious reception of novices in monasteries, St. Benedict, at the synod of Aix-la-Chapelle, in 817, caused it to be decreed, that the entrance to monasteries should not be made easy to novices; that, in the cell of the guests, they should serve the strangers a few days, for the sake of probation; and that, if they had any property, it was to be given to their parents.‡ Udalricus accordingly relates, in his customs of Cluny, that the oblats—that is, the children who had been offered to the monastery by their parents—were given the habit, but that the benediction was deferred until they should attain the legitimate age; that is, says Mabillon, until they should be of an age to know their own will; for, without their own spontaneous choice, it was expressly forbidden by the later canons to make them monks.§ At Hirschau, in the tenth century, no one under twenty was permitted to profess.‖ A child, named Lambert, had been constrained by his father to assume the monastic habit. On growing up, he wished to inherit the goods of his family, of which his parents sought to deprive him. Pope Nicholas I. declared his profession null.¶ The Church terribly condemned those who entered a monastery from any other motive but piety. "Such persons," says the council of Cologne under Herman V., "are not sons of God, or monks, but clearly mercenaries;" and the council of Trent pronounces an anathema upon all, of whatever quality or state, who should compel or entice any one to take the habit.** Mabillon has proved, by the testimony of Cardinal Peter Damian, that the custom of

* Wadding, An. Minorum, tom. iii.
† Exod. xviii.
‡ Sententia Brunelli de Ordinibus Religiosis ap. *Martene, Vet. Script.* tom. vi.
§ *De Vita Propria*, i. 11.

* Antiquior. Consuetud. Cluniacens. Mon. ap. Dacher. Spicileg. iv.
† Pet. Bles. Ep. 123. ‡ Cap. 34.
§ Præf. in IV. Sæc. Ben. 7.
‖ Trithem. in Chronic. Hirsaug.
¶ Biblioth. Hist. de la Congreg. de S. Maur. 236.
** Sess. 25. c. 18.

ffering children had been abolished, at Mount-Cassino, before the end of the twelfth entury. So attached to it were some arents, that Pope Clement III. had found reat difficulties in labouring to extirpate t; and there were not wanting writers to inreigh against such prohibitions. However, if it lingered any where, the decrees of Celestin III. and of Innocent III. put a total end to it. The young St. Thomas was sent to Mount-Cassino at the age of five, merely to be educated with other children, and that also under a secular tutor.* Louis of Paris, in his exposition of the rule of the Franciscans, shows how well guarded was that order from all abuse on this side. "No one," he says, "who is the sole support of his parents, can be received into it. If the parents of a friar fall into extreme necessity, he is to succour them; if not within the order, he can leave it, and work for them, asking leave from his superiors; and if leave should be refused, he must still do so, because he is more obliged to the divine and natural law than to all vows: but it is certain that he can always assist them otherwise, as there are never wanting charitable persons to prevent the necessity of a friar leaving his order. The brethren cannot induce, directly or indirectly, a novice to leave his goods to the order, or to the parents of the brethren, however poor. No one having debts can be received into it; but if any should be so received, the order is obliged to pay the debts. The brethren must not receive any one for sake of friendship, relationship, or any human respect; and must not refuse any one through hatred, contempt, or any human respect, under pain of mortal sin."† In the abbey of St. Gall, youths of high nobility were not so much desired; as experience proved that they, more than others, were liable to degenerate, and introduce confusion and relaxation into cloisters.‡

The monastic exemptions, though granted with an excellent intention, were sometimes a source of abuse, against which St. Bernard expressly wrote, inculcating the duty of obedience to the ordinary.§ "Some monasteries," he says, "in different dioceses, pertain more immediately to the Holy See, from the will of the founders: but what devotion grants, is one thing; and what ambition, impatient of subjection, contrives, is another."* Thus he writes to Pope Innocent, to defend Albero, archbishop of Treves, against the unholy abbot of St. Maximin and some contumacious monks, who, under pretence of their immunities, oppose the wish of that prelate to reform them.† In 1215, the Lateran Council deprived abbeys of all ecclesiastical jurisdiction to which they were not in a condition to prove their claims. Another source of degeneracy of course was in the men themselves who embraced the monastic state. It was the remark of Epictetus, and of all the old sages, that, to men of base natures, the study of philosophy was rather injurious than beneficial. When he perceived a man without shame, importunate and audacious, corrupt and insolent, he knew him to be one who meddled with the study and discipline of philosophy.‡

Who seeks to question whether such effects could be discovered in the cloister? Doubtless there might be found at times some counterfeit, in whose hood that dark bird nestled of which Dante speaks; though such impostors found not long beneath their hands of promise the throng beneath who waited for the blessing: they were sure to be unmasked at length, and driven out. But a more subtle mischief consisted in the gradual decline of piety in others, who, in their commencement, had shed lustre. "Why does the manna taste now insipid in your mouth," says the ascetic to monks in this condition, "if it is not that you have returned to seek the wretched consolations of the world? Remember your going out from Egypt. Let that day of the Lord be for ever in your memory. Unquestionably the hand of the Lord was with you, or else you would have remained in the world. Where is, then, that spirit, that primitive fervour, that firm intention, that immoveable resolution, that love strong as death?"§

The apostate of Erfurth says, that he remembers well after pronouncing his monastic vow that his father exclaimed, "Heaven grant that this may not be a trick of Satan!" "Words which sunk so deep into my heart," he adds, "that it seemed as if God had spoken by his mouth." The seeds of less manifest evil existed in the natural or acquired inconstancy of some men, who would not indeed openly renounce their profession, but assist to produce relaxations, like that of the seraphic family to which Dante

* Touron, Vie de S. Thom. 13.
† Expos. Lit. de la Règle des FF. Mineurs, c. 2.
‡ Eckehard in Cas.
§ S. Bern. de Officio Episcop. 9.

* De Consideratione, iii. 4.
† Epist. 180. ‡ Aul. Gel. xvii. 19.
§ Thom. à Kempis, Epist. i.

alludes as being turned backward, when by Acquasparta there were made changes in its rule. "I learned from a certain prudent and religious man," says Hugo of St. Victor, "that there are some kinds of men who can scarcely ever be retained with order in religion. These are painters, physicians, and buffoons, who are accustomed to travel through different regions. Men of this description can hardly be stable. The art of painting is very delightful; for when a painter has painted a church, a chapter-room, a refectory, or any cabinets, if leave be granted to him, on being invited with entreaties, he goes to another monastery for the sake of painting. He paints the works of Christ upon a wall, but I wish he would hold them in mind, that he might know how to paint them in his life and manners. The medicinal art requires many things; for he who exercises it must have abundance of aromatic plants and medicines. When any one near the church falls sick, he is asked to go to him, and the abbot can hardly refuse him permission. Yet he only makes experiments on things uncertain. The experiment is fallacious, and he is often deceived. Whereas a monk should never speak any thing but what is true. Buffoons and jesters also, and those who have once acquired the habit of rambling, can scarcely ever be content to remain in the cloister."* The fathers of the council of Cloveshoe in the eighth century decreed that bishops were to take care that the monasteries should correspond with their name; that is, should be habitations of men labouring for God in silence and peace, and not receptacles of arts which minister to pleasure, of poets, minstrels, and musicians, but the abodes of men praying, reading, and praising God; that the youths within them should be trained to the love of the sacred Scriptures, in order that men well learned may be forthcoming to the general utility of the Church. Monks and abbots of the middle ages had occasion from time to time to complain of the introduction of human vanity into the retreats from which such pains had been taken to exclude it. In 1281 a general chapter of the Cistercians pronounced against the luxury of equipages which the abbots of Cîteaux began then to affect. It forbad any abbot or monk to mount into a chariot or palanquin, imitating effeminate delicacy, on pain of being commanded to fast on bread and water. To what refinement cookery was carried in some monasteries in the age of St. Bernard appears from his apology to William.* "With such art," he says, "are all things prepared, that when you have devoured four or five dishes, you will imagine that you are only beginning. Who is able to describe in how many modes, to omit other things, eggs alone are turned and tortured, with what study they are converted and subverted, liquified, hardened, and diminished; now fried, now baked, now stuffed, now mixed, now separated?—In some monasteries on great festivals wine is mixed with honey and the dust of pigments. Is this, too, for the sake of the stomach and one's infirmity? Alas! after such potations, when one rises to matins, it will not be a song but a lamentation, "Non cantum sed planctum potius extorquebis." Are we to laugh or to lament at such things? Was it thus Macarius lived? thus that Basil taught? thus that Antony ordained? thus that the fathers in Egypt conversed? thus, finally, that Saints Odo, Maiolus, Odilo, Hugo held the rule?† Again, he remarks that there are some men who are no sooner monks than they find they have weak stomachs, and who, instead of being clad with the cheapest raiment according to the rule, seek the most expensive; so that scarcely in our provinces can be found any thing good enough for them. The most honourable persons in the world, an emperor himself, would not disdain the garments which they wear, if adapted for their use." Some monks, in defiance of the canons, which did not even permit them to keep sporting dogs,‡ were known to indulge in hunting, and Dom Martene relates an instance that fell under his own observation: "On arriving at the little abbey of Brindler, which is in a vast solitude," he says, "the abbot was absent, but the monk charged with receiving strangers received us charitably, and while waiting for dinner, led us into the kitchen to warm ourselves; for in this country there is not so much ceremony. We counted as many as ten hunting dogs, who warmed themselves round a fire large enough to roast an ox, it being the custom here to throw whole trees into the fire. We heard that we could not see the library; so without losing time, or thinking that we lost much by not seeing it, we mounted our horses and rode on to sleep at Statberg."§ Where such relaxations prevailed, negligence

* *Hugo de* S. Vict. Institut. Monast. Lib. i. *c. 45.*

* c 9. † Id. c. 9.
‡ Concil. Paris, 1212. Montpellier, 1217.
§ Voyage Lit. 248.

epidity were a natural consequence.
: of Heisterbach relates an instance in
ıusing manner. "Henry, a knight of
," he says, "passed a Lent with us.
he had returned home he met one
ıe Abbot Gerard, and said, 'My lord,
y you to sell to me a stone near to
and such a pillar in your church, and
pay whatever you ask for it.' 'Why,
ıervice can it be of to you?' demanded
ther. 'I will place it by my bed,'
d the knight, 'for such is its property,
whoever puts his head near it falls
.' Ever afterwards when the abbot
rowsy in the church, he had only to
at the stone and he was awake as
* Abuses therefore there were; for,
ınte says, "To angels, wisdom and
re in one measure dealt from Him in
nought unequal dwells; but will and
ı in mortals with unlike wings are
d."† But, what is very important to
k, they were exposed; they were
ted; and a reform sooner or later was
ısult. Thus a complete restoration of
ine witnessed St. Germain, L'Aux-
in 970, St. Maur des Fossez and St.
near Paris in 994, St. Richarius in
la and St. Walaric in Leuca in 980,
ter at Melun in 991, St. Andreas in
ɜ in 994, Marmoutier, St. Roche in
es, and St. Benign in Dijon in 980,
ıelle in 961, St. Arnulf in Mouson,
artin and St. Julian in Tours in 973,
n 984, where Letald wrote, Massay,
ter in Sens, Lerins, one of the earliest
nce, in 978, St. Eligius in Noyon in
St. Quintin near Peronne in 977,
the deacon Dudo related the history
Normans in the spirit of the old
els; and St. Jodocus in 977.

en Peter, abbot of Cluny, had sent
s with letters to all the houses of his
convoking all the priors of England,
and other kingdoms to assemble at
on the third Sunday of Lent, to
more austere rules than had been
ısly observed, Orderic Vitalis was
at the fact that no dissentient voice
ard. "The persons convoked," he
'obeyed, and on the day fixed 200
met at Cluny. There were in the
that day 1212 monks. They made
ssion, chanting according to the eccle-
l rite, and in the joy of their hearts
g God devoutly. I can speak of this
rtainty, since I had the satisfaction
ıg there and of seeing this glorious

ı. iv. c. 37. † Par. 15.

army assembled in the name of Jesus Christ."* "In our religious communities," says Fleury, "those which have relaxed in their observances, though the object of that relaxation was to attract more members, decrease from day to day, whilst the most regular and austere houses are filled with eagerness."† St. Bernard, alluding to the wish of the old Abbot Guarinus to reform his community and attain perfection, expresses himself in these terms in writing to him: "Whence could such an ardour for renewing the order spring up, but from a renovation of mind? Thus a good tree yields good fruit. Your fruits are most pure, but what tree could produce them unless cleanness of heart?"‡ With such fruits the cloisters of the middle ages abounded. "Theodoric, abbot of St. Tron," says Rudulfus, "loved our order and all who loved it, in so much that no brother enjoyed his friendship who he did not know was a faithful and diligent observer of its duties; and on the other hand, if a brother had ever so loudly reprehended any thing in his life, or words, or works, yet if it was known to him that he was faithful and diligent, he had familiar and constant access to him; for he attended to nothing but the faithful discharge of the duties imposed by the Church; neither age, nor familiarity, nor fear, nor consanguinity, nor science, nor beauty, nor nobility, nor prospect of utility, nor any other consideration, had the smallest weight with him in opposition to this."§ "What I am going to relate," says Cæsar of Heisterbach, "was told me by a certain abbot of our order, and by the monk Everhard, of the monastery in which it occurred. In Ostburg's Abbey, in the diocese of Utrecht, was a zealous monk. On the death of his abbot and the election of another, whom he knew to be a worldly man, he lamented, saying, 'Alas! the discipline of this monastery will soon perish!' and he said, 'Lord Jesus Christ, let me not live longer to witness the desolation of this house.' As he could not be induced to give his vote for the new abbot, he said to him with a tranquil mind, 'God knows that I love you, but I know that the religion of this house will be destroyed by you.' Early on the next morning, after saying mass, he desired to be anointed, though in perfect health. On their remonstrance

* Lib. xiii.
† Discourse sur l'Hist. Des vi. Prém. Siècles, 20. ‡ Epist. 254.
§ Chronic. Abb. S. Trud. ap. Dacher. Spicileg. vii.

he persisted, saying, 'This very day I shall die.' Then having placed the mat, he lay down and caused the community to be assembled by striking the tablet. After the prayers, as death did not seem to come, he rose up, and placing on his neck the stole with which he generally said mass, he invoked St. Mary, and placed himself before the altar, in the manner used with those who are in their agony. The just man's prayer was heard; for he expired, and all that he had predicted came to pass."* Turstin, archbishop of York, writes as follows to William, archbishop of Canterbury: "It is known to many with what goodness and renown of virtue the illustrious monastery of St. Mary of York flourished in the ears of all men. Hence the riches of the house greatly increased; but as virtue seldom keeps pace with wealth, about half a year ago some of the brethren, moved, I believe, by a divine instinct, began to be vehemently agitated in mind respecting the state of their conversation, and by a stinging conscience, as they testified to suffer internally, fearing lest they might be running in vain; for they thought it would be a crime, or rather insanity, if they should bear the rule of St. Benedict not to salvation, but to judgment of death. They disclosed their views to the Prior Richard, who, after some deliberation, engaged to assist them. Their number soon amounted to thirteen. So on the vigil of SS. Peter and Paul, the Prior Richard, on whom almost the whole care of the monastery devolved, took with him his sub-prior Gervaise and some of the rest, and disclosed their wishes familiarly to the Lord Abbot, a man, indeed, honourable and good, but too simple and illiterate. He shuddered at the novelty of the thing, and denied that he could change the customs of the place. To him the Lord Prior replied as a learned man, and showed that they wished to introduce no novelties, but on the contrary, to restore the ancient mode of life instituted by their blessed Father Benedict, and above all, the most ancient gospel of Christ, which preceded all rules. 'We seek not to disparage any other monks,' said they, 'we envy no others; we know that in every place we serve our Lord; we militate under one king; but we know that the different exercises appointed by St. Benedict to obviate sloth, the enemy of the soul,—such as reading, prayer, labour, industry, silence, and stability, ought to be observed according to his rule. Therefore, O venerable father, let us recur to evangelical purity, to evangelical perfection, and to peace. If we compare our lives with that standard, we shall see how we are fallen and condemned. Behold how alive is the gospel in the Saviniac monks, and those of Clairvaux, who lately came to us; in whom so shines the evangelic light, that if it be lawful to say so, it would be more useful to imitate them than to recite the gospel. When their holy conversation is seen, the gospel seems to revive and flourish again in them. They alone seek not their own alone; they alone possess nothing; they alone injure not their neighbour; they are content with a moderate culture of the earth, and the use of cattle, and they do not seek to have these unless so long as God wishes, because when God wishes them to be taken away, they do not claim them by litigation. They, I believe, can truly say, 'The world is crucified to us, and we to the world.' They may be permitted to say, 'Dimitte nobis debita nostra,' who have no debtor from whom they wish to exact any thing. Happy race of men, whose habits, food, and entire mode of conversation savours of the Gospel. Their sole portion is God. As far as is possible for humanity, they fulfil the law of loving God and their neighbours: for adhering to God alone, they hold all temporal things in such contempt, that they desire nothing which can be an occasion of anger to their neighbour. Therefore, O father, it cannot seem to be impossible to observe the rule of blessed Benedict, since God has given us such examples.' Thus spake the prior, but the Lord Abbot Galfrid, did not receive his words well; but as he acknowledged that he was less clear-sighted and learned, he desired them to explain more fully by writing what they thought could be enforced; and when this was done, he desired time for deliberation, and promised an answer after the nativity of St. Mary. Meanwhile the fears and resentment of the other monks became so notorious, that the Prior Richard, the sub-prior, and secretary of the monastery thought fit to disclose the whole to the archbishop, and demand his clemency and that of St. Peter. Therefore Turstin the archbishop, hearing that these servants of God preferred nothing to the love of Christ, feared lest he should offend in them against the grace of Christ if he did not attend to their petition and provide for their necessity, and so by advice of religious persons he summoned before him the Lord Abbot Galfrid and Richard the prior, with his sub-prior, that he might

* *Illust. Mir.* Lib. xi. c. 25.

procure the fulfilment of their wishes in peace. They accordingly protested again with tears that all they sought was to observe the rule in its ancient purity, and the lord abbot weeping confessed that their work had been long required, and promised that he would be no impediment. The tepid monks, however, threw many obstacles in his way, nor was it until the exercise of the archbishop's authority that the reform was fully accomplished."*

The influence of the world upon the manners of the cloister could not but be felt here and there during certain intervals. At one time secular men began to entice monks to come forward to assist them in their temporal affairs. Pope Eugene III. then warned the Cistercians in a letter to their general chapter against permitting themselves to be thus persuaded. "Since the children of this world," he says, "endeavour to draw you over, though unwilling, to manage their affairs, and wish to recall you from the peace of contemplation and the silence of the desert, to occupations and secular business, fix the eyes of your mind again on the institutions of your fathers, and having the prophetic example, choose rather to be abject in the house of God, than to dwell in the tents of sinners." At another time laymen invaded the monasteries, and in order to plunder them, pretended to have a right to govern them. The pomp of some worldly abbots had opened the door to this abuse; for nothing could seem to be secular after this deplorable example. "I have seen," says St. Bernard, "an abbot proceeding with more than sixty horsemen in his train. If you were to see them pass, you would say that they were not fathers of monasteries, but lords of castles; not directors of souls, but princes of provinces. Scarcely will they depart from home to a distance of four leagues without taking all their furniture with them, as if going with an army or about to pass a desert, where it would be impossible to find necessaries. Could not one vessel suffice for washing the hands and for drinking wine? Would not a candle give light without being in branches, and those of gold or silver? Could not one sleep unless under coverings of foreign manufacture? Could not one servant suffice to look after the horses, and wait at table, and prepare the beds."† In the eighth century began in France the abuse of certain monasteries being taken possession of forcibly by great lords, who seized part of their revenues for themselves. The abbot of Murhart came to Stuttgard to the Avoué of the convent Udalric de Wurtemberg. "I thought," said he, "that the monastery of Murhart had been founded for monks; but I now see that it was for dogs. My monks can no longer perform the divine office amidst the ceaseless barking. So long as they are in my convent, I shall remain here. The lord Avoué can nourish me much more easily than I can his dogs." The Avoué had abused the right of Bernage, that of lodging the lord's dogs. The king's huntsmen arrogated at different times certain tyrannical privileges, which they exercised over the monks. They claimed the right to remain three days in monasteries with their dogs, horses, and all their equipage, and to be maintained during the time. This abuse was abolished by King Charles V. Having himself lodged with his hunters in 1365 in the abbey of Livry, he gave the monks as an indemnity the right to feed thirty swine in the forest.*

The abbey of St. Hubert in the Ardennes might have its distinct race of black dogs, called the dogs of St. Hubert, without any abuse resulting, but it would be difficult to give an adequate compensation for the evil that must have accrued to discipline from such royal intrusions. The kings of France again claimed the privilege of placing one or two maimed soldiers in certain abbeys which enjoyed the right of free election, as oblats or lay brothers; but as Stephen Pasquier remarked, this opened the way to great abuse on the part of the king.† The greatest of all abuses, however, consisted in the appointment of secular abbots, whose government was destructive of the whole monastic discipline; for these abbots would not allow the monks time to perform their offices; and from their cruelties the only way of escape was by addressing petitions to the emperors.‡

About the middle of the fourteenth century, the English having plundered the abbey of Lagny, on their departure the house was left under the guard of Peter de la Criqne, a most cruel man, who spared nothing that the English had left. Yet his cruelty could not resist the patience of the monks. He was touched with compassion; and to repair the evil he had done, he laid the foundation of a new and magnificent church, and finished the sanctuary.§ In

* St. Bernard, Epist. 439. † Apolog. ad Guillel.

* Le Grand d'Aussy Hist. de la Vie Privée, &c. i. 387. † Recherches de la France, iii. 40.
‡ Mabil. Præf. in IV. Sæc. Bened.
§ Lebeuf, xv. 47.

later times there were instances of these secular nobles being appointed by the state to govern monasteries even while minors; as when Claude de Saint-Simon was made abbot of Jumièges in his twentieth year, during the regency of the duke of Orleans, who gave him that dignity, which he exercised to the ruin of the monastery and the oppression of the poor. Many similar instances might be produced; but it is great injustice to represent such men, who were the enemies of monks, as their representatives.

In the middle ages the deposition of evil superiors was always a matter of course, unless when monastic liberty was fettered by the secular power. In the year 810 the monks of Fulda being prevented from applying to learning by the oppression of their severe abbot, Ratgarius, inveighed against him by various emblems and facetious devices, of which one represented an abbot mounted on a unicorn riding over some sheep who fled before him. He was finally accused, convicted, and deposed.* "It is to be observed," says Michaud, "that the monks who wrote chronicles of their order or monastery were careful to mention and record whenever an irreligious or, as they called him, an unhappy abbot ruled; and whenever the monks forgot the spirit of their institute, by living to themselves rather than to Christ. They never fail even to mention at what epochs discipline was in the least relaxed, as when the monks were too much attached to the refectory, when they repeated their office too rapidly in the Church, and when there was no attempt to correct them." Now the same writers, we must remember, generally describe the monasteries as being a spiritual garden, and a paradise of perfection. They always designate a time of relaxed discipline as an exceptional period of calamity; as in the chronicle of Sens, where we read, "de Adelardo misero abbate Senoniensi et de miseria ejusdem loci."† The misery was a decay of piety and a life of pleasure. And what was the conclusion? "The time of mercy from God arrived," says the monk, "for there was in the monastery a youth named Rambert who desired to follow a holy life; so he fled from the house, and repaired to a neighbouring monastery where the monks were holy men serving God, who received him with kindness. After a time, being fully instructed in the rules of discipline, and invested with authority, he returned to the degenerate congregation, and laid before them the mode of life observed in the house from which he came: but finding his exhortations in vain, he used his authority, and gave them their choice either to adopt a holy life or to leave the monastery. All submitted but four, who followed the way of death, and left the cloister. The rest resolved to live to God; and in a short time Rambert became the object of their love and reverence." Several instances of the same kind occur in the annals of Corby in Saxony. Thus we read, "In the year 1104 the school of the monastery declined sadly; and this year, 1109, the author of the evil is punished by God."* Again, at the date of 1470 we find this notice, "The state of our monastery was deplorable, so that brother Henry composed and sung a public lamentation in the form of a litany. In 1471 he went with license of superiors to be master of the novices at Herosveld. In the mean time may God have mercy upon Corby, where piety and learning exalted our order, where luxury and sloth now depress it. This is enough for the wise:" with which words the annals conclude.† At St. Gall the same intrusion by secular nobles took place; but during those horrible times some of the monks remained immoveable. The abbot, Franz, who died in 1529, amidst all this desolation, was a man of the purest manners, loving grandeur in the divine worship, studying the ancient history of his country, and causing to be written out some beautiful books. Of Fridolin Sicher, who, at the same time, wrote several works respecting the divine office, the annuary of the house says, "Qui in cunctis angustiis hujus temporis permansit immobilis." In fact it was a remark made in all ages of monastic history, that during the worst intervals, when there was the greatest decay of discipline, there were always in monasteries some true servants of God, whose piety was the condemnation of the others. This Abeillard found to be the case at St. Denis before the reform had been effected by Suger; and hence, while reproving evil men, we always find those who sought to reform the manners of such houses concluding in words like those of Peter of Blois, who terminates one sermon thus, "We do not say these things, dearest brethren, on account of you; for amongst

* *Schannat. Hist.* Fuldensis, P. iii. 3.
† *Cap. 18.* ap Dacher. Spicileg. iii.

* Ap. Leibnitz. Script. Bruns. ii.
† Id. Illustrant. iii.

re are many who excel in sanctity; t there are amongst you, as the says, many who are weak, and who sleep, for as yet the tares grow e wheat."* The conclusion arrived ne fathers of the Synod of Teudo, Drogo, bishop of Metz, after speak- the condition of the monasteries r address to Lothaire, Lewis, and s, is conveyed in these remarkable "If the monks at this present it should be less perfect in regard to religion and to the utility of the ic, they should be either corrected, er men substituted in their place; not the order of religion, and the acred places, on account of the wick- of the depraved, be committed to o whom it is not lawful to commit since the Scripture clearly shows Ozam was struck dead for wishing e up the fallen ark of the Lord, which not lawful for him so much as to "†

annot be denied but that the great and privileges with which kings chose est the superiors of some religious s, opened the way to much abuse on rt of the secular administration. It be long and needless to tell of these. bbots of Fulda had sovereign power en square miles round the abbey.‡ anded possessions of the monks, by idal law, subjected them to the duty itary service, to which even convents ns were bound, as in the instance t of our lady at Soissons.§ Kings ry often chose to have their prisoners in confinement within monasteries, ence prisons were often attached to

It is true the plan may have origi- in the predominant piety of the age, sought to identify criminals with nts, who only through that gate pass to peace; but still the surprise which one observed some abbeys ed like castles, could not exceed that the stranger experiences when he that there is a prison within them; till more when he finds it such as Martene describes when he says, the abbey of St. Nicholas-aux-bois, leagues from Laon, in a fearful soli- we saw the royal prisons, which are le to behold."‖

rm. lvi.
p. Heumann. de Re Diplom. ii. 325.
hannat. Hist. Fuldens. ii. 1.
ist. de Soissons, i. 295.
yage Lit. 48.

In the Fourth Book we refuted the accusation brought by some modern authors against the monks when charging them with cruelty; and we observed what was really the monastic discipline in regard to the punishment of offenders. The horrible event of Anastasius, a priest, being buried alive in an ancient crypt among the bodies of the dead by order of Cantinus, bishop of Clermont, a tyrant and usurer, allied with Jews, in revenge for his refusing to give him up some charters,* may have led to the strange reports from which such authors took their ideas, and to which Cardan seems to allude where he says, "To be buried alive and suffer atrocious punishments either never happens in the monastic orders, or more rarely than to be impaled or sawed asunder by order of secular judges."† Still, in the theory of the criminal jurisprudence, the mediæval church, as a modern historian observes, "having fully adopted the wise and beneficent doctrine that punishment is to be inflicted by fallible man upon his fellow-creatures, not in terror but in love, and imprisonment being consequently considered as an ecclesiastical penance, not thundered in vengeance for the satisfaction of the state, but imposed for the good of the offender, in order to lead him to repentance and mercy;" the monasteries were deemed not unfitting places for being made the scene of such correction; and, in fact, the policy of those who have transferred criminals elsewhere, seems nothing else but "to drag from heaven the unrepentant soul, which might have quenched in reconciling prayers a life of burning crimes." In the monasteries of the middle ages, therefore, one sometimes found men imprisoned by ecclesiastical as well as by royal sentence. Thus Gottschalk, after being degraded, was confined in Hautvilliers under the Abbot Hilduin, who allowed him the use of pens and ink, though Raban Maur considered this an improper indulgence, and in reply to Pope Nicholas, whose love of justice was not greater than his love of men, and who remonstrated against such severity, thought it enough to show in his own excuse that he had taken care to have him supplied with "all necessaries." In prison, however, there he died, without retraction and without the sacraments.‡ Some dark solemn

* Gallia Christiana, ii. 241.
† De Utilit. ex Advers. iii. 22.
‡ Staudenmaier, Scot, &c.

men that were known to be within monasteries, wearing the aspect of prisoners by the chains round their bodies, were there, however, by their own desire. Do you demand the reason of such austerity? My answer may be short. Blood hath been shed ere now in the olden time; ay, and since too, murders have been performed. In our times, when the brains are out, men die, and there is thought an end; but in ages of faith they rose again with twenty murders on their crowns, and pushed the slayer from his stool. Then when grace procured contrition, there were fearful penances embraced, till in the cloister the once proud cruel castellain found peace. Thus in an early age were seen, by St. John Climachus, some in the monastery of the penitents who used to entreat that they might not be loosed from their chains even in their sepulchres. "I saw," he says, "what the eye of the negligent hath not seen, and what hath not entered into the heart of the luxurious man to conceive—the deeds and words which can do violence to God. Some I saw who pass whole nights in prayer, others prostrate on ashes. On all sides I heard only such cries as these, 'Væ, væ, miserum, me miserum! juste juste, parce, parce Domine!' Some cried, 'Ignosce, ignosce Domine, si possible est.' Others, as if at the gates of heaven, 'Aperi nobis Judex januam. Aperi nobis ex quo illam nobisipsis per peccatum clausimus.' Others, 'Ostende faciem tuam tantum et salvi erimus.' Others, 'Appare his qui in tenebris et umbra mortis sedent.'"*

The blessed Dominicus, surnamed Loricatus, of whom we before spoke, died in the abbey of Monte-Cassino on the 22nd of January, 1031. To that abbey also had come Count Radechis, bound with a huge chain to his neck, who, after killing Grimoald, had been moved to renounce the world, and thus he came to embrace a life of austere penance in that monastery.† Such were the examples which the monks proposed to those who were committed to their custody, as being obnoxious to the vengeance of the law, to which class the prisoners that one found in monasteries generally belonged, being persons confined there by order of the king, or by the sentence of a power wholly secular, often barbarous and despotic. Thus we meet with a certain German whose eyes had been put out and right hand cut off, leading an arduous life in a cell near the abbey of Pomposa, to whom Raimbald, a holy youth, was appointed to minister.* Trithemius mentions a most curious circumstance respecting a man most celebrated who fell into this condition. Peter de Vineis, says this abbot, was a German, the chancellor of Frederick II., a cunning man and learned, who defended the injustice of the emperor against the pope with all the force of his eloquence, and excused his rebellion against the church with such ability, that Gregory IX. exclaimed, "O quantus esses fili, si te, ut Imperium, benevolentem haberet Sancta Ecclesia!" Afterwards, by I know not what means, he incurred the resentment of Cæsar, who put out his eyes and sent him into a monastery, where, blind and wretched, he lived in the bitterness of his heart, and by long affliction compensated for whatever sins he had been guilty of against God and the church. It happened after a few years that the emperor being excommunicated, deserted by the princes and despised by foreigners, having no means of paying his army, resolved to have recourse to Peter, his old chancellor, whose prudence he knew surpassed that of most other men. So he came to the monastery where he lived, and being admitted, said all that he could think would mollify and appease the blind recluse, asking his pardon with loud protestations of remorse, and promising immense compensation, and in fine, adding, "I know that you could give me good advice in these straits." Peter, who concealed his mind under a placid countenance, revolving nothing but immortal revenge, advised him to take the gold and silver vessels of the monasteries and churches to melt them down, and with that produce to pay his troops, and then to invade his enemies, after which he could make restitution. The advice pleased the emperor. So he plundered all the churches, promising to restore whatever he took; but he never returned any thing. From that day he never prospered more. The abbot of the monastery is said to have asked Peter, on hearing that it was he who had given such advice, how a legist and a wise man like him could have recommended so unjust a measure; to whom the other made no secret of the subtle vengeance which had suggested the idea to him of giving such counsels.† The

* *Grad. V.*
† *Chronic. S. Mon. Cass. xx.*

* Annal. Camaldulens. Lib. xii.
† In Chronic. Hirsaugiens. an. 1229.

ms of political convulsion were often
d in monastic confinement. Deside-
king of the Lombards, after the bat-
f Pavia, was led prisoner into Gaul by
:lemagne, as all the annals declare;
:hey do not mention the place where
pent the remainder of his life, nor the
ner of his death. Mabillon discovered
e particulars in the manuscript of an
ent monk, where he found these words,
the year 772, Pavia being taken, Desi-
us and his wife Ansa were banished
ie abbey of Corby, and there Deside-
persevered in vigils, and prayers, and
, and many good works, till the day
is death." Of his being thus confined
Corby, the monks of that abbey, when
billon wrote, had lost all tradition. Down
he French revolution visitors to the
ey of St. Medard at Soissions used to
shown a cell which was said to have
n the prison of Louis-le-Débonnaire
ere he was confined by order of Lothaire.
he good brethren," says that poor empe-
"had great compassion on my grief,
l they comforted me much. They prayed
me, and assured me that if I placed all
hopes in God, I should soon have con-
ation and recovery from my sorrows."
order of his sons, sergeants were placed
out the prison to guard him; and that
ney in particular was chosen, because
owing how much he loved it, his sons
ped that he would willingly resign his
ptre and embrace the monastic habit.*
ie monk Odilon has recorded the very
rds of the unhappy emperor's lamenta-
n. This gaol belonged to the fisc, to
royal palace, and not to the abbey. It
s near the Basilica of the Trinity on the
rth part of the enclosure. One still sees
half-subterraneous cells to the north-
st of the crypt of the Great Church and
the south of the site of the Basilica of
Trinity, which are said to have been
prison of Louis. On these walls one
trace in Gothic letters—

"Hélas! je suys bien prins
De douleurs que j'endure:
Morrir me conviendroit: la
Peine me tient dure."

t these lines, written no doubt by some
soner, are posterior, by 600 years to
uis.†

Sometimes, however, the secular power,
committing prisoners to the custody of
monks, only complied with their entreaties,
which were offered in a spirit of the ten-
derest charity. Thus Cæsar of Heister-
bach says, "At the time when King Otho
went to Rome to be crowned emperor,
leaving the government of the Moselle to
his brother, Henry Palatine, a certain no-
ble was condemned to death for pillaging.
Daniel, abbot of Sconavia, by his prayers,
obtained pardon for him on condition that
he would satisfy God for his sins in the
Cistercian order. Thus did he escape death
and final perdition; and I have heard of
many who similarly obtained deliverance
by the intercession of our order."* Duke
Henry, the Saxon, father of the emperor
Otho, having put out the eyes of a certain
nobleman for his crimes, God of his mercy
converted that punishment into a medi-
cine; for he gave him such contrition that
he used to be always in the church of the
abbey of Hilderhem mourning for his sins,
and breathing after the celestial country.†
In the annals of Corby, at the date of 1189,
we find this brief notice, "A certain noble-
man is sent into our monastery for the
sake of penance."‡ In the Escurial is a
chamber where the tradition of the monas-
tery attests that the unfortunate Don Car-
los terminated his days by refusing food.
Even so late as the time of Francis I. we
find it usual to send state prisoners for
confinement to the abbey of Mount St.
Michael.§ The motive, however, as we
before observed, cannot but be esteemed
most worthy of those who loved and fol-
lowed peace.

But having now specified some of the
chief abuses which crept into the monastic
institution, at the same time guarding the
reader from mistaking for abuse what was
in reality laudable, and suggested the re-
flections to which they ought to give rise
in minds unprejudiced, let us observe what
evidence may be collected from unimpeach-
able witnesses, who lived in the middle ages,
to prove the virtues and perfection of disci-
pline which existed in the monasteries;
that we may not depart with such an erro-
neous impression as that the evil had
counterpoised the good. The language of
these witnesses is that of prudence, as well
as of admiration. "Of the sanctity of
many, no one can judge more truly than
the Searcher of hearts," says the monastic
historian of the Cistercians; "yet we speak

Chroniques de S. Denis, i.
Hist. de Soissons, i. 316.

* Illust. Mirac. Lib. i. c. 31.
† Id. Lib. ii. 36.
‡ An. Corb. ap. Leibnitz. Script. Bruns. iii.
§ Raoul Hist. de Mont. S. Michel.

what we have heard and known concerning our abbots."* Let us hear, then, what was the result of their knowledge. "If there be any perfection in this world, it can be found in cloisters:"† such is the evidence of Hugo of St. Victor. "Truly," says St. Bernard, "you can behold, in almost all congregations of monks, some men that are filled with consolations, abounding in joy, always cheerful and agreeable, fervent in spirit, meditating day and night on the law of God, frequently looking up to heaven and lifting up pure hands in prayer, careful observers of their conscience, and devout followers of good works; to whom discipline is lovely, fasting sweet, the vigils short, manual labour pleasant, and the whole austerity of their conversation refreshing."‡ "I see in cloisters," says Peter of Blois, who was himself a secular priest, "celestial men, or rather earthly angels, whose conversation is in heaven,—who, with a certain noble pride, despise the honours and riches of this world."§ Hear how those who knew the monks personally speak: "If any one asks me," says the Abbot de Rancé, speaking of Brother Euthyme III., "whether this monk has or has not sinned since he came under our direction? I answer, by the principles of faith, he has sinned, since the Holy Ghost teaches us, 'Non est enim homo qui non peccet;'§ but I answer, by my own knowledge and according to my observation, he has not sinned."¶

Odelirius, counsellor of Roger, earl of Shrewsbury, has immortalised his name by his eloquent exhortations to that nobleman, in 1083, in praise of monks and the monastic discipline. "Who," he exclaims, "can worthily relate all their vigils, hymns, psalmody, prayers, alms, and sacrifices! What denial of their own will for the love of our Lord Jesus Christ! What shall I say of the chastity of monks, of their silence, of their modesty, of their obedience? Such an abundance of virtues confounds my astonished intelligence, and I confess that my tongue fails me to express it. From my tender youth I have long been admitted to the secrets of monks; and, by familiar relations, I have learned thoroughly what were their manners. In consequence, when I consider the conduct of all mortals who inhabit the earth, I see that they are all, in their lives, inferior to monks who live canonically according to the rules of their order."* Richard, archbishop of Canterbury, in the reign of Henry II., writing to the Cistercian order, says, "Among all the orders with which the Spouse of Christ is adorned, there is none more fragrant with virtue, none sweeter in Christ with the odour of a holy reputation, than yours." Yet he blames them for one thing,—"because the lands which were subject to tithes, before they possessed them, are made exempt by the fact of coming into their hands."† Peter of Blois bears a similar testimony to the Cistercians. "There," he says, "is a most approved school of religion; there one finds the practice of the utmost modesty, regularity of manners, the affection of fraternity, peace of mind, the communication of all things, mutual service, rigour of discipline, the love of obedience, the bond of charity, the subjection of the flesh, the exercise of hospitality, liberty of study, the order of vigils, the calm of meditation, the devotion of psalmody."‡ To the Carthusian order—which, in fact, has never required reform to the present day—he bears the same. "Through all lands," he says, "by the grace of God, its fame hath gone forth, and the odour of its sweetness hath reached to the ends of the earth: for it is the plantation of God, and the vine of the Lord of Sabaoth; therefore now has its fruit multiplied to an immense increase. Behold how it stretches forth its branches, now even to the sea, and its outshoots as far as England!"§ Would you inquire now concerning "the lambs that Francis and Dominic led among the way where well they throve, not swollen with vanity?"‖ As Dante says, "he tells of both, who one commendeth, which of them soe'er be taken: for their deeds were to one end."¶ Cornelius Mussus Bitontinus says that the world was reformed by these two, Dominic and Francis. In the beginning of the evangelic announcement, he observes, when the word of the Lord was preached to the Jews and Gentiles, two were chosen, Peter and Paul. When the world had relapsed to vices, and the Lord in mercy wished to reform it, he again chose two,—the one cherubic, the other seraphic,—two bodies,

* Gasp. Jong. Notit. Abb. Ord. Cist. Lib. iv. 16.
† De Claustro Animæ, ii. 17.
‡ Id. In Ascensione Dom. Serm. vi.
§ Epist. cii.
‖ *Lib. 2 Reg.* viii.
¶ *Relat. de la Mort de quelques Rel.* i.

* Orderic Vital. Lib. v.
† Pet. Bles. Epist. 82.
‡ Id. 86. § Id. 86. ‖ Dante, i. 10.
¶ Par. xi.

but one mind.* Pope Urban IV. styles the order of Minors, "that field of virtues which the Lord hath blessed."† Even the incidental tribute paid to it by a worldly poet will be to some no less satisfactory; as when Octavien de Saint-Gelais, in his "Séjour d'Honneur," while describing the vanity of his early life, and his fear of lightning, acknowledges that while in that state, whenever it thundered, he wished to be a Franciscan:—

"———— pour lors estre convers
Ou cordelier chantant hymnes et vers."‡

The learned Albertus Sartiunensis having received from his friend, Nicholas Niccoli, a mordant invective against the fathers, of the observance written by the famous Poggio Brandolino, whose enmity arose from a family pique, wrote a formal reply, wishing to defend, he says, these most innocent men, with whom he has conversed, as a brother, during fourteen years. "You consider," he says to Poggio, "as not worthy of the highest honour, those who, in my opinion, do all things well,—who are grateful to their friends, pacific to their enemies, solicitous for the dangers of others, and not negligent to their own,—who, casting off the pollutions of the world, condemn what they once were, and love what they are to be in the future life, make themselves judges of their own wanderings, exult in having escaped from the disquietudes and tempests of the world, and, with minds far above it, superior to all earthly power, devote themselves to virtue and justice, forgetting what is behind, and stretching forwards to what is before, think life tedious and death most happy, —whose care it is never to yield to vice, but to subdue it,—who deplore the passions of the profligate, having restrained their own by discipline,—who, through evil report and good report, in cold and poverty, pursue their steady way, rejoicing more than the vulgar and foolish multitude in their vanities,—and, what is above all, who so completely subject and humiliate and neglect themselves for Christ, that they bring into captivity every thought to the obedience of Christ, and fear not to be counted fools for his sake, saying with the Apostle, 'If any one seem to be wise in this world, let him become a fool, that he may be wise,'—lo! this is what I think of these men: such I know to be the pure and excellent lives of many of them; such, at least, the innocuous character of the rest."*

This brings us down to an age of great degeneracy: yet, let it be observed, that there is still a cloud of witnesses, who give the same evidence. Observe what learning and sanctity the celebrated Ambrose Traversari of Camaldoli found in the numerous monasteries of his order in Italy, when, as prior-general, in 1433, he made his visitation. Again, on his journey from Basle to Vienna, in 1435, he says, "many most noble monasteries we found on the banks of the Danube, in which the monks lived most religiously."†

In 1415, an Italian author thus speaks: "What shall I say of monks, of which the number of most holy and learned seems almost infinite? We cannot deny that now and formerly there have been bad men in that habit: but who could number the good and illustrious? Who so mad as to think that if men wished to be evil, they would choose such a life as this? Truly, long since, all devotion of Christians, and nearly all religion, would have perished, if these holy men had not, by their doctrine and example of life, protected the faith of Christ, contending for it, as the Apostle says, 'through evil report and good report.' Men are disposed to criticise the conduct of monks with more severity than justice; and those are counted monsters who are detected falling in the least from the rule of perfection. I think it often happens that many, desirous of calumniating them before the vulgar, say things of them which are far from true, ascribing their poor habit, grave speech and aspect, to hypocrisy; their preaching, to vanity; their cheerfulness, to scurrility; their justice, to cruelty; their care to preserve the rights of the Church, to avarice and rapacity; for all things are full of calumny, and thus did men declaim against the apostles and against Christ."‡

In 1708 and 1718, it was resolved, in the general chapter at Marmoutier, to depute two monks to travel, in order to visit the archives of different abbeys in France and Germany. Dom Martene and Dom Durand proceeded accordingly on this visi-

* Wadding, Apparat. ad Annal.
† Ap. Martene, Vet. Script. ii. 1261.
‡ Goujet, Bibliothèque Franç. *tom.* x. 263.

* Ap. Wadding, tom. x.
† Annal. Camald. Lib. lxii.
‡ Benedict Accolti Aretini De Præstantia Virorum sui Ævi. Dialog. Thesaur. Antiq. Italiæ ix.

tation; and their testimony as to the perfection which then prevailed, with few exceptions, in the religious houses, is to the highest degree delightful and conclusive.* Even the arch-sophist of France, in modern times, bears this testimony: "It cannot be denied," he says, "that there were great virtues in the cloister. There is hardly still a monastery which does not contain some admirable souls."†

If, now, from these general statements, we pass to the examination of more particular evidence, the result will be no less consoling. William of Malmesbury says of the abbey of Thorney, "Truly I might call that island the abode of chastity and of all virtues, and a school of divine philosophers."‡ Wythmann, abbot of Ramsey, was a man who sought rather to govern by fear than love, so that there were often occasions of harsh retorts. On one of these, being greatly exasperated, he went to Aetheric, the bishop of the diocese, and accused the monks of insubordination and disorder. The bishop, who had been educated in that house, was inclined to give no credit to the accusation; for he could not believe that the men whose piety he had known when a boy could so soon have fallen from the love of discipline. Therefore, consoling the abbot with some general words, and sending him away, he secretly resolved to visit the abbey in disguise, to judge with his own eyes as to the justice of the charge. So, coming to the island, and lodging in the neighbourhood, he arrived very early in the morning, in disguise of a traveller, and entered the monastery as if for the sake of praying; and, as every place stood open to all comers, he began to examine all things carefully: then he saw some at private altars, devoutly celebrating mass; others praying around the high altar; others sitting in thick order between the pillars of the cloister, either reading in profound silence, or else writing or employed in some other useful exercise. After a while, one of the brethren, observing the curiosity with which he examined every part of the house, began to wonder at him; and at length, discovering him to be the bishop, hastened and informed the abbot, who came forth to receive the guest. But Aetheric reproved him severely, and admonished him to be less suspicious and morose in his government of the abbey, and reminded him of the express injunctions of St. Benedict on this head; and then, concluding with words of peace to the brethren as well as to the abbot, he departed. But the abbot, reflecting on his own faults, and the obstacles occasioned by the violence of his temper, resigned the administration of the abbey, and, taking leave of the brethren, set out on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem. Æthelstan was elected in his place. After a year, Wythmann returned; and the fame of his approach reached Ramsey at the moment when Æthelstan, with the monks, were sitting in the refectory. Immediately, he ordered the lector to stop reading, and, putting on the sacred vestments, they all proceeded with great reverence to meet the former abbot. But he, remembering his faults, humbly refused to re-assume his authority, and chose for his residence a solitary place called Northeya, which is but a stone's-throw from the church, but inaccessible, excepting by a boat; and there, with one monk for his companion, and two servants, he spent the remainder of his days.*

To such monasteries our old English poet thus alludes:—

"There was an auncient house, not far away,
Renown'd throughout the world for sacred lore
And pure unspotted life; so well, they say,
It governed was, and guided evermore."†

England, in fact, possessed many such. Lydgate, while lamenting his own disobedient sensual life, following the reverse of all that he was taught, and taking little heed "what Christ Jesus suffered for his sake," acknowledges that the discipline of the abbey at Bury was excellent:

"This holy rule was unto me radde
And expounde in full notable wyse
By vertuous men, relygious and sadde,
Full well expert, dyscrete, prudent, and wyse,
And observauntes of many gootly emprise,
I herde all well, but towchyng to the dede
Of that they taught, I toke but lytell hede."

In the twelfth century, when Suger was abbot of St. Denis, the two Cistercian abbeys of Rivaulx and Fountains, in the diocese of York, were in great reputation of sanctity. Of the latter, Gaspar Jongelinus says that it drew its name from certain fountains, which were a happy presage of its future holiness: for truly, he

* Voyage Lit. de Deux Bénédict. See also Vet. Script. Præf. in tom. ix.

† *Volt. Essai sur les Mœurs, &c.*

‡ *In Lib. iv. De Gest. Pontif. Ang.*

* Hist. Ramesiens. ap. Gale, Hist. Brit. tom. ii.

† Spenser, ii. 10.

dds, there were there in abundance the aters of celestial desire, and of living iety, which spring up to life eternal.* ut let us look elsewhere. St. Peter amian visited Mount-Cassino, and thus scribes it: "All here were either aged, young men rejoicing in the decorum of uthful life,—who, as sons of the pro-ets, were fit to seek Elias through the sert; or truly, in the flower of youth, e the Apostle John, to overcome the cked one."† That was a fine tribute to e virtue of the monastery of Septimus ich Marsilius Ficinus paid, in writing Francis Soderino, bishop of Volterra, here he says, "I know indeed how you ve these monks; those pious men, whom also not only love, but worship."‡ Scar-oneo, a secular priest, speaking of the nvent of St. Mark at Padua, adds this stimony: "Which to this day flourishes i the highest opinion of sanctity."§ Er-enric, monk of Richnau, in his epistle De Grammatica," thus speaks of the onks of St. Gall: "There I found each ore humble and more patient than the ther. Nor is there any bitter zeal amongst hem, or malice, or envy; but charity alone eigns there, along with justice. Love, the nother of virtues, and Concord, its daughter, nd Simplicity, its attendant, have there, vithout doubt, their proper dwelling."‖ Adalbero, bishop of Verona, came to St. Gall for the sake of prayer. "The grace of this place," saith he, "is greater than its fame: here is religion with learning, severity with discipline. What others may think I know not; but I will declare my impressions. I came here seeking one saint, and a dead one; but, sooth, I found many saints, and living ones."¶

Many of the brief notices of the abbots of Corby in Saxony, given in the annals of that abbey, indicate a happy state of religion as prevailing at the time. Thus, at the date of 876, we read, "Our Adelgarius died, and so our mother was a widow; Tancmar, a good father, succeeded him. In 880, Avo died, worthy of a longer life; Bovo, a man circumspect, succeeded him. In 918, Volkmar, who restored the church as well as he could, was a good father of the family, and religious abbot, beloved by all, but whom God reserved for horrible times, on account of public evils; therefore, to prayers and tears, his strongest arms, he exhorted us seriously."*

Turning to France, the only difficulty is to choose between testimonies of equal force, in proof of the sanctity which existed in her religious houses. Fifty-nine abbots had governed the abbey of Clairmarais, from 1140 to 1790, to whom we have this testimony: "Their conduct was exemplary in the interior of the cloister, worthy and honourable towards other monasteries, towards the bishops of the diocese, towards the seigneurs of the country, and, we need not add, towards the people."† Guibert, abbot of Gemblour, says of the monks of St. Martin at Tours, in his letter to Philip, archbishop of Cologne, "Nothing is there undisciplined, nothing inordinate; all things are quiet, consonant; nothing being under, nothing over done; but all things, by disposition of wisdom, are, in measure, weight, and number, as far as is possible to human infirmity, so that they seem members of that Church cohering to itself, solicitous to preserve the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace: the whole body compact is connected, and every juncture cemented, and every disturbance appeased: there dwells the wolf with the lamb, the leopard with the kid, and a child can lead them; that Child, I mean, of whom it is written, 'Puer natus est nobis;' and in that holy house of God, whose place is made in peace, they dwell concordant and unanimous."‡ Lupus, abbot of Ferrers, in his letter to the monks of St. Germain at Auxerre, says, "True charity, indeed, always flourishes in the inhabitants of our monasteries, but never has it declared its greatness by so many certain proofs as in our time."§ Cluny obtained this well-deserved praise from St. Gregory VII. at the general council: "That, through the grace of God, under holy and pious abbots, it had attained to such dignity and religious strictness, that, in the service of God and spiritual fervour, it surpassed all other communities, ancient and modern; and that no abbey in all the world was to be compared to it: for there had been no abbot there who was not a saint." Of Citeaux, Pope Eugene III.,

* Notitiæ Abbat. Ord. Cister. per Univ. Orb. Lib. viii. 5.
† Epist. xvii.
‡ Epist. Lib. xi.
§ De Antiquitate Patavinæ.
‖ Ap. Heumann, De Re Diplom. ii. 187.
¶ Eckehard de Casibus S. Galli, c. 1. ap. Goll. i.

* Ap. Leibnitz, Script. Bruns. iii.
† Piers, Hist. des Abbayes de Watten. et de Clairm. 165.
‡ Ap. Martene, Vet. Script. i. Præf.
§ Epist. 116.

in 1152, said that it flourished in the fame of sacred religion. The third abbot of this house was Stephen Harding, of a noble English family, "decorated with the grace of eminent sanctity, a lover of the desert, and a most fervent emulator of holy poverty," as he is styled in the book of the origins of Cisteaux. In the archives it is said of him:—

"Anglicus hic Stephanus fulsit velut Angelus unus
Sacrata veste Bernardum vestiit iste."

The three daughters of Cisteaux,—the abbey of La Ferté, that of Pontigny, and Clairvaux,—were all true sources of spiritual life. Peter de Roya, who styles himself, "by the mercy of God, a novice at Clairvaux," writes as follows to the superior of another house: "It was not strange that I should become thoughtful and solicitous, when I reflected on the manner of my past life, not having lived a moment from my childhood without performing some work of death. Greatly I loved the assemblies of vanity, spectacles, jests, idleness; to utter falsehood, to swear, to commit perjury, to flatter: all these, from long daily custom, I learned to consider not sins, but, as it were, certain agreeable ornaments of society and mundane probity. Yet I knew that these same things, causing a separation between God and man, were vanities and lies. I omit greater things,—elation of heart, emulations, hatred, dissensions, detractions:—but the Father of mercies had compassion on me, and at length visited and drew me to his Son. Thus was I saved from the waters of Babylon, and mercifully placed in Clairvaux, at the fountains of the Saviour. For Clairvaux, though situated in a valley, has its foundations on the holy mountains, whose gates the Lord loveth more than the tabernacles of Jacob. Glorious things are told of these, because of them. The glorious and wonderful God worketh glorious and wonderful things: for there the inveterate return to their heart; and, though their exterior man be corrupted, yet the interior is restored to life, and renewed from day to day in Him who created man. There the proud are humbled, the rich impoverished, the poor evangelized, and the darkness of sins transmuted into light. In this house, therefore, though the multitude gathered together from the ends of the earth is immense, congregated from all regions and nations, yet is there only one heart and one mind; so that of this house we may truly say, 'Ecce alienigenæ, et Tyrus, et populus Æthiopum, hi fuerunt illic.' This is the habitation of all these, rejoicing not with vain joy. But as for me, the more diligently I examine these poor of blessed life, the more thoroughly am I convinced that they follow Christ in all things, and that they are true ministers of God. For, while at prayer, speaking to God in spirit and in truth, and while I have conversed privately with them in a familiar manner, and when I have remarked their humble manner of conducting themselves, it is plainly evident that they are the familiar friends of God. While praising him in the choral psalmody, the whole state of their body, in all the fear and reverence of sanctity, shows how pure and how fervent is the affection of their mind. Their solemn enunciation, and morose distinction, in modulating the Psalms, shows how sweet in their mouths are the words of God. When I observe them in the diurnal hours, and in the nocturnal vigils before midnight, till prime, with only a short interval between, so holily and indefatigably singing, they seem to me indeed little less than the angels, but much more than men. Such continued alacrity, and such endurance, with such fervour and merit, can only be from a divine gift. Whilst reading they seem lightly to draw the waters of Siloe, with silence flowing and gushing up to eternal life. Their disposition and habit demonstrate that they are all disciples of one Master, teaching in their hearts, and saying, 'Audi Israel et tacent.' They are silent; and they hear, and they become wiser. If we regard them in the exercise of manual labour, their life will appear no less happy. In all these works, it is evident that they are led by a divine Spirit. With such a patient mind, such a placid and immoveable countenance, with such sweet and holy order, they do all things, that though their labour is great, yet they scarcely seem to move, or to be oppressed in any respect. Amongst these poor I understand some are bishops, others consuls, others illustrious men of great science and dignity, others youths of great birth and hope; but now, by the grace of God, all acceptation of persons being eradicated, the higher any one supposed himself in the world, the lower does he make himself in this little flock Therefore, when I beheld these men in the gardens with their rakes, in the meadows with their forks, in the fields with their ploughs, in the woods

with their hatchets, while considering what they were, I look on their present state, their works, instruments, abject persons, disordered and vile vestments, according to the judgment of the eyes, they seem to me not men, but a foolish race, a mute, shameful flock, the opprobrium of men, and the outcasts of the people; but a sound and faithful intellect proclaims to me, in the heart, that their life is hidden in Christ. Amongst them I rejoice to see Gaufrid Peronensis, Raynald Morinensis, Waller de Insula, and another, whom I knew once the most inveterate in the old man; but now, by the grace of God, not even a vestige of that ancient mind remains in them. In the old man, I knew them with an exalted heart, walking with supercilious eyes; but now I see them humbled under the merciful hand of God. In the old man I knew them as whitened sepulchres without, within full of dead men's bones; but now I behold them as vessels of the Lord, which, although they may appear outwardly despicable, yet within are full of celestial perfumes. When, therefore, this community is seen going out to its accustomed labour on returning regularly and simply one after another, as if a pacific host wearing only the arms of peace, must not the angels of God, seeing them thus move, so newly converted from darkness to Christ, sing through joy and admiration? The excluded demon is confounded and filled with grief, seeing what I trust he may always see, the resurrection of these,—bringing no moderate destruction on his own kingdom. Again, what think you must be the impression on seeing them at table at the appointed times for food! Truly, they evince such modesty, such holiness, that they must appear to every one what they are,—just men and fearing God. Here they receive the spiritual food for which they hunger,—the Word of Life; here they reverently partake of the other gifts of God placed before them, not exquisite delights, but of the labour of their hands, vegetables and grain of the earth. Cyder is their drink. If they cannot have this, they rejoice in simple water. Rarely they use wine. In a word, obedience is the rule of their whole life; which they so faithfully observe in all things, that there is not a single moment of the day or night which is not offered up to God; so that I firmly believe by every step and movement of their hands they gain remission of sin, or increase of the crown to life eternal. These few things concerning the poor of Clairvaux I send to you, according to my promise. There remain greater things; but to describe them I am not sufficient. All my desire is to be associated in body and spirit with these poor of Christ. God willing, on the Sunday after the Ascension we are to receive the armour of our profession, by the grace and benediction of Jesus Christ; which, by the merits of his Mother, and your prayers, may He grant to us. Amen."*

Innumerable houses retained the fervour and regularity of monastic life down to the latest times. The abbey of St. Jean-des-Vignes at Soissons, founded in 1076, by Hugues, Seigneur de Château-Thierry, had never wanted reform down to the year 1718, when Dom Martene visited it, and found its discipline so perfect.† Bourdoise, that model of the secular clergy, in the reign of Louis XIII., describes in glowing terms the edification which he received from visiting the abbey of Jumiège,‡ which, down to the Revolution, was a blessing to the country. "On arriving at Corby in Saxony," say the two Benedictine travellers, "we were received as brothers. The abbot is very humble; and, only for the honour paid to him, one would never suppose that he was a prince, and had the prerogatives of a sovereign. We were greatly edified by all persons of the community."§ We found the abbey of Prum retaining great discipline. The prior is esteemed a saint all through the country; and the monks are most devout and mortified. The only charge advanced against the prior, is, that he lives too retired, and that he does not see strangers sufficiently.‖ On arriving at Treves we descended at the abbey of St. Maximin, where we were received with the utmost cordiality. We can say confidently that God is well served in this house. All the holy practices of religion are admirably observed. Their chant is majestic, their ceremonial venerable. Although the apartments for guests are magnificent, those of the abbot are simple, and contain only necessaries. During our stay we saw nothing but what was most edifying.¶

If these testimonies are not sufficient, I know not what would satisfy us. We might sum up the evidence in the words

* St. Bernard, Epist. 441.
† Voyage Lit. 24.
‡ Vie de Bourdoise, Liv. iii. 246.
§ Id. i. 257. ‖ Id. 273.
¶ Id. 285.

of a French historian, and say,—"In abbeys, the high ideal of the middle ages was realized."* Beyond this it would not, methinks, be possible to find terms that would convey praise,—of course, supposing them addressed to persons competently instructed.

But now, having been for some time under the holy roof, let us institute an inquiry which this allusion to the apartments for guests may naturally suggest and demand,—Who are the men that come occasionally to visit these sanctuaries of God and peace?

CHAPTER XII.

MANY come to the abbey. Many from each of the various conditions into which is divided the social life of man. They come all at once in multitudes on days of solemn festival. They come one by one, secretly, by stealth, seeking to assuage the intolerable thirst which presses them with some drops from the fountains of paradise, which they know, or at least suspect, are opened here. Let us hear instances related by the witnesses who saw them come.

"We inhabit the woods; and the leafy coverings of trees are more familiar to us than the stone walls of houses," says brother Gislebert, writing to Peter the venerable abbot of Cluny; "yet we are not hermits so solitary as to resemble the sparrow alone on the house-top. Though we have penetrated into this vast forest for the sake of solitude, yet we draw after us such a crowd of men, that we seem to have constructed rather a city than a hermitage; for to say nothing of that tumultuous multitude which flocks here from all the surrounding country, in order to have disputes settled, and discords appeased, and judicial sentences modified, the parts of the east beyond the sea, and the transalpine nations of the west, send such a number of embassadors to us, that it would require more than the care of the greatest king to give an answer to them all."† The dignity of this act of making peace was then deemed worth the audience of kings and princes, who often attended on these occasions.

Rodulphus, describing the concourse of people that used to visit the abbey of St. Tron, says, "Such a crowd of persons, nobles, and farmers, and persons of both sexes, used to direct their course to our gates, along the roads, and over the fields, and through the meadows, especially on solemn days, that dwelling in leafy tents and tabernacles of bark, for no houses could contain them, the whole place seemed besieged. Then there was the crowd of merchants, who could scarcely find horses and chariots, carts and animals, to carry such a multitude of strangers. Then how shall I describe the oblations at the altar? I say nothing of the animals, horses, oxen, heifers, rams, sheep, which used to be offered in an incredible multitude; but also they used to present beyond all weight and number linen and wax, bread and cheese; and by the time of vespers the guards in the cloister used to be fatigued in receiving and heaping up the piles of money, though they had nothing else to do."*

In the annals of the abbey of Corby, in Saxony, we have this significant notice. "In 950 a domus mercatoria was built for the accommodation and security of merchants coming to the festival of St. Vitus." Throughout the whole year crowds of pilgrims used to visit the abbey of Einsiedelin. A writer in 1373 says, that there strangers were continually arriving and departing. In 1350, on the 14th of September, that abbey received one hundred deputies from the citizens of Basle, and seventy from

* *Michelet.* † Biblioth. Cluniacens. 863.

* Chronic. Abbatiæ S. Trudonis, Lib. i. apud Dacher. Spicileg. tom. vii. p. 356.

those of Strasbourg. Two years before, on the vigil of St. Simon and St. Jude, the affluence from all parts of Europe was so great that the cantons of Zurich and Schwitz took alarm. In 1636, the town of Uberlingen, grateful for its deliverance from the Swedes, sent to it a deputation of 550 persons; and many other towns used to make votive processions to it annually. In one year the number of pilgrims amounted to 180,000;* and among these kneeling youths, these boy-travellers, whose stained shoulders bore impress of the load they had carried over the mountains through the sultry day, might be distinguished often the fervent disciples of far-distant schools, sons of the noblest houses in Europe, thus prepared by labours like those of the poor to taste the sweets with which innocence was in such places filled.

There being great indulgences on the anniversary of the dedication of the church of the abbey of Riddershusen, in the duchy of Brunswick, which fell on the 15th of June, that festivity was changed after eighty years; for the crowd from the neighbouring towns and villages, says the Abbot Jongelinus, was so great, that the corn used to be trodden down, and the crops injured by the multitude, who used even to cut down the slighter trees to erect booths. Therefore to remove all cause of offending man and God, the Abbot Eggelingus, with consent of the superiors of the Cistercian order and of Pope Innocent VI., transferred it to the Sunday after St. Martin, as to a less genial season.†

When the new church of Mount-Cassino was to be consecrated, Hildebrand, at that time archdeacon, cardinals, and priests, and magnats, came there, with bishops, abbots, monks, clerks, princes, nobles, and citizens of all condition, with women also from all parts of Italy, in such crowds that it would be easier to count the stars of heaven than to enumerate them all. Not only all the courts of the monastery, but the whole mountain, from the foot to the summit, and even the fields around it, were covered with the multitude; and during the three preceding days, wine, bread, flesh, and fish were given in such abundance, that not one person of that prodigious multitude could complain of not having received sufficient. There were present ten archbishops, forty-three bishops, Richard, prince of Capua, with his son, and brother Gisulfus, prince of Salerno, and his brother Landulfus, prince of Beneventum, Sergius duke of Naples, with Sergius duke of Sorentum: and as for the other princes and nobles, both Italian and Norman, it would be impossible to name them. So the church was dedicated, in the year 1071, with the utmost devotion, and joy, and honour, and glory. The crowd continued during eight days, confessing their sins to gain the indulgence, and then all returned to their homes in great joy.

"Nec modus est populis coëuntibus agmine denso,
Nec requies; properant in lucem à nocte, diemque
Expectare piget."

"Milia profundens ad mœnia celsa Casini,
Vincit iter durum pietas, amor, et Benedicti.
Vincit et alma fides præsens de omnibus istic
Creditur, et summi Benedictus gloria Christi."

In fine, each one would have deemed himself an infidel, or most wretched, if at least he could not have come in for the end of such a solemnity.*

Popes, emperors, kings, princes, and great noblemen, were often in the list of visitors to abbeys in the middle ages, when the solemnities of religion attracted them. Cluny and Mount-Cassino could boast of having often received to hospitality the vicars of Christ. That was a memorable scene which ensued in the church of the latter abbey, when Pope Adrian II. gave absolution to the emperor Lothaire, who, with all his courtiers, committed perjury to obtain it, and so partook of death, receiving the communion to judgment, which fell almost suddenly upon them!

In the Benedictine abbey at Ferrara I read an inscription, stating how Pope Pius VI., on his return from Germany, had stopped in that abbey, and delighted the monks with his cheerful, angelic countenance, and humane conversation.

In the Carthusian monastery, on the Roman way, three miles from Florence, I was shown the cell in which the same holy pontiff lodged in darker times. That evening all was silent in its solemn corridores, save that the voices of the monks chanting vespers in the church, were faintly heard in the distance. The solemn convent of the Dominicans at Sienna is still standing, which once received within it St. Thomas of Aquin, St. Antoninus, blessed

* Chronique d'Einsiedelin.
† Notit. Abb. Ord. Cister. per Univ. Orb. Lib. 42.

* Chronic. Cassinensis, Lib. iii. c. 72.

Ambrogio, and Guido Lusignan, king of Cyprus. Here, in 1462, was held a general chapter of fifteen hundred friars: and here, in 1464, Pius II. blessed the standard of the Crusaders.

In the ancient monastery of Grotta Ferrata there is a solemn painting, to represent the emperor, Otho III., arriving there, and St. Nilus, with his monks, proceeding forth to meet him. That emperor, through remorse for having caused the rebel Crescentius to be beheaded after he had capitulated, having walked barefoot to the sanctuary of St. Michael, on Mount Gargano, passed a whole Lent as a penitent in the monastery of Classe. In that season it was common to find crowned heads under the cloisters of St. Benedict. Thus we find king Charles the Bald passing the Lent and Easter festival of the year 869 in the abbey of St. Denis.*

In the great abbey of St. Maur des Fossés king Henry I. testified, by a charter of the year 1058, that he used often to come there to pray. Louis VII. came there in 1168. Philippe Auguste lodged there in Mid-Lent in 1223. St. Louis was there in 1229 and 1254. The emperor Charles IV. came there twice in 1377 to perform his devotions.‡ Orderic Vitalis says, that when Boemond, after his deliverance, had left St. Leonard-le-Noblet, having made his prayers at the tomb of the holy confessor, he spent the Lent in travelling through France, making his offers at many altars. He had great reason to rejoice in the monasteries, where he was received with open arms, and he returned thanks to God for the benignity of the western Christians. He was accompanied by the son of the emperor Diogenes, as well as by many other illustrious Greeks.‡

The emperor Lewis II., celebrating Easter, in the abbey of Fulda, was heard to say, "O I wish that I might always remain in this court of heaven, and die in it! What can be desired more delightful and profitable?"§

Orderic Vitalis mentions that Count Richard, son of Richard I. of Normandy, used to hold his court at Easter in the monastery of Fécamp, founded by his father, and make offerings at the solemnity before the altar of the Holy Trinity. The same day, after mass, before going to his court and dining with his barons, he used, with his two sons, Richard and Robert, to repair to the refectory of the monks; and the two youths, taking the dishes from the kitchen window, used to present them to their father, as the monks used to do; and then he used to place them, first before the abbot, and then before the monks. When he had so done, with great humility he used to present himself to the abbot, and obtain permission to depart, and then he went to the court gaily with a contented heart. One day Richard came to Jumiège, and passed the night there. The next morning, after saying his prayers, he placed on the altar a little piece of wood. When he was withdrawn, the Sacristans approached the altar, expecting to find a mark, or an ounce of gold, or something similar. Finding only this little piece of wood, they were astonished. At length they asked him why he placed such a thing on the altar? Then he told them that it was Vimoutiers, a certain manor, which he wished to give them for the salvation of his soul.

Independent of such visits, many religious houses were visited on certain occasions by a kind of domestic court. The hundred knights attached to the estates of the abbey of St. Riquier composed a retinue almost royal at Christmas, Easter, and Pentecost. The chapter or general assembly of the knights of St. Michael was held every year in the hall of the knights, in the abbey of Mount St. Michael, on the 29th of September.

In 1113, Henry, king of England, accompanied by many princes and prelates, came to the abbey of Ouches and celebrated the Purification of St. Mary. He remained a long time in the cloister of the monks, examined them carefully during the repast, and having considered the conventual customs, praised them highly. The next day he entered the chapter-room and humbly besought the monks to grant him the favour of their association.*

King Canute, with Queen Emma, and the grandees of his kingdom, proposing to celebrate the festival of the Purification of St. Mary in the abbey of Ely, proceeded thither in boats. As they approached near, the king ordered the rowers to rest upon their oars, that he might gaze upon the church which rose above the bank. Then it was that he heard the chant of the monks, which filled him with such joy, that he broke forth in the song, "Merry

* Lebœuf, Hist. du Diocèse de Paris, iii.
† Id. v. 135. ‡ Lib. xi.
§ Schannat

* Orderic. Vit. Lib. xi.

sungen the Monches of Ely," which was ever afterwards a common song, and proverbial in the country. Then landing, he was received at the church processionally by the abbot and monks, according to the custom of receiving great men. This king used sometimes to be drawn in a sledge over the ice to Ely, when it was not possible to approach it in any other manner.*

In the annals of Corby, in Saxony, we read at the date of 867 as follows: "Lewis the younger made his devotions in our monastery, praising the discipline of our brethren, and saying that there was no happier life than that of monks always conversing with God. From Corby he went to Herivortium." Again in 940 "the Seigneur de Woldenberg came wounded to the monastery, desiring to pass the night in prayer and fasting near the relics of St. Vitus. He was better next day, and soon quite cured. He was grateful. In 1136, Lotharius Augustus stayed in the monastery some time. In 1378, many nobles were with us this summer, and each was gracious."† In the abbey of Einsiedelin, are records attesting the arrival of distinguished pilgrims. There we read that the Emperor Otho the Great, and St. Adelaide his wife, came there in 965; St. Gerold, duke of Saxony, in 972; King Charles IV. attended by a crowd of seigneurs and prelates in 1353; the Emperor Sigismond in 1417; Ferdinand III. emperor of the Romans, in 1442, besides a multitude of princes and nobles of the first houses of Germany, and many ambassadors, representing their respective sovereigns.

King Conrad being at Constance on Christmas-day, after dinner the bishop praised the processions at vespers, which took place during those three days in our abbey, says a monk of St. Gall. "O I wish that I were there!" exclaimed the king, "why should not we go my friends to that abbey to-morrow morning?" Boats were accordingly prepared, and early at daybreak, the king embarked with the bishop and all his court, and at mid-day reached our shores, and was received with great joy into our monastery, where he remained three nights. It would be long to say with what delight the days and nights were spent, admiring the old men and youths in the choir like so many angels. At the procession of children, the king ordered an apple to be thrown on the pavement; and when he saw that not one of the least children was moved so much as to look at it, he wondered at the discipline. On the king saying that he would dine in the refectory and partake of the common fare, the prefect said, "Alas, it is unfortunate that you will not wait till to-morrow, for then perhaps we shall have beans and bread, which we have not to-day." Then the children reading in order, on descending from the desk, the king sent gold to be put into their mouths, and when one boy spat it out, "This one," said he, "if he lives, will be a good monk." Then rising from table, he turned to his men and said, "that he had never before dined with such pleasure." On the morrow he caused himself to be enrolled as a conscript brother, when he gave the price of a vestment to each of the monks, and to the boys he granted three days' play. Then entering the oratory of blessed Othmar, lately canonized by Roman authority, who had been persecuted by his own family, he offered gold and silver on the altar. That day also, he said "he wished to dine with the brethren as a conscript brother," adding, "that he would furnish pepper to season their beans." Never before was there seen or heard such a feast in that refectory. There was the smell of meat, the dance, and the symphony. The king marked the graver brethren, and smiled to see their darkened countenances, as not liking the unaccustomed thing, but through respect for the king they said nothing. On the fourth evening he departed, the brethren thanking him with tears, to whom he promised that he would be a benefactor as long as he lived.*

Eckehard the fourth, in his benedictional says, that when the Empress Gisela, and her husband Conrad II. with their son Henry III. came to St. Gall, and had themselves received as conscript members of the abbey, they begged from the Abbot Dietbald, the book of Job and the Psalter, which Notker Labeo had first translated into German.

The occasion of some royal visits to monasteries, as we have already observed, was the pacification of differences. Thus the monastery of Ranshoven beheld the solemn interview of Frederic, duke of Austria, and the emperor Lewis IV. when by the intervention of the archbishop of Salzbourg they were reconciled to each

* Hist. Eliensis Lib. ii. c. 27. ap. Gale Hist. Brit. tom. i.

† Ap. Leibnitz, ii.

* Eckehard de Casibus S. Galli, c. 1.

other.* The custom of courts gave rise to others; as when the kings of Burgundy, whose capital was Geneva, used to be crowned in the abbey of St. Maurice, in the Valais. Where men had spent their youth as scholars, it was sweet to die; in their sickness, therefore, or when wounded, kings used to be conveyed to the monastery in which they had been educated, or at least to some religious house. Thus we have seen how Louis-le-gros, thinking his end to be near, removed to the abbey of St. Denis, and when he recovered, all the ploughs in the fields round the abbey were deserted, as Suger says, the people flocking together to hail him on his return to Paris, and commending him to God for having so long preserved their peace. When William the Conqueror fell from his horse, having been carried to Rouen, he was removed to the priory of St. Gervais, to be under the care of the Abbot Gouthard, who foresaw from the first that he could not recover. There he died. So again it was in the monastery of Longpont, that Louis, of France, son of King Philippe-le-Hardi, died, the day and hour of whose decease were carefully noted in the diary of the house. But men of all classes in the first shock of calamity, used to turn their eyes towards the cloister, so that the romances of chivalry when they represent the wounded knights desiring to be carried to some abbey in the neighbourhood, are faithful pictures of the manners of the age. Thus when Gyron-le-Courtois lying on the ground near the fountain in the forest, after his combat with another knight, asks "where he can have repose?" his varlet replies to him, "Sir, near here is a house of religion, whither knights often repair, and know that the brethren in it labour very willingly, and do the honours to all strange knights who come to them, and you may remain there at your ease as long as you wish."† History presents many instances of illustrious men of the true heroic stamp, who expressly repaired to monasteries in order to prepare for death. Thus the great Count Richard, of St. Boniface, whose removal from the world gave such joy to Eccelino, died in the convent of the Dominicans at Brescia, in which he was buried. Every one has heard of the national legends which predict the return to his country at a future day, of some hero whose memory is still in benediction. Well, even these attest the predominant inclination of the heroic mind; for, if you believe them, it is not in the palace or at the domestic hearth, that he will re-appear: it is in some abbey that he will first be discovered. Accordingly when the Portuguese thought that Don Sebastian had actually returned to Portugal, it was a convent of Franciscans that they said he was seen to enter.* Monasteries often received great personages within their gates as visitors, who only sought a religious retreat or momentary refreshment. Ingulphus relates that in the year 1464, in which King Edward IV. was married, Margaret, Duchess of Somerset, widow of Duke John, who was always most favourable and benign to the monastery of Croyland, came there, and was willingly received as a sister into the chapter. In the great Cistercian monastery of du Val Nôtre Dame which stood in a deep valley, six leagues north-west of Paris, the King Philippe-de-Valois, came to lodge for some time in the year 1333, and King Charles V. lodged there in 1369.† It appears from tablets of wax preserved in the abbey of St. Germain-des-Près, that in 1306, King Philippe-le-Bel came to the abbey of Vaux de Sernay, with all his court.‡ This monarch often visited the abbey of Longpont. It is marked on tablets of wax that he was there in September in 1308, and in December in 1304. Almost every year some sovereign was lodged in the abbey of Cluny. Dom Martene was shown in the abbey of Royaumont, the place where the King St. Louis used to sleep in the dormitory of the monks. When King Childebert, with his wife and court, arrived at a short distance from the monastery of Ouches, which he was about to visit through desire of seeing the blessed Father Evroul, whose reputation had reached his ears, he alighted from his horse and ordered all his company to prepare for appearing worthily before the monks.§ We read in old Spanish chronicles, that king Ferdinand coming once to the monastery of St. Facundus, and dining in the refectory, content with the common fare of the monks, and observing all discipline like a brother, there was brought to him a glass vessel, and while receiving it from the abbot's hand it fell to the ground and was broken. The king, lamenting his own negligence, caused to be brought to him a gold vessel adorned

* Anon. Chronic. Lud. iv. Imp. ap. Pez. Script. *Rer. Aust.* tom. ii. † F. 285.

* Hier. Conestaggi de Portug. et Castel. Lib. ii.
† Lebœuf, Hist. du Diocèse de Paris, iv.
‡ Id. ix. 168.
§ Ord. Vit. vi.

with gems, and offered it to the abbot in compensation.* In the monastery of the Holy Cross at Ratisbon, the emperor used often to dine with his court, when hunting. In the monastery of Montserrat, there were certain chambers set apart for lodging separately, kings, dukes, marquises, counts, and knights.† In fact, all high personages used to spend certain intervals within religious houses. The counts of Champagne, whenever they came to Lagny, always had their lodging in the abbey. Stephen, the most ancient of the Seigneurs de Baubigny, was known in the abbey of St. Denis as a knight and gentleman commensal of the Abbot Suger.‡ Cosmo de Medicis being received an exile at Venice, with every mark of highest honour, chose for his place of residence the monastery of St. George, where he afterwards erected a superb library, which he enriched with many manuscripts, to express his gratitude for the hospitality used towards him by the friars on that occasion. In the first court of Camaldoli is an inscription, stating how the pious princes of Tuscany had visited that wild wood and sacred cloister, and how their presents had exhilarated the monks. Warriors on their expeditions sometimes demanded hospitality in abbeys. The historian of Ely relates an instance: "One time," he says, "when the venerable Duke Brithnod, of Northumberland, was advancing with a small force against a great army of the Danes, on approaching the abbey of Ramsey, he sent forwards to beg hospitality: but the Abbot Ulsio sent back answer that the place was not sufficient to receive such a multitude, but that he would gladly entertain him and seven companions: to whom the duke replied, "Let the lord abbot know that I do not wish to sup alone without these, because I am not able to fight alone without them;" and so saying he passed on to Ely, sending forwards to tell the Abbot Œlsius, that he and his army meant to sup with him; who returned answer, that "in the work of charity he was afraid of no numbers; but that he rather congratulated him on his coming." So he was received by the monks, and with such love and service, that he ever afterwards had a great affection for the place, testifying his gratitude the next day, by giving to the abbey the manors of Spaldewich, Trumpington, Fulbourn, and many others, and only begging in return, that if he should fall in battle, they would carry his body there to be buried. Then commending himself to the prayers of the brethren, he proceeded on his expedition, in which after fighting courageously for fourteen days, on the fifteenth as he foresaw, he fell, when the Danes cut off his head and carried it away with them. The abbot of Ely, with some monks, hearing the event, came to the field of battle and having found his body, brought it back to the abbey and buried it with great honour, placing upon it a globe of wax in place of the head. This pious and brave man flourished in the days of King Edgar, and of Edward the Martyr, and he died in the fourteenth year of King Ædelred. His widow Ædelfleda gave several manors to the abbey, and also a veil woven and painted, representing the deeds of her husband, in memory of his worth.*

The record of the visits of great historical characters to the religious houses is indeed very interesting. Let us take for example that which describes the strangers who came to the abbey of Mount-Cassino, to which such crowds resorted from the east as well as from the west, either to view the church or to converse with the illustrious Abbot Desiderius, with whom emperors, and kings, and queens corresponded by letters, in which they commended themselves to his prayers.† Hither came the Empress Agnes, wife of Henry II., from the farthest limits of Germany, to see him, like another Saba to see another Solomon. Here she remained six months venerating the brethren. Hither came Robert, count of Lauretello, with his knight, in Lent, for the sake of prayer.‡ Hither came Otho III., Pandulphus of Beneventum, the Emperors St. Henry, Conrad II., and Henry III., Richard, prince of Capua, Robert Guiscard, duke of Calabria, the Emperor Lothaire, Henry, duke of Bavaria, and Robert, prince of Capua, in company with St. Bernard and many Norman magnates.§ These visits of kings to monasteries were an occasion to the monks of satisfying their projects, not of ambition, but of humility; as when the venerable Hartmot, abbot of St. Gall, availed himself of the visit of the emperor to that monastery on his return from Italy, to obtain permission to

* Roderic. Toletan. de reb. Hispan. Lib. vi. c. 14.
† Lucii Marinei Siculi de reb. Hispan. Lib. v.
‡ Lebœuf, Hist. du Diocèse de Paris, tom vi. 280.

* Hist. Eliens. Lib. ii.
† Chronic. Cassinens. Lib. iii. 32. ‡ iv.
§ Hist. Cassinens. vii.

abdicate and retire from a post of authority.* In general the monks sought to convert such visits to the spiritual welfare of their guests, who were always addressed with solemn words of admonition, and conducted in the first instance to the church, that they might adore the blessed sacrament.† Whatever might be their state or character, they were invited to adopt the outward forms of the peaceful on entering the monastery. The monks of Mount St. Michael obtained the royal sanction to oblige every one who visited that abbey to lay aside his arms, even to his dagger, at the gate.† In the abbey of St. Gall great men of the world were only admitted into the interior of the cloister on condition of putting on a cowl over their dress. Eckehard IV. saw on Easter day eight counts in cowls going in procession with the monks, following the cross, with youths and old men wherever they went, and dining with them at midday.‡ The conversation of the monks on these occasions, as we shall observe presently, was designed expressly to win their guests to a sense of religion, and so verify the proverbial saying, that no one returned from a holy place the same as he went. A few short words from them, uttered with that tone and look of conviction which so peculiarly belongs to their blessed order, a simple admonition, such as—

"O gentlemen, the time of life is short,
To spend that shortness basely were too long,"

fell not in vain upon the stranger's ear. "Thou art an adept," he would exclaim, "in the difficult lore of the scholastic wisdom of Greek, perhaps, and Frank philosophy. Thy spirit is present in the past, and sees the course of this old world, and how man can fall and rise.—It is much

'I honour thee, and would be what thou art,
Were I not what I am:—but
Moreover thou disdainest us, and ours;
Thou art as God, whom thou contemplatest.'"

"Disdain thee!" would the monk reply, "Not the worm beneath my feet!

'The Almighty has care for meaner things
Than thou canst dream, and has made pride for those
Who would be what they may not, or would seem
That which they are not. Stranger! talk no more
Of thee and me, the future and the past;
But look on that which cannot change—the One,
The Unborn and Undying.'"*

Thus would speak the monk to his strange guest, and his strong words could never pass away; for at each syllable he uttered, it was a new fibre of the other's soul that he laid bare.

We read that a certain nobleman of Old Castille, who for his prodigalities and debauchery was obliged to fly from his home, passing the mountains of the Sierra Morena, found Father John of the Cross, who was then prior of the monastery of Calvary. He disclosed to him his unhappy state, and the holy man made him reflect so well on the happiness of his sufferings, that he was changed into a different man, and lamented nothing but his former impatience. "I speak from experience," said this gentleman, "for though my sorrows were very great, his discourse caused me not only to bear them patiently, but even to rejoice in what I suffered; and I think that I should never have been able to have endured my misfortunes if he had not come to my assistance." "Whatever prejudices a stranger might have against monks," says Bourgoign, "he would renounce them after a visit to the Hieronymites of the Escurial: he would be convinced that under that habit the Spaniard clothes much true goodness. There he is received with hospitality, loaded with kindness, and, if inclined to letters, all the treasures of the library are at his disposal."† Some guests were so charmed that we find them remaining several years in monasteries. Thus in 1197 Albertus is found dwelling in the monastery of St. Andrew, in Mantua, with the understanding that he should neither offer himself, nor wear the monastic habit, nor profess obedience to the abbot, but should have free liberty to go to whatever regular or irregular place he might choose with all his books, and without asking the abbot's permission, according to mutual contract made between him and the abbot. There were also residing there Daniottus and Bogajolus, and others, like Albert, not bound to the house.‡ So in the annals of Corby in Saxony we read, "This year, 937,

* Ratpert de Origine Monast. S. Galli, cap. x. ap. Goldast. Rer. Al. i.
† St. Bonavent. Spec. Novitiorum, ii. 3.
‡ *Raoul Hist. de Mt. St. Michel*, 210.
§ *Eckehard in Cas. c.16.*

* Shelley.
† Tableau de l'Espagne, i. 238.
‡ Annal. Camaldulensium, Lib. xxxv.

C. de Peyna, long a haunter of castles, and a brave knight, for the rest of his soul, chose his habitation, his wife being dead, in our monastery, and though not made a monk, he yet lived devoutly according to our rule and order." Nevertheless these visits became often a source of great abuse, of which the directors of the cloister complained. St. Bernard writing to Hugo, a novice, who became afterwards an abbot, says, "As much as you can, my son, avoid the conversations of guests, which, while they fill the ear, empty the mind."* Men who came through curiosity to listen with learned rather than religious ears were not such welcome visitors.† St. Stephen, on being elected abbot of Cîteaux, applying himself with great zeal to preserve that fervent community in the spirit of poverty and seclusion, among other precautions provided against the visits of strangers. This shocked the duke of Burgundy, who was in the habit of holding his court in the abbey, and in consequence he withdrew the alms which had been its only support. The holy abbot however persevered with courage, and was at length abundantly consoled by the arrival of St. Bernard and his companions. In Italy the visits of the rich became so unreasonable and troublesome, that an abbot writing to Peter of Blois expresses his intention of abdicating his office in consequence. "Quid de hospitalitate dicam, quæ merito hostilitas potius quam hospitalitas censeretur?"‡ Peter of Blois, however, in reply, advised him to think no more about abdicating, but to put a stop to abuses, and to observe moderation. The rule of Fontevrauld says, "If the king or queen, the dauphin, or other royal princes or founders should desire to enter the monastery and no entreaties can dissuade them, let them enter, but with as few attendants as possible: but let them not attempt to pass the night within, if they wish to avoid the sentence of excommunication."§ The old kings of France being used to hold their court at St. Denis, where they had a palace, at the four solemn festivals of the year, King Robert promised the monks that henceforth neither he nor his successors would celebrate the great festivals there, in order not to disturb the service of the monks, who used to be troubled by the presence of their courts. It appears also from a charter of Henry III., count of Champagne, in 1271, that Count Thibaud, one of his predecessors, had given up the right of gîte in the abbey of Lagny, in order to please the monks, who paid him in return the annual sum of one hundred livres.*

Examples, moreover, were not wanting of the visits of great men to monasteries with an intention of ungratefully requiting their hospitality by plundering them. Herluin, chancellor of the duke of Normandy, and Raoul de Traci, came to Ouches, and received hospitality in the convent of the confessor St. Evroul. "In their simplicity," says Orderic Vitalis, "the monks, overjoyed at the arrival of such great personages, rendered to them all manner of duties. They led them familiarly into their chapels, and oratories, and private chambers, and showed them the shrines and relics of the saints, which were till then preserved in secret. These lords viewed apparently with respect the sacred objects, and withdrew after making their presents and prayers; but soon after, as the Chaldæans in Jerusalem, they returned with a troop of brigands, and cruelly carried off the vases, books, relics, and all the precious objects of the church of God."† Christiern II., king of Denmark, was received to hospitality with all kindness into the monastery of Nydalens, called Newvale, on the day of the Purification. He took occasion to seize the abbot, with seven monks, after they had said mass, and tying their hands behind their backs he caused them to be flung into the river; and when the abbot by natural strength succeeded in breaking the cords and in gaining the shore, he was slain by the king's satellites.‡ What Cicero said of a whole province, that "if the Romans wished to maintain utility in war and dignity in peace, it should be defended not only from calamity but even from the fear of calamity,"§ being generally admitted as a principle to guide all nations in regard to every separate religious house, it followed that monasteries, during times of war, received numbers of fugitives who sought an asylum. Not to speak of the numerous population attracted permanently by the peace which reigned round them, many towns and even cities owing their origin to their neighbourhood, we must, therefore, make mention here of the guests who came to them for a time to escape the desolations of war. The site of monasteries was often a protection. On the invasion of

* Epist. 322.
† Sul. Sever. Dialog. iii. 1.
‡ Epist. 102.
§ La Reigle de Fontes. c. vi.

* Lebœuf, xv. 71. † Lib. vi.
‡ Olai Magni Septent. Hist. Lib. viii. c. 18.
§ Pro lege Manilia.

the Danes in 1013, the abbeys of Croyland, Thorney, and Ely, owed their preservation to the heavy rains which had laid the country round under water. Orderic Vitalis says of Thorney, "There is a convent of monks, separated from all secular habitation, built in honour of St. Mary, which is celebrated for the purity of worship which God receives there. The venerable Adelwold, bishop of Winchester, built this house in the time of king Edelred, after the massacre by the Danes, in which the blessed Edmund suffered martyrdom. He transferred to it the body of St. Botulf, abbot of Ichenton. In this obscure asylum the monks were in safety while combating faithfully for God."* Under the Carlovingians, the abbeys being fortified, there was danger of kings converting them into royal palaces for their permanent abode; but when the abbeys were pillaged by the Normans, while cities were able to resist them successfully, kings found that they were more secure in the latter, and thenceforth their only constant inhabitants were the monks or the dead, as at St. Denis. Against ordinary wars, however, the monasteries proved, in most instances, a secure asylum.

During the dreadful insurrection of the north, in the reign of Henry VI., the monk of Croyland describes the alarm of the monks in that monastery hearing of the devastations committed so near them, and because the country people had brought all their treasures with them to Croyland to be in greater security, which made it a more likely prey to the invaders. The precious vessels, with the charters and monuments, were, therefore, all carefully hidden within walls. Processions issued daily from the convent, and every night, after matins and lauds, prayers and tears used to be poured out round the tomb of the most holy father Guthlac, the patron of Croyland. A watch was set also at every gate of the town, and no one was allowed either to enter or depart without leave. The adjacent ways were obstructed by great trees thrown across them in many places. Blessed be God we were not given a prey to our enemies, for that savage army passed on after having been within six miles of us. On one occasion the convent of hermits in the desert of Camaldoli run a still greater risk; for on the passage of a certain army we read that it was resolved to send a detachment to plunder it, because a quantity of corn and utensils had been sent there for safety by the people of Cesena through fear of the army. Some of the hermits in terror were preparing to fly over the high rocks of the mountains; but one of them, Petrus Teutonicus, of most holy life, exhorted them to remain, and make a solemn supplication, proceeding two by two, with the cross preceding them, when, lo! such a dense and frigid darkness came over the desert that the day was turned into black night, so that the soldiers who had begun to enter the forest fell into confusion and into the utmost horror; and it was not without great difficulty that they returned to the camp.* In 1406, when John, Duke of Burgundy, governed the country of the Morins, the English having made a sally from Calais, invaded the frontiers of Artois, and on the eve of St. Martin ravaged the suburbs of St. Omer, made prisoners the richest inhabitants, and finally rushed into the Dominican convent to pillage it; but the superior, who was a prudent man, went to meet them, and succeeded so well with his prayers that he moved the hearts of the soldiers, so that they abstained from every disorder. The superior then received them graciously into the house, gave them to eat and drink; and two hogshead of wine which Count John had lately sent them, were given to them to make merry on the feast of St. Martin. Four days after, to testify their gratitude, they sent back to the convent twelve gold nobles called of the rose, which was equivalent to 131 francs; and, moreover, for the sake of the good monk, spared the village of Bosselart, which they had resolved to burn to ashes.†

During the middle ages many such scenes occurred that might have reminded one of Ulysses giving wine to the Cyclops—

Κύκλωψ, τῆ, πίε οἶνον, ἐπεὶ φάγες ἀνδρόμεα κρέα

Take compassion on us and rage not so madly,

οὐ δὲ μαίνεαι οὐκέτ' ἀνεκτῶς.

Thus did barbarous soldiers receive and drink the monks' wine, and rejoice greatly, drinking it, and call upon them for more, saying, "Our land indeed produces wine, but this is an emanation of Ambrosia and Nectar."‡ The convent of St. Catherine, near Diessenhofen, on the Rhine, had a

* Lib. xi.

* Annal. Camaldul. Lib. lxvi.

† Piers. Hist. des Flamands des Haut. Pont. et de Lyzel, 97.

‡ ix. 350.

narrow escape in 1460, when the army of Sigismund of Austria having been defeated in battle there, some of the soldiers, who fled into that house, proposed to set fire to it. A pious soldier, shocked at the design, threw himself on his knees before a crucifix, and after a short prayer, turning to the warriors, spoke to them with such effect that they desisted from what they had begun; then, after great exertion, he succeeded in stopping the flames. This soldier was Nicholas, who subsequently became the hermit so celebrated under the appellation of Von der Fluë; and the crucifix before which he prayed may be seen to this day in that convent.* Thus some pious soul was always near, some impression of awe was sure to be awakened in the most hostile breasts, so that many elements then conspired to preserve the peace of monasteries. While the world was agitated with a thousand disorders in consequence of the decomposition of the empire of Charlemagne, the abbey of Corby is described by one who inhabited it as a place like that Paradise from which man was ejected by the envy of the serpent; such was the peace, and order, and angelic tone of the society.†

"O who with speech of war and woes
Would wish to break the soft repose
Of such a tranquil scene?"

Yet such speech did penetrate even into the enclosures of religious men; and in one of their old chronicles there is an anecdote related which presents in a very beautiful and striking manner the contrast to which this gave rise. "A dreadful contention raged between King Theodoric and Theodebert, both swelling proudly against each other with the strength of the nations. At this time the man of God, St. Columban, with St. Magnus and others, had been received by Theodebert on their retreat from Luxeuil. Arriving on the shores of the lake of Constance, they built a cell in an ancient destroyed place called Arbona, and there awaited the result of this contest. Soon the great battle was fought near the castle of Tolbiac, in which innumerable men of both armies fell. Theodebert being conquered fled. Now it came to pass at the same hour in which the battle was fighting, that the man of God, Columban, was sitting in the forest on the trunk of a decayed tree reading a book, over which he fell asleep; and while sleeping he saw what passed between the two kings. Awaking, he called Magnus, his disciple, and told him that a bloody battle of kings was just taking place, and that much human blood was shedding. Magnus then answered and said, 'Lord father, I was lying under a pine-tree, oppressed with sleep, and it seemed to me also as if a battle was fought; and taking a staff I wished to strike Theodoric and deliver Theodebert, but a certain form forbad me, saying, It is not necessary for you to do so, since the Lord will soon avenge thy master Columban. Then awaking, I rose and hastened to declare to you this vision.' While both of them wondered at these things, Eunochus standing by, said rashly, 'My father, you ought to afford the suffrage of your prayers to Theodebert, that he may vanquish the common enemy Theodoric;' to whom blessed Columban said, 'You give a foolish counsel, and one alien from religion; for such cannot be the will of the Lord, who has commanded us to pray for our enemies.'"* How impressive is this scene! this contrast between the delights of the peace of God and the bitterness of human misery! How calm the forest, where, from branch to branch, the feathered quiristers apply their wonted art, with full joy welcoming these hours of prime, and so, unconscious of any evil, as if the universe were thrilled with love, warble still amid the leaves that to their jocund lays keep tenor! What peace too in the hearts of these monks sitting so thoughtfully as if entranced by the sweetness of their song! And then how sad to think that all the while the work of cursed hate should be so near! for hark! at long intervals, with each return of the slowly undulating air, there comes a harsh demoniac sound, deep and terrible, for which nature has no echo. It is the noise of the crimson seething plain, made up of the cry of blood, and the fierce taunt of an immortal rage, and the shrieks of scornful and unyielding wretched men hurling defiance as they die.

Tidings of war penetrated into cloisters whenever any monk arrived who had been obliged to make a journey during its continuance. To the perils which such men encountered Lupus alludes in writing to the Abbot Marcwad, saying, "We commend this novice, our runner, to your sanctity, answering in every respect to his profession, excepting that, I believe, on account of noc-

* Weissenbach Leben des Nikol, &c. 26.

† Vita S. Adalhardi ap. Mab. Acta S. Ord. Bened. Sæc. iv. 1.

* Vita S. Magni, Lib. i. c. 5. ap. Goldast. tom. i. p. ii.

turnal fears he cannot sleep alone."* In war-time monks who returned from a journey had no want of adventures to relate. Rodulph, of the Benedictine abbey of St. Tron, about the year 1000, was chosen by the other monks as a proper person to bear a message from them to the bishop of Metz respecting the unjust usurpation of Herriman, a service of some danger, as the roads were beset with hostile armies. "However, regarding," he says, "more the utility of the church than my own life, I set out; but in order not to take the public road, I joined myself to the army of Godefrey, duke of Lorraine, and Frederic, bishop of Cologne, which was advancing, as I supposed, to Verdun. Good Jesus! what did I not endure in that journey! or who could relate it! And what was I to do, a monk, and having only one attendant? If I directed my steps to a town, either the town had been already destroyed by the army, or, if it existed, I knew there was no security in it: but if I were to remain in the open fields between the armies, I had no means of contriving a roof or shelter for myself or my horses. I knew not where to procure food for myself or for them; nor did I dare to separate myself from my companion. At length, committing myself to God and to our blessed patron, leaving the army, I passed on to a little village which was half burnt down, and there was not one man left in it; but I found some women there who had fled through fear of the army; and seeing me, a monk, advance to them, they rushed to meet me, contending with each other as to which of them should give me hospitality for the night, that by my presence they might be defended from the rapine of the armed men. When I had turned into one house, immediately all the women with their boys and children that had been left in the village came crying and groaning to my hospice, dragging with them their pigs, and their cocks and hens, and all their animals; and they brought to me and my companion oat-bread and cheese, and milk for provisions, and also hay and oats for our horses: but returning, thanks to God, I took nothing from them gratis, and we lost nothing during the night. Early the next morning the army moved on, and so the good women preserved all their stock. After many hardships we reached Verdun on the tenth day; and the bishop of Metz was in the neighbourhood at a place called Dongeus; so there I delivered my letters. The reply of the bishop was favourable to us; but as there was danger lest, on my return, I might fall into the hands of Herriman, a letter was also directed to him in which the words were so modified as to admit of a double signification. Having received the letters, and the kiss of peace from the bishop, I prepared to return; but I hardly knew by what way, for I knew that Herriman had an ambush ready to intercept me. However, I passed by the castle of Brie, and took up my lodging for the night with the religious canons of the monastery of St. Peter, who had a house in the forest. Early next morning they gave me a guide, and I proceeded to the castle of Cuna, where was a cell of the brethren of the monastery of St. Hubert, and with them I passed the night. On the third day I came to the monastery of St. Hubert through a long way, and a vast and most horrible solitude. On the fourth day, being guided by a certain clerk who feared captivity no less than myself, we rode on, I know not through what passes of lofty mountains and rocky heights, and then through deep and marshy valleys, to the great exhaustion of our horses and our own anxiety, turning our ears on every side to the least sound lest we should be taken; till, at length, at dawn on the fifth day, we found ourselves at the end of that terrible desert, and the clerk pursued one way and I another. The monks of Cluny have a cell in the woods between Huye and Liege, and there I was received for the night with all humanity. On the sixth day we came to Liege, where the most pious abbot of St. James, Dom Stephen, entertained and consoled me, but warned me that Herriman had his scouts on the look out for me. I took a bold step, for I repaired to the wife of Count Gislebert, which count was joined with Herriman, and showing her the ambiguous letter, I had her permission to proceed, and no one dared to contradict her: and so monastic simplicity deluded the cunning of the woman. On arriving at our convent the brethren were astonished, and sat themselves down round me with great joy, and gazed on me as if I had returned from the tomb: and they gave thanks to God for my wonderful escape. But after a time, when the countess discovered how she had been deluded, she kindled the rage of her husband against me to such a degree that I was not safe even within the walls of our cloister; and so, fearing constantly for my life, I secretly made arrangements with Count Arnulf of Louvain that he should conduct me away in safety. He led me out

* Lupi Epist. lxx.

on the fourth of the calends of September, very sad on leaving a place so long familiar to me, and the young men in whose education I had taken such pains, and a congregation in which I had so long laboured, and which I was never likely to see again. I wept, therefore, bitterly, and so proceeded to St. Laurence, to be under the wise abbot Berenger, where, thanks to his great humanity, I was fixed and consoled by the third week of September."*

But to return to the abbey and observe the fugitives who came to it for hospitality. When Ingulphus came first to Croyland as abbot, he found there sixty-two monks, of whom four were lay brothers, besides monks of other monasteries, who were in community with the chapter of that house, and who whenever they came sat in the choir and in the refectory, and slept in the dormitory, and there would stay as long as they liked: and sometimes not till half a year or a whole year would they return to their own monasteries; for particularly in time of war or disturbance they flocked to Croyland. On this occasion there were in the house ten monks from Thorney, six from Bury, eight from Ramsey, three from Ely, nine from St. Edmund's, twelve from St. Alban's, ten from Westminster, two from St. Andrew of Northampton, fourteen from Christ Church, Norwich, fifteen from Thetford, seven from Coventry, six from St. Mary's, without York, ten from St. Mary's of Stow, six from Michelneys, and five from Malmsbury, besides daily comers and others who always lived there for the sake of security, and had obtained leave to be united with the society; for the urbanity of Croyland was such that no one was ever sent away." In much later times, when the Swede was carrying on war against the Catholics of Germany, the monks of the abbey of Einsiedelin gave hospitality at one time to three abbots and to more than thirty monks from other monasteries, who had taken refuge there.† The Count of Stolberg, in his history of Alfred, after observing that "in times of war and desolation illustrious sufferers found a sure refuge in the holy asylum of a monastery," adds, "this explains why so many princes, when restored to their thrones, showed such gratitude to them. In the day of adversity they had found there protection against their enemies, consolations in misfortune, and wise lessons; leisure to reflect upon the disorders of their past life, and new strength to resolve upon reforming it."* "The tempest of civil war," says Ingulphus, "was now hanging over the kingdom: but in order to escape a little from it during Lent, King Henry VI. came to the abbey of Croyland for the sake of devotion, to make his offerings humbly at the tomb of our holy father Guthlac. When he had tranquilly remained for three days and three nights, being much delighted with the observances of religion, he earnestly sought to be admitted into the fraternity of our monastery, and he obtained it. Soon after, in order to show his gratitude, he published a decree exempting all the inhabitants of the town of Croyland for ever from the tax-gatherers and ministers of the king." But to return to the more ordinary times of general tranquillity.

We have observed how the hospitality of the monks was often abused; but there were visitors of a different class from those we have hitherto seen, whose arrival at monasteries was an occasion of unmingled joy to their holy inhabitants, and whose presence disturbed not the tranquillity of the house of peace. Hearken to their first words:—

"We enter from this time to prove
Thy hospitality and love,
Shown toward thy meanest guest:
From land to land we would not stray;
For whither should we go away?
With thee is perfect rest."†

These are the pilgrims who used so often to come from distant countries and remain to die. Such was St. Malachi, who, as St. Bernard says, journeyed from his far distant country, the farthest Scotland, unto Clairvaux, where he died.‡ Such was Möngal, another Irishman, who made a pilgrimage to Rome, in company with his uncle Markus, a distinguished monk, and many of his countrymen. On their return over the Rhetian Alps they all took the way to St. Gall, in order to see the place where the holy Gall and so many Irishmen after him had lived and were still living. Möngal and Markus being pressed by the monks to remain, consented, and gave their horses and money, books and vestments to the abbey. Möngal, under the name of Marcellus, diminutive from his uncle Mark, was made teacher of the inner school, in which he formed many eminent men.§ These

* Chronic. Abbatiæ S. Trudonis, Lib. vii. ap. Dacher. Spicileg. vii.

† Regnier Chronique d'Einsiedelin, 78.

* Chap. iii. † Trench.

‡ Ireland used to be called Scotia Major. Martyrol. B. Notker. Pet. Lombard de Hibernia Commentarius, 34. § Eckehard in Cas.

Irish, in the ninth century, "quibus consuetudo peregrinandi jam pæne in naturam conversa est," as Walafrid Strabo says, in his life of St. Gall,* were welcome visitors to the different religious houses which they visited; and many of them never returned to their country, but remained in Italy, France, and Germany, where they became monks or hermits. In a codex of St. Gall are these lines alluding to them—

"Hi sunt insignes sancti, quos insula nostra
Nobilis indigenas nutrivit Hibernia claros,
Quorum grata fides, virtus, honor, inclita vita
Has aulas, summasque domos sacravit amœnas.
Semina qui vitæ Anglorum sparsere per agros,
Ex quis maturos convertis in horrea fructus,
Nos igitur fratres, una de stirpe creati
Hic sumus; imbecilles, miseros quos mente superba
Despicitis; proceres, mundique tumentia membra!
Cum Christi potius debetis membra videri,
Prudens hic pausat quin Gallus atque sepultus,
Ardens ignis Scotorum conscendit ad altos.
Dubslane meruit nomen, dignumque vocari.
Aunue rex Cœli me hic pro nomine Fælan,
Dubduin hos hortos fecit, quicunque requiris,
Versibus labrisque canens, qui dixit amice."†

Sometimes, however, these holy guests only remained for a season. Thus in the annals of Corby, in Saxony, we read, "This year, 1423, Nicholas, one of the hermits of the monastery of St. Gall, came to us, and was made a reader; he returned to Switzerland, and became, we hear, an abbot." We lately observed how many personages of dignity in the world visited the abbey of Mount-Cassino. Let us hear its annalist record the arrival of other guests, whose chief greatness consisted in their saintly fame. Hither, then, came St. Adalbert, bishop of the Sclavonians, having left his see by permission of the Roman Pontiff, through desire of making a pilgrimage to Jerusalem; but the abbot and prior, as if by divine admonition, dissuaded him, saying, "It is the part of a magnanimous man to avoid the perplexities of this fugitive world, sed quotidie loca nova mutare minus laudabile est. For as the inconstancy of the wintry sea is an evil to navigation, so a wandering from place to place threatens danger. To stand in one spot, and the more freely to apply to supernal things, not we, but the precepts of our ancestors and the examples of the bravest men exhort you." Moved by these words, he resolved to renounce that project, and to proceed no farther, but to conclude there the remainder of his days; though by command of the Pope he afterwards returned to the pagan people, from whom he received the martyr's crown.* Hither also came, for the sake of prayer, St. Romuald and St. Boniface, and many others of the Teutonic race: hither came Count Olibanus, by advice of St. Romuald renouncing the world, and along with him bringing fifteen horses laden with treasure, ostensibly coming to pray for a season, but in fixed resolve to remain here for ever.† Hither came the Lord Odilo, of venerable fame, from Cluny: through reverence for St. Benedict, he ascended the mountain on foot, and when, after the custom of the monastery, he had been introduced into the chapter-room, and led honourably to the abbot and brethren, after the solemn words used on the reception of such a guest, he said aloud, "Sicut audivimus ita et vidimus in civitate Domini virtutum, in civitate Dei nostri, et in Monte Sancto ejus."‡

Hither came very devoutly Hugo, the venerable abbot of Cluny, a man of celebrated life, desiring to be received with his congregation into community of prayers in life and death with the brethren.§ Hither came St. Villibald from England, which he had left ten years before, on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem.

The joy with which the monks must have welcomed the arrival of such men could only have been equalled by that of the guests themselves on entering their gates. When we find St. Thomas Aquinas seized with sickness, which appears to be mortal, at the castle of Magenza, the seat of the Count Annibal of Cecan,—at which he had stopped on his way from Naples to the council of Lyons, in order to bid adieu to his niece Frances of Aquin,—and afterwards proceeding on his journey, though inwardly persuaded that his last hour was at hand, how consoled are we to hear of his arriving at Fossa Nuovo, that famous abbey of the Cistercians, in a desert in the diocese of Terracina! In fact, he had hastened his departure from the castle, saying, "If the Lord pleaseth to give me a little strength, I shall proceed, in order that I may be found in some monastery, rather than in a secular house." On entering the abbey, after first praying before the blessed sacrament according to his custom, he passed into the cloister, which he never lived to go out of, repeating

* *Lib. ii. c. 47.*
† *Ex Cod. Sæc. x. n. 10.*

* Cap. xvii. Lib. ii.
† Id. cap. xix. Lib. ii. ‡ Cap. liii. Lib. ii.
§ iii. 51.

these words, "Hæc requies mea in sæculum sæculi." The monks were not insensible to the honour conferred on them by the arrival of such a guest. He was lodged in the abbot's apartment; and the monks would cut down and carry with their own hands the wood that was to burn in his room, thinking themselves happy if they could render any service to the holy doctor, who, as yet living, was hastening to a kingdom. They entreated him to dictate discourses on the Cantica Canticorum; but he replied, "Give me the spirit of St. Bernard, and I will comply with your request." There he died on the seventh of March, 1274, some hours after midnight, just at the dawn of day.

A scene of the same kind was witnessed in the monastery of Faventia, at Ravenna, in the year 1072, at midnight, on the octave of St. Peter's chair, when St. Peter Damian, that great star of sanctity and learning, set upon the world, closing in that house his legation with his life.* Trithemius relates another deeply interesting visit made to a religious house. St. Anselm, archbishop of Canterbury, hearing of the blessed Abbot William and the sanctity of the monks at Hirschau, turned out of his way when on his return from Rome and visited them, remaining with them fourteen days,—a man holy with the holy, a monk with monks, and an humble archbishop with the humble. St. William rejoiced to see the primate of England, whom he had so often heard spoken of as a man of God. In the midst of the brethren the holy archbishop remained like one of their number, speaking many things on the Holy Scriptures, on the observance of the monastic conversation, on the salvation of souls, and on the love of God. Often he lamented aloud his own cares, that he was drawn from a cloister to an episcopal chair; he was compelled, he said, to converse with the world. "O happy, and thrice happy, those," he cried, "who could serve God in monastic peace and solitude!" Then commending himself to the prayers of all, and giving them his benediction, he departed on his return to England, whence he came, but he never lost the memory of this visit.† Bishops, indeed, were generally glad to pay such visits, which conferred pleasure on the monks. Thus, in the annals of Corby, in Saxony, we read, "This year, 876, Luithebert, the bishop, on his journey, passed a night in our monastery, and was benignly received by Adelgarius and the whole convent." And in the records of Einsiedelin, the arrival of St. Charles Borromeo, in 1576, is noted down.

Great men in exile, and mere secular wanderers too, arrived often at the monasteries, and received hospitality during a certain space of time. In 1380, Peter II., abbot of Einsiedelin, obtained from the Emperor Winceslas a confirmation of the privilege which conferred on his abbey "the right to receive banished persons." In all ages, the Benedictines desired this "droit d'accueillir les bannis," to which they owed many illustrious visitors. The well-known compassion of all the religious orders drew many strangers to their houses: for those who could sympathise so deeply with woes they only read about, as may be witnessed in the impassioned exclamations of the poor Friar Martinus, on hearing of the sufferings of St. Elizabeth, would not be frigid comforters in presence of the unhappy. The abbey of Blandinberg, near Ghent, acquired fresh celebrity from having received, in his banishment, St. Dunstan, archbishop of Canterbury. In the abbey of Clairmarais, St. Thomas, of the same see, found an asylum; and, when lodged again in the abbey of St. Bertin at St. Omer, he remembered with pleasure that the same house had received the learned Alcuin, the great Kings Alfred and Canute, and that resplendent light of England—St. Dunstan. St. Thomas, on his way thither, having reposed for a night in Lille, the house in which he lodged still bears this inscription: "Sancto Thomæ Canturbiensi hujus ædis quondam hospiti sit laus, honor, et gloria;" and the water of its well is asked for by the peasants, with faith in Him whose martyr drank it. The abbey of Pontigny, that second daughter of Cîteaux, served as an asylum to three holy archbishops of Canterbury; St. Thomas, Stephen Langton, and St. Edmund. Many were the victims of oppression who found refuge in this house, and hence we find there this inscription:—

"Est Pontiniacus pons exulis, hortus, asylum;
His graditur, spatiatur in hoc, requiescit in illo."*

Another class of pacific visitors whose presence was hailed with an immense and holy joy was that of men intellectually great; whose genius, that cast glory on their age, was not without enthusiastic admirers under the monastic cowl. Never did such high

* Annal. Gamald. Lib. xix.
† Chronic. Hirsang.

* Gall. Christ. xii. 440.

intelligences give each other rendezvous in the palace of princes, as used to meet here. For whom now sounds the porter's bell?—there are quick steps in the cloister; the abbot smiles, to indicate the joy that will accompany the coming guest.—It is Michael Angelo who arrives!—it is Dante! or a prince philosopher perhaps, a Picus of Mirandula; or the Songster of Jerusalem, the sweetest of the poets,—Tasso! When the ponderous gates of the abbey flew open to receive such men, there were that day many glad hearts within it, though plaudits were not heard to wound its sanctity. Where did Dante find that friendly solitude which invited him, as he says, to visit ancient books?* Where did the great Buonarotti hold that silent and meditative intercourse with eternal truth? It was in some monastery among woods and mountains, to which they used to repair from time to time, seeking renovation of their spirits and peace. Learned renowned monks of distant abbeys were also welcome visitors to religious houses. Thus, in the records of Einsiedelin, the arrival of Dom Mabillon, in 1683, is noted down; as also that of Dom Calmet, in 1748.

No one being rejected, even the mere secular wanderers, like those of latter times, came to abbeys, and were received into them as guests. The Songster of Newstead himself, when at Athens, in the city of Minerva, in presence of the Parthenon, chose for his lodging the convent of Capuchins.† Count Elzear de Sabran—whose name alone brings one back to the ages of faith and heroic virtue—has left, in the tablets of Vallombrosa and Camaldoli, a memorial of the peace that he derived from inhaling the sanctity of those cloisters; and certainly, most strangely perverted must be the mind which does not regard the memory of a visit to the monasteries of Switzerland and Italy as one of its most delightful recollections. What, in fact, is more calculated to make a deep and lasting impression than the solemn music of the monks, chanting by night in the church of Vallombrosa? What more exhilarating than that new life one seems to breathe in those delicious scenes sanctified by religion, when, after escaping in the summer months from Florence to the mountains, one treads those swelling lawns when yet the tender dew strives with the sun, or takes shelter at noon within the dark primeval forests that screen that abbey? Who can forget the tolling of the matin bell at Camaldoli, so awful amidst the solitude of those Appennines! or the salutation, each day before the dawn had chased the hour of prime, by the monk entering in his long white habit, carrying his lamp, and saying with a smile, "Deo gratias!" Ah! one cannot wonder that poets of old chose to accept the hospitalities of religious men, rather than to court the invitations of the great. In Dryburg abbey resided often the moral Gower, and the philosophic Strode. In the convent of the Carmelites on that hill where Cato had his farm, and where highest God in tender mercy now shows miracles, Vida wrote his Christiad. In the Carthusian monastery, one league from Milan, Petrarch, who had a country villa near it, spent his happiest hours. "In that cloister," he says, "I enjoy at all hours of the day the pure and delightful pleasures of religion; the gates are always open to me; but I am resolved not to lodge there, lest I should give trouble to others in seeking my own pleasure. In this happy retreat I draw consolation from my pious monks. Their conversation is not brilliant, but it is innocent and holy; their repasts are not inviting, but in their company there is perfect freedom; while their prayers will be my great comfort, both in life and at my death."

Finally, for it would be endless to proceed with instances, to the monastery of St. Onufrio Tasso came, in his last hours, when he felt that he was never to leave it more. Seized with mortal sickness, at the moment when the triumph of the laurel-crown was to have been conferred upon him, he caused himself to be removed to this monastery, where all his thoughts were fixed on God. On the arrival of Cardinal Cinthio with the pope's benediction, he exclaimed, "This is the crown with which I hope to be crowned, not as a poet in the Capitol, but as a child of the Church in heaven."

So here, in conclusion, we discern that not in vain were made these visits to the monasteries of the middle ages, where men found that for which their hearts perhaps so long had yearned,—edification and peace. "Alas! but you astonish me," exclaims the youth who receives a stranger coming as a suppliant to the temple in the ancient tragedy, "that your eyes should overflow with tears, thus moistening your gentle cheeks on beholding the chaste oracle of

* *De Vulgari Eloquentia.*
† *Michaud, Correspond. de l'Orient.*

Apollo; all others, as soon as they see the vaults of the god, are filled with joy,—and you must weep!" "It is not strange that I should weep," was the reply, "for I applied my thoughts to an ancient remembrance: my mind was at my home, and not here." The suppliant, who came devoutly to the sanctuaries of Christian peace, could not so easily stand aloof to cherish the remembrance of even the dearest things domestic: his tears were only of repentance not of ecstasy.

"'How much,' say'd he, 'more happie is the state
In which ye, father, here doe dwell at ease,
Leading a life so free and fortunate,
From all the tempests of these worldly seas,
Which tosse the rest in daungerous disease;
Where warres, and wreckes, and wicked enmitie,
Doe them afflict,—which no man can appease.'"*

Such were the impressions of Petrarch when he visited the Carthusian monastery of Montrieux, and found there his brother Gerard become a perfect anchorite, disengaged from every thing upon earth, consummate in piety, and longing for the joys of heaven. "I blushed," he says, "to behold a younger brother, and my inferior, now risen so far above me. At the same time, what a subject of joy and glory to have now such a brother!"

George Vasari, in a letter to Giovanni Pollastro, describes his own affliction, amounting almost to madness, on the death of Duke Alexander, and the consolation he derived from a visit to Camaldoli. "I verily believe that had I persevered long in the same course, it would have brought me to an untimely end. But it was by you, my dear Master Giovanni,—blessed be God for it a thousand times!—it was by your means that I was conducted to the hermits of Camaldoli; and it was impossible for me to have been conducted to a fitter place to bring me to my proper senses, because I passed my time in a way that did me infinite service: for, by communing with these holy hermits, they, in the space of two days, worked such an alteration in my mind for my good and my health, that I began to be sensible of my former folly, and the madness with which I had been blinded. But now, it is in this chain of lofty mountains of the Appennines, beautified by the straight fir-trees, that I am made to feel the high value of a life of peace. Here these holy hermits have their abode together, leaving the vain world below them, with a fervent spirit elevated to God. I have seen and conversed for an hour with five old hermits, neither of them under eighty years of age, and who are strengthened to perfection by the Lord; and it seemed to me as if I had heard the discourse of five angels of Paradise." Then, after a pause, returning to his pagan images, he says, "If there had been a Camaldoli, Lysander would have been enabled to get rid of that deep melancholy which preyed upon his strong mind during his latter years."

And now, having observed the guests in all their variety of character, what are we to think of these monastic receptions? As a French historian takes occasion to demand, in alluding to that papal court which derived its brightest luminaries from the cloister, Where will you find a house in modern times where the Church, the Christian monarchy, Theology, Philosophy, History, Poetry, Painting, and Music, send thus, day after day, their representatives? Where even the human soul, as if already passionless and escaped from all its fleshly bonds, comes to substitute the substance for the hope; and to enjoy, in present reality, what is of faith,—the communion of saints?

But we must leave it to the chronicles of the middle age to describe the guests of this last and highest order, who came to monasteries to salute the sons of peace within them, and receive from that sweet interchange of holy looks, a profound and mystic consolation. "When the king St. Louis," says one of these, "was at Rome on his pilgrimage, having heard the renown of brother Giles, who was then residing at Perugia, he took the road to that city in order to see him. Being arrived at the convent of the Friar Minors, without being recognised, travelling as a pilgrim, he begged the porter to permit him to speak to brother Giles. The brother who had charge of the gate invited him to wait, and proceeded to look for Giles, who had a sudden revelation that it was the king of France, and under this impression he descended, and threw himself on his knees at the feet of the holy king, while the king, in like manner, knelt before Giles, and having kissed and embraced each other with many signs of mutual charity, they separated in silence, without either of them uttering a word. While these two devout souls were thus united in spiritual content, the porter asked one of the strangers who

* Spenser, vi. 9.

was that pilgrim that had embraced brother Giles with so much familiarity, and he answered, that it was Louis, king of France, who was come for the purpose of seeing the good father, being on a visit to the holy places of Rome. The friars, hearing of the circumstance, were displeased at the little ceremony with which brother Giles had received this great king, and expressed their surprise that he should have committed such a fault. 'My brethren,' replied Giles, 'be not troubled at what has happened. The king is content with me, as I am with him; and be not astonished that we have not exchanged a word with each other, for our discourse was mute; and know that while we embraced, the divine light revealed to each of us the interior of the other's heart: and having fixed the eyes of our souls upon that eternal brightness in which all things are beheld clearer than in themselves, we have spoken to one another, although we used no words.' The friars remained astonished and confused at this reply, beating their breasts for having so rashly judged an action so holy."

To enjoy this mute discourse, this ineffable communion of inspired hearts, this participation of eternal brightness, this supernatural, divine contentment, the visitors to monasteries often avowedly came. For hear a memorable example. One day a pilgrim entered the abbey of Corvo, and stood in silence before the monks. After some time, one of them demanded what he wished and what he sought there? The stranger, without answering, contemplated the arcades and the columns of the cloister. The monk asked him again what he desired, and what he was seeking? Then he slowly turned his head, and looking upon the monk and his brethren, replied, "Peace." Struck with the word, his tone, and manner, the monk took him aside, and after a few words, understood that it was Dante who stood before him. Then he, drawing a book from his breast, gave it to him graciously, and said, "Brother, here is a part of my work, with which perhaps you are not acquainted. I leave you this remembrance." "I took the book," adds the monk, "and after pressing it to my heart, opened it in his presence with great love, expressing, however, my surprise that he should have written in the vulgar tongue. In reply, he adduced many things, full of a sublime passion, in praise of the people, and to the disparagement of the nobles of our time." What seekest thou, stranger? Peace.

In the next chapter we shall see how many others came with the same object, and how divinely their best wishes were fulfilled.

CHAPTER XIII.

"WHENCE come ye, friends?" The poet fancies what the monk beheld. Alas! "I cannot name all that I read of sorrow, toil, and shame on your worn faces; as in legends old, which make immortal the disastrous fame of conquerors and imposters, the discord of your hearts I in your looks behold. Whence come ye? From pouring human blood forth on the earth? Speak! Are your hands in slaughter's sanguine hue stained freshly? Speak then! Whence come ye?" A youth made reply,

Wearily, wearily, o'er the boundless deep
We sail. Thou readest well the misery
Told in these faded eyes; but much doth sleep
Within, which there the poor heart loves to keep,
Or dare not write on the dishonoured brow.
Even from our childhood have we learned to steep
The bread of slavery in the tears of woe,
And never dreamed of hope or refuge until now."*

Such words spake the convertites when first they reached the portals which received them to religious peace. Such were their recollections of the world they were leaving, and such their experience on catching the first glimpses of a better. The change, though so complete, was often already consummated when they first came, for it was the previous conversion of their hearts to God which had made them resolve to assume the cowl of Benedict, or to gird themselves with the cord of St. Francis. Their voices, therefore, as we are led towards them, may be the echo of that chorus of spirits of which the same poet so beautifully sings,

"Changed is our mind
Which was late so dusk, and obscure, and blind:
Now 'tis an ocean
Of clear emotion,
A heaven of serene and mighty motion.

"Years after years,
Through blood and tears,
And a thick hell of hatreds, and hopes, and fears,
We waded and flew,
And the islets were few
Where the bud-blighted flowers of happiness grew.

"Our feet now, every palm,
Are sandall'd with calm,
And the dew of our wings is a rain of balm;
And, beyond our eyes,
The human love lies
Which makes all it gazes on Paradise."

In the beginning of this book we observed that there were men among the lost and found again for whom it was necessary that there should be places, as St. Bernard says, fit and delectable, not for rejoicing, as in the world, but for mourning the things committed in the world, where by much subtle and useful preaching of the seniors, and by much more subtle and useful examination of their conversation men might be instructed to all good,* in other words, that there are persons who must cloister them in some religious house, where holy lives must win a new world's crown, which their profane hours here have stricken down. The change of mind implied in this necessity, constituting the conversions which we are now about to consider, though deemed unintelligible by the blind world, remains a psychological fact, the existence of which, history places beyond all doubt or question. Could one read the hearts, known only to God, of men during the last moments that precede their death, during that twilight of life when nature makes a pause, and they lie passive and voiceless, with thoughts beyond the reaches of their souls, one would find that sooner or later the need of such mighty renovations became known to most of Adam's sinful children. But long before that hour, it has been disclosed to thousands, to men who, as the poet says, in all their enjoyment

"Have this trick of melancholy,"

and who say from the bottom of their hearts, "in omnibus requiem quæsivi, et in omnibus dolorem et laborem inveni. Non est

* Shelley.

* Epist. 418.

requies nisi in hereditate sanctorum." O melancholy! who ever yet could sound thy bottom! Oh God! Oh God! how bitter is the state of man unreconciled, unsanctified! Hearken to his cries, "woe is me —whence are we, and why are we? of what scene the actors or spectators?—evening must usher night, night urge the morrow, —month follow month with woe, and year wake year to sorrow." St. Bernard heard cries like these. "I have known men," he says, "satiated with this world, and to such a degree as to nauseate its memory. I have known them satiated with money, satiated with honours, satiated with pleasures, satiated with curiosities, and not moderately, but even to the utmost stretch of loathing satiated."* Nevertheless, the difficulty opposed to conversion might remain the same as before, for adversity and prosperity seem to present an equal obstacle to it. Therefore St. Augustin says, "for me, when I reflect on the conduct of the lovers of the world, I know not at what time preaching can be employed most seasonably to heal their mind: for when events are favourable to them, one sees them drunken with fortune; and the insolence of their pride makes them reject as fables, the remonstrances and sayings of holy men. If adversity press them, wholly occupied with what afflicts them, they think more of delivering themselves from the evil which they feel, than of taking measures against that which menaces them. The Israelites, oppressed by Pharaoh's officers, refused to pay attention to what Moses had to say to them from God. "They would not hear him," say the Scriptures, "on account of their extreme affliction, and the excess of the labour with which they were loaded." "Non acquieverunt ei, propter angustiam spiritus, et opus durissimum." A holy pope therefore said: "that it was a greater miracle to convert a sinner, than to restore a dead man to life." "He who hath not experienced the enmity of the furies," says the Greek poet and philosopher, "knows not whence are the wounds of life." The ancients thought that all unhappy men had their attending fury. The true wisdom, *πανακὴς πάντων φάρμακον ἡ σοφία*, as it was styled by one, who, alas! knew it not, with the substitution of a word, accepts the same idea, suggests the need of discovering some spot like that promised by Minerva, *πάσης ἀπήμον' ὀϊζύος*,† the need of taking some courageous irrevocable step, which may secure for ever the soul from such demoniac persecution, and concludes her address to him, who feels the power of calamity in words like those which Dante heard, when admitted to behold the suffering spirits. "Oh! this is so strange a thing, it is a great sign that God doth love thee." There are men who correspond to these first sounds of her voice, and say

> "Some great thing is to be endured or done:
> When I know what, I shall be still and calm,
> And never anything will move me more."

Then begin those terrible struggles between the demon and divine grace in human breasts, which the chronicles of the ages of faith so awfully describe. Then there is a counter voice, which says,

> "Thine own soul is changed to a foul fiend
> Through misery——
> This fiend, whose ghastly presence ever
> Beside thee like thy shadow hangs,
> Dream not to chase;—the mad endeavour
> Would scourge thee to severer pangs.
> Be as thou art. Thy settled fate
> Dark as it is, all change would aggravate."

Thus is he for a while turned back to thoughts which can delight no more, to books whose power is dead. Vainly would his winter borrow sunny leaves from any bough. He is discouraged at the immensity of the change required. "Sunt enim omnia ista ex errorum orta radicibus," as the philosopher says, "quæ evellenda et extrahenda penitus, non circumcidenda nec amputanda sunt,"* and "truly it is a great labour," as Richard of St. Victor observes, "to desert accustomed things, to leave below long familiarized thoughts, and to ascend to things celestial."† One might describe what the converts suffered, in the very language of Plato, where he says, that "the soul when its wings begin to grow, suffers in the same manner as the gums are affected with pain when the teeth first project,"‡ and illustrate it from that curious passage in which Plutarch speaks of the difficulty and disgust which is experienced at the commencement, by men who engage in philosophy before they have experience of its joys. During this middle interval, he says that they suffer much, and that many fall back in consequence. Thus Sextius, a Roman, having abandoned the honours and offices of Rome for the love of philo-

* *De Conversione*, 14. † Æsch. Eum. 893.

* Tuscul. iv. 26.
† De Contemplatione, l. Lib. ii. c. 13.
‡ Phædrus.

y, and soon after finding difficulties torments in his studies, was going to r himself headlong into the sea: he s a similar thing of Diogenes, the ien, when he began to give himself ilosophy. It was on a day of festive ing with the Athenians; the theatres opened, assemblies were held, dances asquerades occupied the whole night, he in a corner of the place, shut if to sleep, began to give way to usand imaginations, which greatly ned his heart, suggesting to him e was going to throw himself volun- into a laborious, strange, and savage of life, being separated from the the world and deprived of all good. these thoughts present to him, he a little mouse that came to gnaw mbs that had fallen from his great nd this gave him fresh courage, e said to himself, "What sayest Diogenes, behold a creature that es, and makes a feast upon thy s, whilst thou, coward as thou art, est that thou art not drunken and d like these men, satiated with and delicacies."* Thus St. Ephrem nts the demon entering into con- n with the Christian soul, and "What! always refuse yourself d such enjoyment! How long will ment yourself with these desires! Christian resisting his suggestions iderations drawn from the goodness the shortness of human life, and portance of eternal salvation.† Diffi- s still in the way, and of greater ude, so that in a spiritual sense ified the remark of a modern philo- "we have tears in this world before e smiles, Francesco! We have s before we have composure; we rife and complaints before we have sion and gratitude." For as Hugo ictor says, "there is this difference the love of the world, and the love , that the former seems sweet in inning, but proves bitter in the hile the latter begins from bitter- it has sweetness for its end."‡ Dis- ment, therefore, in the first stages new life ensues. The combat seems ten, but it is only because every that fashions and upholds, works . Consideration, like an angel and as the poet says,

"Whips out the offending Adam."

Then his resolutions become fixed to feed his eyes no more on vanity.

"O let me not," quoth he, "then turne againe
Backe to the world, whose joyes so fruitlesse are,
But let me here for aie in peace remaine."

In fine, his wish becomes that which is so beautifully expressed by Shirley,

"There is a sun ten times more glorious
Than that which rises in the east, attracts me
To feed upon his sweet beams, and become
A bird of Paradise, a religious man,
To rise from earth, and no more to turn back
But for a burial."——

Some may be offended on hearing of his choice, but all his true friends answer,

—— "O let him pass! he hates him
That would upon the rack of this tough world
Stretch him out longer."

It would be difficult in this frigid atmosphere which now encompasses us, to conceive the meek and holy joy which the recital of such conversions excited in ages of faith: "Gloria in excelsis Deo," exclaims St. Anselm, when he hears that his ancient friend Rodulf has become a monk, "glory be to God in the highest, who gives a good will to men on earth, 'qui in terra dat hominibus bonam voluntatem;' whose right hand hath changed according to my desire, the will of my beloved friend from the vanity of the world, which profits no one, but injures all who love it, to truth which never injures any one, but which profits all who seek it."*

Of the successive scenes of this great drama within human breasts, it is not for my pen to trace even a faint outline. What was the discourse which worked such miracles, can be learnt best perhaps hereafter, when we come to converse with the monks. Expressly suited sometimes to the professed enemies of peace, their words resembled those of Spenser.

"Henceforth the suitt of earthly conquest shoune
And wash thy hands from guilt of bloody field:
For blood can nought but sin, and wars but sorrow yield."†

Their exhortations, however, to embrace a monastic life, are chiefly founded upon the great truths, the appreciation of which moves men to a sense of religion in general, as when with St. Jerome they say, "if you

ow to perceive one's Prog." † Orat. 1.
Arca Morali, Lib. i. 1.

* Epist. 11. 10. † i. 10.

had the wisdom of Solomon, the beauty of Absalom, the strength of Samson, the wealth of Crœsus, the power of Augustus, what would it all avail you, when your flesh would be consigned to worms, and your soul to demons?" As when they tell men to address themselves in the words of Peter de Roya, who says, "O Peter, the things in which you delight are of the world. There will be a time when they will not be, but you will be."* And as when they entreat them to conclude with St. Augustin, "terrena calcare, cœlestia sitire." Which do you wish, they ask with him another time, to love temporal things, and to pass with them, or to love Christ, and with him to live for ever? But can I not love him in the world? some will say, to whom the monk replies as the spirit did to Dante, heaving forth a deep and audible sigh, "brother the world is blind, and thou in truth com'st from it."† "It is true," as Richard of St. Victor says, "that in the sterile and arid desert of the world, the devout soul, while it labours for true joy, can fructify this barren soil, and bring forth even there something that will remain."‡ But esteem not yourself to be of such perfection that you can associate with those who keep in the broad, while you walk in the narrow way."

Then turning to depict the vanity of the former, they appeal to the calamities of life, and say to the sufferer, "thou most beauteous inn, why should hard-favour'd grief be lodged in thee? Et nunc quid tibi vis in via Ægypti, ut bibas aquam turbidam? et quid tibi cum via Assyriorum, ut bibas aquam fluminis?" If it were ever so delightful, as St. Bernard says, "the world passes, et relinquere magis expedit quam relinqui." Of the rapid and imperceptible flight of time, even poets of the world, they add, remind you, when like Guillaume de Lorris, the Ennius of France, they remark, how, in a moment, three times are already past,

> "Le tems que s'en va nuit et jour
> Sans repos prendre et sans séjour:"

which made the Gentile say,

> τὰ θνητὰ δ' οὐ νῦν πρῶτον ἡγοῦμαι σκιὰν,
> οὐδ' ἂν τρέσας εἴποιμι τοὺς σοφοὺς βροτῶν
> δοκοῦντας εἶναι, καὶ μεριμνητὰς λόγων,
> τούτους μεγίστην μωρίαν ὀφλισκάνειν.§

* *S. Bern. Epist.* 441. † Purg. xvi.
‡ *In Cantic. Cant.* § Eurip. Medea, 1223.

"The world is called a desert, Richard of St. Victor, "either becau deserted and despised, or because it and fails in itself. For daily wit pass the joys of time, and as many days as days pass away and fail world, therefore, is always losing jo consequently the soul perfectly de such fleeting joy, and endeavours to by the desert to true and eternal jo

They conclude with moving exhor such as these of St. Jerome, "my what is it that still retains you world? You, whose fine soul is no for the world, how long will you bur self in these perishing habitations? long will you remain prisoner in cities, the worthy abodes of human v Trust me, come and join your f Come after me, and to their bal leave the crowd. "Ah, be persua me," says Petrus Cellensis, "to lea world of sorrow. The tumult will cease until we be cast upon the sho foam. Let thy mercy, O Lord, be us! What avails the ambition of h the delight of the flesh, the visiti friends and relations, the offerings jects? Is not the soul chained d these, so that it cannot fly away an celestial bliss? We must either c these, or be conquered by them. O heart, why do you fear? why do y There is nothing hard or bitter her little bark and surface. The subst sweetness and peace. O human why fear to be called back? Why t to be repaired? You are willing a willing. O heart! wanting fervou do you not hasten to the Lord of h Why do you collect all things but yo After all, however, as St. Bernard "the conversion of souls was the wo of a human, but of a divine voice, hearing which no labour was nece since the labour wanting was rat deafen the ears, that they might no it."‡

Goërres has devoted one portion great work to a treatise on the call in the middle ages to a monastic which we shall presently relate ins I shall take care not to involve my the mysterious depths of this subj inquiring how this call was mad whether the result was spontaneous fruit of that consideration to which th

* In Cantica Cant. † Lib. 2. Ep
‡ De Conversione, l. 2.

ascribes the expulsion of what offends, or, involuntary, the consequence of those peculiar graces which St. Augustin says God gives, without being excited by any previous disposition on our part. In either case, that Angel whose name expresses cure of God, and he who, according to St. Thomas, is the breath of the spirit of the Saviour which is to kill Anti-Christ, contributed to the work, assisted doubtless by those who dissipate the darkness of spirits, who have received from God the charge of guarding men, who have joy on the conversion of sinners, who led Lot from the midst of the reprobate, and who hereafter will make the final separation between the just and the unjust. The visible causes which led men to enter monasteries were many and various. As Cæsar of Heisterbach observes, "Conversion sometimes precedes and sometimes follows contrition."* "For some," he adds, "are led from the first by the sole vocation of God, of whom Petrus Sutorus, the Carthusian, says—

"Sunt qui blanditiis, sunt qui terrore vocantur:
Et tamen hos omnes spiritus unus agit.
Blanditiis Simon, flammis et fulgore Paulus,
Qui fuit ex acri fulmine pulsus equo."†

Whereas many who end well begin through an unworthy motive; for "others," says Cæsarius, "enter monasteries by the instinct of the malignant spirit, as those who come to steal, or to entice away some brother. Some are moved by a certain levity of mind; many by the ministry of others, that is, by the word of exhortation, the virtue of prayer, and the force of example. Necessity draws innumerable; as for instance, sickness, when men recover after a vow; poverty, when they seek a retreat; captivity, shame at others' faults, danger, fear, the prospect of doom hereafter, or the desire of the celestial country," all which he illustrates by examples.‡ Then as to the form of conversion: "Some," he says, "come with pomp and troops of friends; others alone with humility. A knight named Walevanus came to Hemmerode, entered the cloister on horseback, armed cap-a-pie, and, as our seniors, who were present, related to me, going up through the middle of the choir, in presence of all the wondering brethren, offered himself before the altar, placed his arms upon it, and then demanded the habit. Afterwards, through humility, he became a lay brother. Abbot Philip of Otterburg, on the contrary, being of noble parents, chose a different mode, as a canon of Utrecht who was present told me. Being converted at Paris during his studies, he left the school secretly, and being handsomely dressed, as became a youth of his condition, he changed clothes with a poor scholar whom he met on the way. On arriving at the abbey of Bonavallis, he applied for admission, but the brethren seeing his worn cap and old clothes, esteemed him one of the wandering scholars, and were very near rejecting him."* Many clerks who come to monasteries follow this latter mode, and pretend through humility to be laics, and ask permission to tend the flocks.†

Certainly put what construction one will upon the motives, it is a wonderful page in the history of mankind which records the conversions of men to a monastic state during the ages of faith. Let us in the first place only observe who were the men. To such a question Valentio, a Benedictine monk, is represented answering thus:—

"To fashion my reply to your demand
Is not to boast, though I proclaim the honours
Of our profession: Four emperors,
Forty-six kings, and one and fifty queens,
Have changed their royal ermines for our sables;
These cowls have clothed the heads of fourteen hundred
And six kings' sons; of dukes, great marquises,
And earls, two thousand and above four hundred
Have turned their princely coronets into
An humble coronet of hair, left by
The razor thus———."‡

"Dimisit comam capitis," says an ancient author of one who underwent this transformation, "et invenit coronam gloriæ; reliquit vestimenta sæcularia, et suscepit stolam candidam; reliquit pompam hujus mundi, et indutus est loricam fidei." In the middle ages therefore it surprised no one on visiting a monastery to find a king among the hooded heads. In the abbey of St. Medard at Soissons, the kings Eude and Raoul were abbots. In a cloister of Armagh in the eighth century might be found Flaithhertach, an Irish king, who after a prosperous and peaceful reign of seven years, abdicated the crown, and spent the remainder of his life in monastic seclusion. In the monastery of Iona might be found his successor Nial II., brother of

* Illust. Mir. Lib. ii. 1.
† De Vita Carthus. ii. iii. 7.
‡ Illust. Mir. Lib. i. 5.

* Illust. Mir. Lib. i. c. 38. † Id. i.
‡ Shirley, The Grateful Servant.

Hugh Allan IV., who in 734, after a happy reign of similar duration retired to the same religious peace. Many Irish abbeys beheld examples of this kind; and soon after the conversion of England, the Anglo-Saxon history mentions the names of more than thirty persons of both sexes, who left their thrones to consecrate themselves to God, in the solitude of a cloister. "Whatever may have been the circumstances of their time to facilitate such a measure, it cannot be denied," says the count of Stolberg, "but that such a resolution in persons of that rank proves a deep sentiment of the vanity of greatness and terrestrial pleasure,—a serious meditation on what is visible and on what is invisible, on what is perishable and on what is eternal."* In the abbey of Mount-Cassino might have been found St. Carloman, eldest son of Charles Martel, and the uncle of Charlemagne, to whom by his father's testament had fallen Austria, Suabia, and Thuringia, all which he resigned to his son Drogo; in the height of prosperity bidding adieu to the world in 785, resigning his dignity, leaving the guardianship of his children to Pepin, and retiring first to the monastery on Mount Soracte, where, being too much regarded on account of his contempt of royal majesty, he feared vain glory. So he fled thence by night with one companion, and repaired to this abbey. He applied at the gate in the usual manner, asking to speak with the abbot, and offering himself as a poor Frank, who sought to do penance for homicide. As such he was received, and here he remained long unknown,† becoming the king of obedience and humility; so that he was appointed to tend a few sheep, which he used to lead forth to pasture and back again, having on one occasion to defend them from robbers. Here he died in odour of sanctity.‡ In the same monastery might be found Rachiz, king of the Langobards. After sparing Perugia at the prayer of Pope Zacharias, he was converted by him at Rome to a religious life, with his wife Tasia, and his daughter Rattruda. Here he became a monk; and there is a vineyard which he planted near the monastery, that is called after him to this day.§ To the abbey of Prum came the Emperor Lothaire, son of Louis-le-Débonnaire, where, after making the world tremble by his arms, he made the sacrifice of himself to God, by taking the habit; and in that house he died, where Dom Martene saw his tomb in the middle of the choir. What an impressive comment on the same lesson is furnished by a walk under the doge's palace at Venice, from which so many of those great princes passed to the tranquillity of a cloister. Of the great Urseolus we shall soon speak more fully; but besides him, observe how many took the same road to peace. Ursus Badoarius II. created in 912, a most holy duke, after twenty years' reign, put on the monastic habit in the monastery of St. Felix in Amiano, where he died in odour of sanctity. Vitalis Candianus, created in 978, put on the monastic habit. Tribunus Memius, created in 979, became a Benedictine monk. Otho Urseolus, created in 1009, fled into Greece, where he wished to become a monk. Olius Malipetrus, created in 1179, the conqueror of Ptolomaide, who vanquished Saladin, after fourteen years of glorious dominion became a monk. Petro Ziani, created in 1205, after twenty-two years of glory, exchanged the ducal dignity for the habit of St. Benedict.* Such names alone impose silence; but what would be the impression if we had before us their portraits, like that by Bellini of the Doge Leonard Loredano, whose eye of fire piercing from a bony orbit, does not overcome the expression of an imperturbable religious calm? Let us hear the monastic chroniclers. "In this monastery of Villiers," says its historian, "were many convertites, noble men, who came there to perfect their conversion. There were here, Gobert, count of Asperimont, Henry de Birbac, William de Donglebiert, and Oliver, of the noble house of Sombreffe. There were also here many famous knights, who having renounced the temporal for the celestial chivalry, now clothed their limbs in the monastic habit. Franc d'Exkenna, chatelain of Montigni, the lord of Bohenem, the lords Gerard de Greis, Henry de Brein, John de Salench, John de Roist, and Walter de Riklam. These four last knights assumed the habit of convertites. Theobald, Chatellain de Courtray, and lately a bold knight, became a monk, and at the same time another renowned son of chivalry, Franc de Lachem, a convertite."† "This year, 871," says another, "Eccericus from a knight is made

* Life of Alfred, chap. iii.

† Annalista Saxo ap. Eccard. Corp. Hist. Med. Ævi, i.

‡ *Chronic. S. Mon. Casin.* c. vii.

§ *Id. c. 8.*

* Thesaurus Antiq. It. tom. v.

† Hist. Monast. Villariens. Lib. ii. Prolog. ap. Martene, Thes. Anec. iii.

rother and obedient son, formerly a
nan, ferus homo." Such is the notice
conversion in the annals of Corby in
ıy.* The origin of the foundation of
e Abbey in Northumberland, the first
ırmelite friars in these kingdoms,
nts another instance; for among the
ıh barons who went to the holy war
ıe reign of King Henry III. were
am de Vesey, lord of Alnwick, and
ırd Gray, who on visiting Mount
el, unexpectedly found there among
nonks a countryman of their own,
ı Fresborn, from Northumberland,
ıad distinguished himself in a former
de, and who was then professed in
ıolitude. When Vesey and Gray re-
d to England, they importuned the
ior of the Carmelites to let their
ryman accompany them home, which
granted upon condition that they
l found a monastery for Carmelites
ıeir own country. Soon after their
ı, Fresborn, mindful of his engage-
, began to look out for a place, and
examining all the circumjacent soli-
, he at length fixed upon this spot,
ed it is said, by the resemblance
ı the adjoining hill bore to Mount
el.

us among hooded men the red-crossed
t and once gay champion in the tilted
d might be seen walking under the
d cloister, appearing, perhaps, to
who had before known him, like de
n to Clara, on the battlements of
llon Castle, of whom the poet says—

lton himself before her stood!
night have seemed his passing ghost,
every youthful grace was lost."

dam, a monk of Lucka, told me,"
Cæsar of Heisterbach, "that there was
tony, a knight of the name of Alardus,
n of such prowess, that in his first
ament, when made a knight, he ac-
l with his own hand fourteen horses.
prudent man, ascribing the temporal
ır not to his own strength, but to God,
stored them all, and bidding adieu
companions and the world, took the
in the monastery of Lucka."† In
bbey of Bousolas in Tuscany could
ınd brother Arsene de Janson, who
becoming a Cistercian monk had
the count of Rosemberg, a famous
t, who fought at the siege of Vienna,

p. Leibnitz, Script. Bruns. ii.
lust. Mir. xi. c. 19.

at the capture of Buda, and at the great battle of Barcan, where Sobieski defeated the Ottoman army. So again, Herman, count of Zärungen, son of Bertold I., renounced his power and all his worldly splendour, and wandered in a pilgrim's habit to the monastery of Cluny, to pray and serve God. He lived there undiscovered and in great humility; as the chronicle says, "he was made keeper of the swine of the convent, for the love of Christ; and until his death remained unknown, tending the swine."* Burchard, count of Corbeil, educated at the court of Hugues Capet, and the intimate friend of King Robert, after a life of military fame, retired to the monastery of St. Pierre-des-fossés, where he took the habit, and used to perform the office of an Acolythe.† Similarly, Robert Mowbray, earl of Northumberland, once a most valiant knight, a man of high spirit and immense possessions, came in the end to be a shorn monk in the abbey of St. Alban, where he lay buried, on the north side of the sacristy, having died in the year 1106. In the convent of St. Evroul at Ouches, as we learn from William of Jumiège, might be found Robert de Grandmenil, who having studied letters in his youth, and afterwards interrupted his studies during five years, while squire to the duke of Normandy, by whom he was then knighted and loaded with immense presents, was moved by the Spirit of God to disdain all things and become a monk in this abbey, which he had rebuilt.‡ In the monastery of Corby was a young man of twenty years, employed in labouring in the garden. This humble novice, standing among the beds with the hoe in his hand, has lately been seen among the first nobles in the palace of the emperor Lewis; for this is Adalhard, who has been moved to renounce the world in disgust, by observing the injustice of the emperor in putting away his wife, through dislike of her father Desiderius.§ In the abbey of Einsiedelin in the ninth century might be seen St. Gerold, duke of Saxony, who had left all things to become a monk there, and his two sons, who had followed his example, and who remained there till their death. In the abbey of Préaux, as Orderic Vitalis relates, might be found Roger de Beaumont, a wise and modest nobleman, who had always been faithful to the dukes

* Chron. Hirsaug. 1062.
† Lebœuf, Hist. du Diocèse de Paris, xi. 164.
‡ Lib. vii. 23.
§ Vita S. Adalhardi Mab. Act. S. Ord. Ben. iv.

of Normandy, and who bowed his head under the monastic yoke in this convent, which his father Onfroi de Vieilles had founded on his own estate.*

Helinand, whose verses on death were so celebrated, was a nobleman, remarkable for his beauty, and skill in all chivalrous accomplishments. He became a monk at Frigid Mont, and paints himself, in writing to Walter, in these words: "Lo! he is made a spectacle to angels and to men, who before was a spectacle of levity: for no scene, no circus, no theatre, no amphitheatre, no forum, no gymnasium, no arena, resounded without him. You have known the man Helinand,—if indeed, a man,—for he seemed not so much a man born to labour, as a bird born to flying; running round and perambulating the earth, seeking whom he might devour, either by adulation or defiance. Lo! in a cloister is now enclosed the man to whom the world seemed not only like a cloister, but even a prison. No one would believe that he could be converted at the age of fifty. Yet such was the example he gave the world."†

In the abbey of Croyland, at one time, was seen an abbot who was a man of royal blood, and who had inherited from his father sixty manors and vast riches. This was Turketel, who had renounced all the pleasures of the world for the divine worship, and who became a monk there, as Orderic Vitalis relates.‡

In this monastery of Hirschau, says Trithemius, there were many who before entering religion had been of great name and ample dignity in the world, of lofty blood and great riches; and there were others who had sprung from rustic and poor parents. Yet the utmost love bound them altogether in charity. All followed one mode of living: the gentle were not preferred to the servile convertite; nor could blood usurp any place of honour among monks, but only virtue; for, whether servant or free, all were one in Christ Jesus. Such was the attraction of sanctity here, that glorious dukes, counts, and sons of nobles, despising all that they possessed, came here to keep company with the poor of Christ, and conformed themselves, in all humility, to the one pattern, as if they had been before sons of beggars.§

The chronicle of the abbey of Monte Sereno, after relating many passages in the secular life of the prince of the country, in these words makes mention of his end: "In 1156, this Conrad, marquis of Misnia, by divine grace, considering the uncertainty of his life, and fearing lest he should fall with a falling world if he remained in it, resolved to leave it, and so assumed the regular habit, embracing poverty for the love of Christ; whose devotion and aspect extorted tears from all the princes who were present to witness such a change in such a man."

When we hear the circumstances of conversions we shall meet with many more remarkable instances. At present I shall only observe, that the mendicant orders which arose in the thirteenth century, in like manner received into them many high and potent lords, who preferred to their grandeur in the world the cord which now girded them. How many illustrious nobles and princes of Italy became minor friars! Wadding distinguishes among them William and Barnabas, nephews of the marquis of Malespina; Bonaventura, count of Monte Dolio; Simon de Battifolio, count of Puppio; Boniface, son of Count Raynerius da Depnonaco, of Pisa; Bandino, count of Santa Flora; Albertuccio, count of Mangona; Tondellino, count of Gangalanda; Lewis, son of Count Bandino da Monte Granello: and then he says, "If so many nobles entered this order from Tuscany alone, what numbers must not have come to embrace it from the other provinces of Italy, as also from Spain, France, and Germany!"* The number of noble youths converted by the preaching of St. Francis alone, and who became his companions, renders vain all attempt at a general enumeration. Blessed Dionysius, the Carthusian, remarks the same fact generally in respect to all orders in his time, and says, "Do you not see how many elegant, learned, rich, and noble youths every day desert the world, and all that they possess, in order to enter a monastery and remain in it for ever?"†

But why, it may be asked, have we been so careful to observe the rank and worldly condition of these convertites who came seeking peace? We shall remain longer perhaps surveying the return of others; but the monks themselves did not disdain to notice the nobility of the great men who joined them. "God, indeed," says St. Bernard, "is not an acceptor of persons;

* *Lib.* viii.
† *Bulæus, Hist.* Universit. Paris, tom. ii.
‡ *Lib. iv.* § Chronic. Hirs.

* Ann. Min. tom. v.
† B. Dion. Carthus. de Convers. Peccat. Lib. vii.

rtheless, virtue in a nobleman—I know how—pleases more: is it perchance it is more conspicuous? True it is, a person not noble, wanting glory, ıot so easily make it appear whether it ecause he is unwilling to have it, or ber he is unable. I praise a virtue ccessity, but still more that which free- chooses than that which necessity ires."* In withdrawing kings from lar pomp, and knights from the warfare ıe world, God seemed to triumph more ously, casting down such chivalry into sea of contrition and penitence. In converts of this kind were often the t perfect; as was remarked by Hugo t. Victor, for he says, "It is detestable the poor should be delicate where the is laborious and abstemious; which we often find to be the case: for many, roportion as they were more noble and cate in the world, live in the monastery ıuch the more in an abject and strict ıner; and many, in proportion as they e more abject and poor, so much the e seek they to be exalted and delicate he monastery."† The monk of Cluny s a memorable instance, for he says, e have seen Hugo, formerly duke of gundy, and afterwards standard-bearer he spiritual warfare; who used to grease shoes of the brethren, and so to hum- himself that the lowest persons used e amazed to see such a prince beneath r feet."‡ Tacitus says that the habit mbition is the last garment that the e throws off; and Pericles went farther , for he said that the love of honour er grew old—Τὸ γὰρ φιλότιμον ἀγήρων "That passion," he says, "is always ng; and in the extremity of old age it ot gain, as some say, which delights ı, but the being honoured."§ What ı, would have been the astonishment hese great thinkers of antiquity if they ld have seen the duke of Burgundy ı the Cluniac monks? For, let it be embered, when such men withdrew to sters from the stormy scene of a dis- lant world, it was not with the mind ıchilles, who, though removed from the le, still longed for it—Ποθέεσκε δ' αὐτὴν πόλεμόν τε.‖ The convertites were not, he moderns suppose, always ready at ord to reassume their former exercises; asily excited as Ulysses, who, on being taunted by Euryolus, declares that he will engage in the games, adding,

θυμοδακὴς γὰρ μῦθος· ἐπώτρυνας δέ με εἰπών.

All whose enthusiasm returns in an instant:—

*δεῦρ' ἄγε, πειρηθήτω· ἐπεί μ' ἐχολώσατε λίην, ἢ πυξ ἠὲ πάλη ἢ καὶ ποσίν.**

"I am no unworthy combatant when it is a trial of strength; I know well how to bend the bow; I am the first to strike, aiming the arrow against the crowd, though there be many others at my side who can direct them well; and I affirm that among the present generation I have no equal." The convertite, wrapped up in his sable weeds, had no disguise to throw off thus, no desire lurking in his heart such as the Homeric hero proclaimed with so much emphasis, that he might be once more what he was before he wore the cowl, when he stormed cities with harness on his back.† Alluding to his changed condition, he would not have said with a sigh, like him described in the Last Minstrel's Lay, "I was not always a man of woe!" That he was not always holy and pacific as he had then become, was the source of his lamentations: the feeling with which he looked back upon his former years was not that expressed by Octavian de Saint-Gelais in the stanzas which conclude,—

"Adieu, maisons nobles et les beaulx lieulx,
Où j'ay passé ma première jouvence,
Quant je vivois en mondaine plaisance."

But it was rather that described by Dante, when he says,—

"And as a man, with difficult short breath,
Forespent with toiling, 'scap'd from sea to shore,
Turns to the perilous wide waste, and stands
At gaze; e'en so my spirit, that yet fail'd,
Struggling with terror, turn'd to view the straits
That none hath pass'd and liv'd."‡

Baptist of Faensa, the celebrated convertite, who, from being a ferocious soldier, became a Capuchin, on one occasion going out to beg alms in Faensa, and carrying a wooden cross in his bosom, according to his custom, a certain young nobleman began to accuse him for so doing as a hypocrite; to whom Baptist meekly answered,

Epist. cxiii. † Institut. Monasticæ.
Bibliothèque Clun. 459.
Thucyd. ii. 44. ‖ Il. ii.
* Il. viii. † xxiv. ‡ Hell. i.

"Why do you censure me so severely? If I carried so many years in my bosom the weapons of the demon, with which I perpetrated so many crimes, why do you condemn me for now, though late, carrying in it the image of Christ?"* The historian of the abbey of Villiers dwells on another instance in point. "The pious Gobert," he says, "proposed in his heart to forsake the sterile warfare for God; and not a second time after this did he look back with the eyes of his mind or of his flesh. Thus was this man converted,—once so powerful in all virtue according to the world, most noble in the antiquity of his race, robust in body, tremendous in aspect, terrible in word, a famous count. Thus did he withdraw himself from the embraces of the world, and deserve to approach to the way of true and perfect safety. And in this beginning of his conversion the Illuminator of all nations so enlightened his heart, that he regarded with the utmost contempt that excellence of the most illustrious nobility which had been transmitted to him by blood; so that, despising all that was lofty, like a poor stranger he took refuge in this abode of the poor of Christ. This man, elect of God, weighing and estimating worldly warfare and all the glory of the world to be but as dust before the face of the wind, learned to despise all that was of the world, as if it had been written in his heart what St. Augustin says, 'Mundus clamat Deficiam, diabolus clamat Destruam, caro clamat Tradam, Deus clamat Reficiam.' Therefore, as he had exercised secular warfare, so now he began to embrace the spiritual warfare; that as with delight he had militated for the world, so now with devotion he might militate for God. Being desirous of associating himself with monks of the Cistercian order, he proceeded to the monastery of Villiers, where the whole chorus rejoiced on his arrival; and, after a year spent with them in holy discipline, he became a monk there. Then did he love and humbly revere all the brethren, in God and for God; and knowing that pride was the root of all evil, he became mild and humble of heart. A wise dissembler, he studied to conceal whatever virtue he daily practised, fearing as if to be plundered unless that treasure was concealed. Being now rich in Christ, he despised the world, and of a lion became a lamb. He was sad with those that were sad, he consoled them and assisted them; giving offence to no one, constant in prayer, cheerful in fastings, fervent in the divine offices, being filled with all charity, and clothed with the marriage garment."*

That these conversions generally were thus complete and durable, we have innumerable testimonies to prove; but we should observe also that the pictures given of them by the modern writers represent exceptional instances, against which the Church had expressly provided by the most severe censures. The council of Nice decreed ten years of penance to those who should resume the belt of warfare, after having laid it aside in a monastery; so that some novices, during the first year of their probation, did not lay aside their secular dress, that, if at the end they should wish to return to the world, they might not be involved in this sentence.† But it is not enough to ascertain the rank and position in the world which these convertites occupied before coming to the monastery. Methinks one would gladly hear what were the circumstances which led them first to turn their eyes towards it, as to a port of safety. Such men indeed love not to burden their remembrance with a heaviness that is gone; yet, if we question them, each will answer, "I do not shame to tell you what I was; since my conversion so sweetly tastes, being the thing I am." Let us, then, hear them speak, for their history will be enough to make us fools in an instant deep contemplative. They might commence it in the words of Dante:—

"O fond anxiety of mortal men!
How vain and inconclusive arguments
Are those which make thee beat thy wings below.
For statutes one, and one for aphorisms
Was hunting;
To rob, another; and another sought,
By civil business, wealth; one, moiling, lay
Tangled in net of sensual delight;
And one to wistless indolence resign'd:
What time, from all these empty things escap'd
With others, I thus gloriously
Was rais'd aloft, and made the guest of heav'n."‡

Some of these narratives are quickly told. Theobald, a venerable man of the Cistercian order, nobly born, by chance seeing St. Bernard, immediately left all and followed him.§ Henry, the eldest brother of King Louis VII., who enjoyed

* *Annal. Capucinorum.* ad an. 1562.

* Hist. Monast. Villar. ap. Martene Thes. Anec. iii. † Mabil. Præfat. iv. sæc. 7.
‡ Par. xi.
§ Hist. Prælator. Monast. de Fontanis, ap. Dacher. Spicileg. x.

' ecclesiastical dignities, while that
ırch was on the crusade, coming one
› Clairvaux to consult with St. Bernard,
ssed a wish to see also the monks and
ımend himself to their prayers. The
who always took care in his con-
tion with guests to suggest some
ıry advice for their salvation, after
ıding the affair of business, turned
liscourse to spiritual matters, and
l, "I trust in God that you will not
ı the brilliant condition which you
occupy, and that you will experience
ıseful are the prayers which you have
been demanding of the brethren."
›rediction was fulfilled the same day:
oung prince resolved from that hour
ısecrate himself to God; and, sending
his guards and the troop of gentle-
who accompanied him, he remained
airvaux, renouncing all his benefices.
›ompany of young gentlemen came to
raux on one occasion through curiosity
e the holy Abbot St. Bernard, of
ı fame reported such great things.
ıs then Shrovetide; and they, being
e heat of youth, sought out a place
the church to run at the ring, to
ise themselves in arms, and such like
tainments. The saint entreated them
› do so; but they would not listen to
He then commanded beer to be
ht out and given them to drink; but
rst blessed it. Scarcely were they
out of the monastery, when, moved
ıew spirit, they began to talk amongst
ıelves of the world, of its deceits and
ırs. Presently, without delay, they
gether, with one mind and will, re-
d to the monastery, and with great
lity begged to be admitted into it;
with great courage and patience,
ıg through many labours, they glori-
persevered in the order.
ılbero, a young clerk of Constance,
› train of Godefrid, duke of Bouillon,
to the abbey of St. Hubert with the
to meet by appointment the Count
t of Namur; between whom there
grievous discussion respecting the
of Bouillon. Adalbero came to hear
ıussion, and he remained to enjoy
›eace, being converted by observing
ly brethren.*
ıiel de Ungrespuch was a German
ant, who used to trade with Venice.
remaining in that city he used often
to pass over in a boat to the monastery of the hermits of St. Maria de Muriano, and to spend whole hours in sweet discourse with them. He repeated these visits so often, that at length he resolved to follow the example of the men whom he so greatly loved; and in 1392 he was received amongst them as an oblat.*

Rudolf, elected abbot of St. Tron in 1107, relates his own conversion. He was born in the town on the Sambre, conspicuous for its monastery of St. Peter, built by the bishop St. Amand, where rests the glorious saint Fredegand. His parents were plebeian, but most Christian and spotless in reputation; showing great hospitality and kindness, without ceasing, to the poor. He was placed at school till his eighteenth year, and on being made subdeacon, with liberty of going where he chose, being induced through love of a certain companion, a clerk, by name Lambert, who confessed to him that he wished to become a monk at Aix-la-Chapelle, he went with him to that city, hoping to see the famous place where warm water springs out of the earth, which is near the palace there; yet nothing was then less in his mind than to become a monk. But when every night, after the manner of monks, the lives of the fathers were read to the brethren at collation, he used to hide himself in a corner, whence he could hear and understand all that was read. Neither did he do this as yet so much for the sake of edification as of merely hearing the miracles of the life of simple men, such as were there read, and of listening to the novelty of their still more simple style; but when he had attended more frequently and ardently, not so much to the rusticity of style as to the wonderful sayings and actions of the simple and holy fathers, he began to feel a great contempt for the miseries of this present life, and to ascend to a disrelish for the world; and this used to be the subject of his thoughts at night when he retired to his bed. What remains? After a few days he not only confirmed his as yet wavering companion, but took the same habit himself, together with his companion, on the same day of the conversion of St. Paul.†

"Brother Gerlac," says Cæsar of Heisterbach, "as he acknowledged to me, conceived his first design of conversion from seeing a certain monk, whom I knew well,

st. Andagenensis Monast. ap. Martene, ript. iv. 955.

* Annal. Camaldulens. Lib. lvi.

† Chronic. Abb. S. Trudonis ap. Dacher. Spicil. vii.

saying mass with abundant tears in his parish church. Gerlac, who served his mass, from that hour, conceived such a love and reverence for the order that he could not rest until he became a monk himself."* "You knew Henry," he says, "our chamberlain, whose conversion was in this manner. Being a clerk and canon of Treves, loaded with riches and honours, he fell sick, and, in hopes of recovering health, he proposed to descend the Rhine in a bark, and consult the physicians of Cologne, who are numerous in that city. As he passed by our monastery he inquired the name of the place, and then said that he would lodge there; so he sent his boys to the abbot to ask for horses to carry him up to it; and they returning with them, he was received to hospitality. That night I know not what he saw, or by what influence he was converted, but in the morning he sent back his attendants weeping with the bark, and then assuming the habit, he remained with us."†

Guibert de Nogent also ascribes his own first conversion to the mere beholding monks in their church. "My mother," he says, "having renounced the world after my father's death, I was left alone, without parents, without a master, without a pedagogue; for he who had so faithfully educated me, had followed my mother's example, and taken a monastic habit. So, possessing full liberty, I began to abuse it intemperately; to laugh at the churches; to have a horror for the schools; to affect the company of lay youths of my own age who were devoted to equestrian studies; to let my hair grow like theirs; and to indulge so much in sleep that I began to grow fat. Meanwhile the fame of my deeds reached my mother's ears, and immediately, as if anticipating my destruction, she became as one dead. The very clothes which she had herself made for me, to excite me the more, in which I used to go to the church, I began to cut short now after the fashion of youthful petulence; and, in short, there was nothing about me pensive or moderate. My mother, at this crisis, hastened to the abbot of Flaix, or St. Gernier, which was in the diocese of Laon; and he was soon persuaded to receive me as a disciple into that monastery. I call thee to witness, O God! pious disposer of all things, that from the hour in which I entered the basilica of that monastery, and beheld the monks sitting there, I conceived in consequence of seeing them, such a desire of becoming a monk that my fervou afterwards grew cool, nor did my mi rest till the vow of my heart was f So then, dwelling with them under t cloister, and considering all their ha a flame is excited by the wind, so my from contemplating them, could not kindled with a desire to resemble the length I disclosed what was in my m my mother; but she, fearing puerile rejected my proposal, to my great co and, when I applied to my master, posed it still more. So by this dou pulse I was grievously vexed; but, t reverence for my mother and the fear master, I began to act as if I had thought of such a thing. Thus I re from the octave of Pentecost till Chr when, no longer able to resist thy i excitement, O Lord, I had recourse abbot of Flaix. I threw myself wee his feet, and finally received the hab his hands; my mother in the distanc ing on. And now, O Lord, true clearly do I recollect the inestimable which thou didst lavish upon me; soon as I had, on thy invitation, re the habit, there seemed to be a clo moved from the face of my heart."*

A manuscript of the abbey of St. at Paris, relates that William, surnai Denmark from his having lived for a time in that kingdom, being at E where he had retired in the year 115 day, on rising from dinner, a lette brought to him from the abbot of St. vière, begging that he would come t William cried out, on reading it, "Is dream?" Being come to St. Gene the abbot spoke to him of the conte the world in a manner so affecting, sh him a crucifix, painted on a window, t threw himself at his feet, and soon took the habit and became sub-prior house."† This instantaneous leavin pitcher, like the woman of Samaria, f sake of enjoying that living water wh given by our Saviour Jesus Christ, wa the form of many conversions. Such were no procrastinators, having an int conviction, like Demophilus, without h read Pindar, that opportunity with m is always of short duration—Καιρὸς ἀνθρώπων βραχὺ μέτρον.‡ Those old pi in which the lost souls, horribly disfig are represented ineffectually continuin cry, "Cras, cras, cras!" that sent th

* *Illust. Mirac.* Lib. i. 24.
† *Ib. Lib. i.* c. 23.

* De Vita Propria.
† Lebœuf, Hist. de Diocèse du Paris, xii
‡ Pyth. Od. iv.

that place of torment, conveyed a lesson in a most impressive manner, which was often also on the tongues of Catholic philosophers. "Promise me not on to-morrow," says Marsilius Ficinus. "If on the morrow only you were to eat and drink, what would you be to-day, my friend. Perish that to-morrow that you may not be lost to-day. O how many men are deceived by that to-morrow!"*

Love, from which all passions spring—for, as the ascetics say, men desire what they love, and hate, and fear, what they think contrary to it;—love, which Dante, Michael Angelo, and the great philosophers of the school who formed them, all speak of as belonging peculiarly to minds well born and to noble natures, was a fruitful source of conversion in ages of faith, when oft a greater power than men could contradict thwarted their intents. Borne on a fragile bark, amidst tempestuous seas, whether in the morn or the eve of life, like Michael Angelo, they were led by some such contradiction to think of the account which all must give, and to consider in what clouds of error was their impassioned soul involved when art or beauty was its idol. "What," exclaims that great poet, "becomes of all such thoughts on the approach of the two deaths—the one certain, the other menacing? Neither painting, nor sculpture, nor the love of that human grace they represent, can delight them more: their soul flees to the love of God, who extends upon the cross his arms to receive them."† That all, through the ages of faith, the love of creatures, the appreciation of their beauty, and of their innocence, was leading men to conversion, may be witnessed in every work that bears the stamp of the popular genius of the time. Dante puts in the mouth of her he loved these words: "When sweetest thing had failed thee with my death, thou shouldst have pruned thy wing for better realms, to follow me, and never stooped again;" as if the remembrance of her alone ought to have raised him up to heaven.‡ What a testimony is here! and such, in fact, was the consequence of noble affection; for thousands could be shown, and pointed out by name, whom love led on to sanctity. Converts, who had come to peace from this side of the labyrinth of life, might be distinguished perhaps from others by a certain tone peculiar to them. It is not that they evinced a desire to return again to earth, according to the common fable of the day, which represents them inwardly pining till they can throw off the cowl; for, as we before observed, with respect to the converted warriors, men from the cloister did not look back so upon their former years; but it is that they evinced in general more reserve than others, and perhaps, if possible, a still greater abstraction from the visible world, when they sung that hymn of the church for lauds in the spring:

"Dies venit, dies tua,
In qua reflorent omnia;
Lætemur et nos in viam
Tua reducti dextera."

"For, O stranger," as the monk would say, if he had ever heard these words of Landor, "the heart that has once been bathed in love's pure fountain retains the pulse of youth for ever. Death can only take away the sorrowful from our affections: the flower expands; the colourless film that enveloped it falls off and perishes."

Antonius Santaranensis, when a youth, loved a beautiful girl, and sought her in marriage; but she answered contemptuously that he should first go and wash in the Jordan before she would accept him. Through ardour of love, accordingly, he set out and went into Syria, bathed in the Jordan, and brought back a phial of water; recounted to the maid the labours and perils of his journey, undertaken for her love. The ingenuous girl thought she ought to yield to such constant affection, and so married him whom before she had despised; but, shortly after dying, Antonius bad the world farewell, departed into Castile, and took the habit of the Minors, and died in odour of sanctity in 1270.* In fact, compassion, so closely allied to love, led many to the cloister in ages when men had such great hearts, so susceptible, like him who fainted at the recital of Francesca.

The calamities of life opened wide the door of cloisters for those whose mourning was from God, whom fond nature indeed commanded to lament, but whose tears, as Shakspeare says, were reason's merriment; for the monks who pitied the sorrows of these wanderers did not, like the Minerva of Homer, accuse heaven of cruelty towards them, but saw only fresh instances of its providence and of its mercy; for, as a poet says,

* Epist. Lib. i. † Mich. Ang. Son. xxxv.
‡ Purg. xxxi.

* Wadding, An. Minorum, tom. iv.

"Seeds burst not their dark cells without a throe,
All birth is effort—shall not love's be so?"*

St. Cloud, son of Clodomir, king of Orleans, and grandson of Clovis and of St. Clotilda, after escaping assassination when a boy by his uncle, who murdered his young brother, coming to reflect upon the vanity of greatness, betook himself to a solitary life, and finally retired to a small monastery, which he built, at Nogent; which place, where he died, ever afterwards bore his name.†

Robert de Grentemesnil was a warrior who had been knighted by William the Conqueror, after having been his squire for five years. He had seen his father perish in an unhappy war of the barons, and a new husband, William, count of Evreux, occupied his place. These two events threw the young baron into a deep melancholy, and the court could not dissipate it. "Considering the mortal state, elegit magis in domo Domini abjectus manere, quam in tabernaculis peccatorum ad tempus ut fœnum florere."‡ His two sisters, Emma and Judith, embraced at the same time the monastic life, and took the veil in the chapel of St. Evroult. Thus did he obtain deliverance from the deceitful world, and from its cruelties come to this peace.

In the twelfth century the family of the counts of Raperschwil was rendered renowned by the two brothers Rudolph and Henry; the former lived at Neu-Raperschwil, the latter at Wandelberg. Both were distinguished warriors, both had made a pilgrimage to Palestine; Henry, besides, had been to Egypt and to Compostello. After the death of his wife, Anna of Homberg, and his only daughter, Anna, he founded the cloister of Wittingen in 1227, into which he entered himself in 1243 as a common conscript brother.

"Hark!
Was it the wind through some hollow stone
Sent that soft and tender moan?"

It may be the sound of lamentation, which will at moments find utterance, even within this house of peace; for we may say of some who dwelt within these vaults, of whom distinct we hear the sighs, that "theirs was not a new sad soul. What had not each of them endured!" Sorrows of the mind, sufferings of body, there was no bitterness in the cup of life that could be new to his lips.

"I can bear greater things," he might have replied, in the words of Ulysses,

ἤδη γὰρ μάλα πολλ' ἔπαθον καὶ πολλ' ἐμόγησα
κύμασι καὶ πολέμῳ.*

In the retreat of Hugues de Grandmenil, after his combat with Raoul, count of Mantes, Richard de Hendricourt received a wound. He was flying as fast as his horse could carry him, and trying to ford the river Epte, when a knight who followed wounded him with a lance in the back. Carried by his brethren of arms to Newmarket, and fearing death, he followed the advice of Hugues, to whose house he was attached by military service, and made a vow to combat for God under the monastic laws. Proceeding, therefore, to the abbey of Ouches, he soon recovered, though not altogether, and lived seven years there full of fervour, and serving the church in diverse manners.†

Blessed Conrad, of Placentia, of the illustrious family of the Confaloniera, in 1290, a youth of the best dispositions, and bred to all accomplishments, tall, of elegant form and noble countenance, received in marriage Eufrosyna, the daughter of Landina, of a house equally noble, and of great virtue. They lived together tranquilly and piously till the great artist contrived by a singular device to draw to himself this elect soul. It happened that while hunting and following an animal which hid itself in a dense thicket, he ordered fire to be applied to it, and the flames caught the neighbouring trees, and by the force of the wind soon extended far and wide, causing great destruction and irreparable damage to the inhabitants of the country. The prætor of the city sent his satellites to discover the author, but Conrad by unknown ways returned secretly home. The officers found no one but a rustic collecting wood from the fire; and as he trembled and remained dumb at the terrible looks and questions of the officers, they seized him, hurried him before the judge, put him to the torture, and through pain he confessed that he had done it. Then being condemned to the stake, he was carried to it through the street in which Conrad resided. When the young nobleman heard that the innocent was to suffer for him, he rushed into the midst of the crowd, and proclaimed himself the guilty person, and approaching the prætor, Galeazzo Visconti, informed him of the whole circumstance. He was

* Trench.
† *Lebœuf, Hist.* du Diocèse de Paris, vii. 29.
‡ *Orderic.* Vital. Lib. iii.

* v. 223. † Orderic. Vital. Lib. iii.

pardoned on the ground of its having been done unintentionally, but he was required to repair the loss which the fire had occasioned. His friends and parents and his pious wife contributed; but his mind had received such a shock, that he deemed it better thenceforth to leave those to love the world, and to serve God alone. His wife desired to enter a convent of Clarists, and so having given away all he had, he departed pennyless from his native soil in a foreign dress, and came to a solitary place called Gorgolarum, where some pious men led a holy life under the third institute of St. Francis; but as many of his ancient friends, drawn by the report of his sanctity, came to see him, he left that place and went to Rome, whence he passed into Sicily, which was then renowned for the number of pious men there. After passing by Caita and Palermo, he withdrew into the cells or caverns of Pizzoni, at the third stone from the city of Netina, situated among the mountains, and which are now called from St. Conrad, and here he lived in great penitence and sanctity in a rocky cave.*

Let us hear another instance. The enemy burst into the castle of the Marquis Malaspina, slew him and his brothers, and lest any posterity should remain, threw William, son of the marquis, only five years old, from the window of a tower in the sight of his mother, who at the instant commended him to the prayers of St. Francis: that night on the departure of the enemy the child was heard crying at the gate. It was the little boy restored to the widow. On growing up, he fulfilled his mother's desire, and assumed the Franciscan habit in the convent of Parma.†

Remorse was another source from which conversions came, and strange were the first greetings of the men it drew, who might have truly said on entering,

> "If there had any where appeared in space
> Another place of refuge, where to flee,
> Our hearts had taken refuge in that place,
> And not with thee."‡

Of these conversions, Cæsar of Heisterbach cites curious examples. "I said," he observes, "that many became monks through fear of hell; such were men who had studied magic, and given themselves to Satan, and had been miraculously converted by visions."§

Guido Bonatus, the Florentine, that man of dark renown as an astrologer and mathematician, of whom we spoke in the last book, though Wadding only styles him "a philosopher, to hear whom disciples flowed in from all parts of Europe, and who in the tumults of Florence, being exiled, took up his residence at Forli," at an advanced age embraced the order of St. Francis, in the province of Bologna, and humbly and holily terminated his life.*

Guido da Monte Feltro, count of Urbino, whose posterity became the princes of Urbino, a man renowned through all Italy for his military glory, having conquered so many cities, wearied at length with so many wars, sought to make his peace with the Holy See, and for the injury which he had wrought in war, threw himself at the feet of Celestine V. and of Boniface his successor, and begged to be received to grace, promising to make restitution, and as a sign of perfect contrition and true penance, expressing a wish to be received into the order of the Minors. To that effect, the pope wrote to the minister of the province of the marshes, and on the feast of St Gregory Thaumaturgus, that hero renowned for warlike glory, assumed the Franciscan habit in the convent of Ancona. The rest of his days he past in constant prayer, and in the exercise of the most profound humility; and made a blessed end in that cloister: which evidence of domestic witnesses and serious writers is to be preferred, says Wadding, to the poetic fictions of Dante, who places him in hell, for having given perfidious counsel to Pope Boniface, and for having at his desire resumed his former ways.†

The conversion of John of Erfurt was most affecting. This youth in the beginning of the fifteenth century, born of a noble race of Thuringia, loved a maid of equal birth, but found a rival in another knight. They agreed at length to fight for her; the day was fixed; crowds assembled; the two knights came forth, adorned with their most sumptuous ornaments. Thrice they ran against each other with terrible effect each time, and the third fall proved fatal to his opponent, who lay dead beneath his horse. A general shout hailed the conqueror; but this spectacle of death had a different effect upon him. He rode off instantly to the door of a Dominican convent, and called out to them to open. The porter, all astonished, let him into the court. John alighted, and held his horse a long time, till the prior came down to ask what he wanted; at

* Wad. An. Minorum. † Id. tom. viii.
‡ Trench. § *Lib. i. c.* 33.

* An. Min. tom. v. † Id. v. 139

whose feet he threw himself, and besought admission into the order. The community was called to deliberate, and the next day he was received. Soon after, his father and relations arrived, threatening vengeance unless he were delivered; but the friars succeeded in soothing them. This convertite became an apostle to some Prussian tribes, and died in odour of sanctity in 1464. Thus there were occasions, when, as Climachus says, it was better to afflict parents than our Lord Jesus; for he created and saved us, whereas their love often betrays its objects. Aristotle himself taught that there were times when a physician or a commander were to be obeyed rather than parents;* and those who blame St. Thomas for flying from his father's house, never think harshly of Telemachus for leaving his mother to mourn his absence, without having apprised her of his project.† The authority of parents being a participation of that of God, from whom, as St. Paul says, is all paternity; when God commanded one thing, and parents a contrary, there was no question as to the principle, though there might be difficulty as to the circumstances by which men were to be guided. However, all through the ages of faith the instances of such contrariety were of the rarest possible occurrence.

But to proceed. Here is another convertite whose history is deeply affecting. Jacoponus was born in the city of Todi in Umbria. At first he applied to civil law, in which he made such a proficiency, that he was created a doctor. In this early stage of his life he courted honours and luxury, and held human things within his arms with a close embrace; and all arts and frauds he knew. He married a noble lady adorned with all virtues and of singular piety, yet who, through love of him, adopted the manners of one who meditated only vain and profane things as a worldly woman, in order that she might appear not inferior to her husband. Meanwhile, not forgetful of God, she led a holy life in secret, and under the veil of an ambitious splendour, concealed great virtues of mind. It happened one day, that as she was assisting with many noble ladies at a certain spectacle of games, in the midst of the joy and plaudits of the assembly, the beams on which the spectators sat gave way, and suddenly that whole troop of women were buried in a mighty ruin; some had their limbs broken, others were wounded mortally, amongst whom was the wife of Jacoponus, who remained speechless, and shortly after died. The husband, on hearing of what had happened, flew to the spot, seized his wife in his arms, and carried her out. On uncovering her bosom, in order to assist her breathing, lo! under the luxury of a precious vest, he beheld next her skin a coarse hair shirt, which she was thus wearing on the very day when he thought that she with other women was abandoned to the delights of secular entertainment. Immoveable, with fixed eyes like one wrapt in a maze, he stood discerning the hidden virtue of his spouse, and the secret of her thoughts respecting the vanity of the present, and the importance of the future life, arguing a mind so different from what he had always wished to think that she possessed. Syllable he spoke none; but wore the semblance of a man by other care beset, and keenly pressed, than any thought of those who in his presence stood. This was not a vain astonishment, or idle perturbation, but that holy sorrow which renders the soul and spirit dear to God. From that moment he began to philosophize subtilly in the school of Christ, became a most holy man, and so verified the apostle's words, that an infidel husband is sanctified by a faithful wife. Thus being seriously turned to God, he surveyed the darkness which had before encompassed him, and resolved to renounce the world for ever, and to dedicate the remainder of his life to God alone. So he withdrew from the honours and pursuits which had engrossed him in the city, and sought no longer any thing else, but how to conquer himself, subdue his passions, and do penance for the sins of his past life. Giving all his riches to the poor, he clothed himself in a vile habit, and desired to be despised and rejected by all men; so that through the city and villages adjacent he even courted the derision of the vulgar—ingenious and most holy artifice to avenge her whom he had loved vainly until now. For reflecting that his wife had sinned through human respect and regard to his opinions, it was most just he thought, that all the scorn and infamy that the meanest profligate could merit should light on him. So he counterfeited idiotcy, and made his appearance as a hideous vagrant amidst the public games at Todi; but no one amongst grown-up persons laughed at his extravagance, for, suspecting his purpose, all were struck with astonishment and admiration, at seeing a man once so noble and wealthy, now such a humble penitent. A day being fixed for the marriage of his niece, his

* Ethic. ix. 2. † Od. iv.

ent to request that if he assisted at ould not dishonour the family by ıvagance: he replied that his brother ttend to the honour of his family, his thoughts were elsewhere set. he appeared suddenly in the midst oyful feast, covered with mud and like a wild monster, more hideous r African savage, and the company ı in consequence, some with indig- tiring, others with pity. The chil- d now to pursue him, and style oponus contemptuously, instead of his baptismal name, and that title ı ever afterwards to bear: still, in t of all his extravagance, his grave drous answers used to fill men with ıd admiration. A citizen of Todi purchased a colt, and wishing to ı his house, asked Jacoponus, who gh, to lead it home, which he pro- ı do, replying, "Trust me, I will to your home:" he took it to the f St. Fortunatus, where that citizen ancestral tomb, and he fastened it ones of the sepulchre. The citizen, ing what he had done, returned to e in thoughtfulness and dread.

ears did Jacoponus spend in this which he commemorates in his Odario. Finally, he desired to the habit of St. Francis, but the eared to receive one amongst them ed for an idiot or a maniac. After lse he was not seen for many days; ength he returned to the same con- d delivered a manuscript to the h a request that it might be pre- ı the guardian. This was the book e had just composed on the con- the world. The friars on reading earing that he was the author, dis- the mystery of his penance, ad- im with veneration, and immediately ı the habit.

ervant of God was a noble civilian or. Nevertheless he refused to be ı the priesthood, and desired to a laic; and under the name of Jacoponus was he received. Within ster now he only sought how to himself, and imitate Jesus Christ; long he used to exercise himself r and meditation; being asked what eady to suffer, he replied, that he o suffer all the pains of earth and hat is impossible, he could satisfy ıe justice, and be anathema from ır Christians, Pagans, Jews, and

It would be the *highest joy*, he said, to suffer for all these in hell, in order to imitate Christ, who would have saved all. Thus was he filled with the fervent love of God: he sung, he wept, he broke forth in sighs; and withdrawing into solitary places he would embrace the trees, and in an ecstasy of divine affection cry out, "O sweet Jesus, O most loving Jesus!" Being asked by one of the brethren on a certain occasion why he wept so, he replied, "Because love is not loved—quia amor non amaretur." Inflamed with divine charity, he was no less zealous to defend the honour of God, reproving vices with admirable liberty, and, like others, profoundly devoted to the Holy See, not sparing on one occasion even the person of the chief pontiff; on which account, after the twentieth year of his being in religion, he was confined by order of Boniface VIII. It is said that the pope passing by the prison, and seeing him there, asked when he thought he should get out? and that he replied, "When you enter it;" which prediction was verified; for when Boniface was sacrilegiously captured by Colonna at Anagni, Jacoponus was liberated.

From that time his whole life seemed absorbed in divine love. He composed several beautiful canticles, indulging like a swan in melody shortly before his death. At length, being very old, he fell sick; and the brethren seeing that his death was near, advised him to fortify himself with the sacraments of the church; but he said that it was not yet time. Some one then not understanding him, exclaimed, "Do you not know, father, that unless you receive the mysteries, you will depart from life like an atheist;" when he answered, "I believe in three Persons of one Divinity, which created the world out of nothing, and in Jesus Christ His Son, born of a virgin and crucified." The brethren, surprised at his answer, observed, that this was not sufficient; but that he must receive the sacraments of the church; he replied, that he fully intended to receive them, but from the sacred hands of his dearest friend, brother John of Alvernia. The brethren began to lament, supposing that this brother, who was so far absent, could not arrive in time, and they urged him the more; but, as if not hearing them, he began to sing that canticle, "Anima benedetta dal alto creatore, risguarda il tuo signore, che in croce ti aspetta." Scarcely had he ceased, when, lo! two brethren are seen approaching, one of whom is John of Alvernia; the two holy friends embraced, and after exchanging tokens of [redacted] tion, John administered to

sanct mysteries, after which he sung that hymn, "Jesu nostra fidanza, del cuor somma speranza;" and having finished it, he exhorted the brethren to persevere in the way of holiness. Then, with upraised eyes and hands, with a fervent spirit, he said, "Domine, in manus tuas commendo spiritum meum," and so passed from that state of lamentable exile to the eternal glory. He expired on the very night of our Lord's nativity, and at the moment when the priest at the altar, singing the first mass, was entoning the angelic hymn of Gloria in excelsis Deo; and all who were present felt convinced that he did not breathe his last through force of the disease, but through ardour of divine love, which, at that moment, overcame his heart, and let loose his spirit through the weakness of its fleshly tenement. Such was his blessed death. His sacred body was carried in solemn train to Todi, and buried in the convent of St. Clare, which is without the walls. It was afterwards removed into the monastery of St. Fortunatus within the city. The bishop erected a noble tomb over it, and placed on it this inscription—

"Ossa beati Jacoponi de Benedictis Tudertini Fratris ordinis Minorum, qui stultus propter Christum, nova mundum arte delusit, et cœlum rapuit."

In his poesy he neglected refinement of language, so that with the Tuscan tongue he mingled Tudertine, Sicilian, Calabrian, and Neapolitan expressions. From the following lines one may judge of his Latin style, and still more of the profound thoughts which fixed and directed his conversion.

"Cur mundus militat sub vana gloria,
Cujus prosperitas est transitoria?
Tam cito labitur ejus potentia,
Quam vasa figuli, quæ sunt fragilia.
Plus crede litteris scriptis in glacie
Quam mundi fragilis vanæ fallaciæ.
Dic ubi Salomon, olim tam nobilis,
Vel ubi Sampson est, dux invincibilis,
Vel pulcher Absalon, vultu mirabilis,
Vel dulcis Jonatas, multum amabilis?
Quo Cæsar abiit, celsus imperio,
Vel Dives, splendidus totus in prandio?
Dic ubi Tullius, clarus eloquio?
Vel Aristoteles, summus ingenio?
Tot clari proceres, tot rerum spatia,
Tot ora præsulum, tot regna fortia?
Tot mundi principes, tanta potentia?
In ictu oculi clauduntur omnia.
Quam breve festum est hæc mundi gloria!
Ut umbra hominis, sic ejus gaudia,
Quæ semper subtrahunt æterna præmia,
Et ducunt hominem ad dura devia.
O esca vermium, O massa pulveris,
O ros, O vanitas cur sic extolleris?
Ignoras penitus, utrum cras vixeris.
Fac bonum omnibus, quamdiu poteris.
Hæc mundi gloria, quæ magni penditur,
Sacris in litteris flos fœni dicitur.
Ut leve folium, quod vento rapitur,
Sic vita hominum, hac vita tollitur.
Nil tuum dixeris, quod potes perdere,
Quod mundus tribuit, intendit rapere.
Superna cogita, cor sit in æthere,
Felix qui potuit mundum contemnere."

Such then was Jacoponus; the history of whose marvellous conversion could not but detain us long.

But now,—to cite no more instances of this extraordinary kind, for, in general, divine grace, without the instrumentality of any violent external events, led men to embrace a monastic life,—let us observe what was the ordinary manner of conversion; and illustrate it by examples of transitions both from previous innocence and from the disposition of a secular mind to the sanctity of the cloister, the former being only from peace to peace more profound.

Pandulph was bred a shepherd on the mountains of Tuscany near Pistoia. From youth tending his sheep amidst lonely mountains, he acquired the grace of a celestial life. Such was his abhorrence for money and profit, that he counted all as dross excepting what he gave to the poor; he wore a knotted cord round his waist in memory of our Lord's passion, on which he meditated continually; and while his sheep fed on the pasture he used to climb to the top of the hill, or retire into the wood and pray there. His fellow-shepherds and all the rustic lads respected him; and he used to exhort them to abstain from all sin. In his thirty-third year, being sent on a journey, in crossing some water it chanced—eternal God that chance did guide—that he should meet two Capuchin friars in the same boat which conveyed him. A short conversation with them determined the rest of his life. He was admitted among the novices in the convent of Montepolitiani, where he died in odour of sanctity.*

Heladius, rector of the royal court, as Hildephonso styles him, "Under a secular habit had long fulfilled a monk's vow—inter decorem insolentiamque seculi he loved solitude—and followed secrets; and at length, leaving all things, he fled to the monastery which had long been the object of his affections."†

Thomas Justiniani, a Venetian senator of the illustrious family of that name, embraced a religious life, became a hermit in

* Annal. Capucinorum, 1568.
† Hildephons. Vitæ Illust. Episc. Hisp.

nastery of the desert of Camaldoli
). He describes with affecting sim-
he anguish with which he abandoned
s and friends; but nothing could
his resolution. He persuaded his
Vincentius Quirinus, another senator
ice, to follow him, who embraced the
ife within the year. Thus these two
riends became the humble brothers
d Peter. Quirinus had written many
works; he was versed in Hebrew,
and Latin; he had filled many high
nd legations for his country; he had
mbassador to Philip, duke of Bur-
to Maximilian, Emperor, and to the
Spain. Numerous friends wrote to
e him, but he was immoveable. All
e was filled with amaze on hearing
flight to the desert. He died in the
f his sweet friend Justiniani, in the
fth year of his age and third of his
n religion. Justiniani, who signs
brother Paul the hermit, took an
art in the administration of his order.
he who surrounded the hermitage
vall. He died on Mount Soracte in
most holy blessed death, which he
o have foreseen and predicted in a
poem which he composed the same
which he sung the combat of nature
grace. His ancient portrait in his
most striking painting, is in the
on of that illustrious family.*
s Quiriuus, on his embassies for the
republic, had visited Germany,
Spain, Burgundy, and England,
id no place preferable to the solitude
ldoli. So also Andreas Trivisanus,
Venetian senator, had searched va-
irts of Italy, all Dalmatia, a great
Greece, and even had been to
e, and he found no place safer and
t for a Christian contemplatist than
e desert. So writes Paul Justiniani
tter to two noble Venetians, his
t

ere comes a convertite whose history
been long promised. "Petrus Ur-
as elected doge of Venice in 976.
a long time refused to accept it,
est by the ambition of secular honour
d lose the resolution of sanctity, as
s says. At length, however, he was
l upon by the people, who supplim
m to consent, for the good of his
What noble edifices he erected
aired in the city, and what holy

d. Camald. Lib. lxx.
ib. lxx. lxxi.

laws he instituted, may be seen in the authors of the Venetian history, and in his life by Guido Grandia. It happened in course of time, that a certain venerable abbot, Guarinus by name, from the farthest parts of Gaul, came for the sake of prayer into Italy, being accustomed to make pilgrimages to various regions of the world. After assisting at the elevation of the bones of St. Hilary the second, bishop of Carcasson, he proceeded to Venice, to venerate the body of St. Mark. Having performed his devotions in the basilica, he asked a citizen on leaving the church, where he could find a hospice, who replied, 'Why do you seek a hospice from me, when I durst not grant a lodging to you, my lord, or to any coming to the relicks of blessed Mark?' 'But why so?' demanded the abbot. 'Because the duke of this country,' said the citizen, 'who is the host of all strangers coming hither, has made a decree that no stranger should be received to hospitality by any one but himself alone, or with leave from him; for he has built great houses for the purpose, in which the rich and poor are alike received.' On this intelligence the pious Guarin repaired to the palace and entered it with confidence. 'Who art thou, venerable father,' ask the guards, 'who seekest admittance to the prince?' 'I am Guarinus, coming from far lands, and having visited the oratory of blessed Mark, I seek needful hospitality; and it was told to me to apply here, but I know not to whom I ought to address myself.' Then the illustrious domestics immediately received the abbot, and led him to the duke's bed chamber. And when the duke saw him, he rose up instantly and gave him a kiss of peace. The next day he desired the holy man to give him advice respecting his own state; for he said he felt it to be full of peril for his soul; and he entreated him to devise some way by which he might be delivered. The abbot replied that he was bound to go to Rome, but that he would soon return, and that then he might depend upon his giving him counsel on that point. Accordingly to Rome he departed, where he saluted the threshold of the Apostles, and threw himself at the feet of the Pope Benedict VII. In fine, he returned to Venice on the day he had appointed. The solemn discussion being resumed in the palace, he advised the duke to renounce the world and the dukedom, and to embrace a life of holy obedience. Now this was the plan which the duke had long desired to adopt, without having ventured to disclose his intention openly. From this

moment, however, he began to arrange measures for carrying it into effect.

"On the festival of the martyr St. Ammon, which was in September, having deposed the ducal robe, he secretly left the palace, and accompanied by Guarinus, Romuald, and Marino, he embarked on a vessel which conveyed him to the abbey of St. Hilary of Gambaranus, which had been erected by Angelo and John, patriarchs of Venice. Early in the morning, as the holy duke did not come as usual to the matutinal office in the basilica of St. Mark, he was sought for in the apartments, but could not be found within the palace. After long search the messengers at length came to the abbey of St. Hilary. Urseolus had prayed Guarinus to shave his beard and to clothe him in the Benedictine habit. They recognised Guarinus, and laying hold of him, asked where was the duke? But he said, 'Lo, here am I, with these my companions. Examine whether your lord be here.' They gazed on all without being able to recognise him. However, as soon as they had departed, the duke fearing lest he should be discovered on a second visit, proceeded immediately with his companions to Verona, on entering which city, in order to pass with more security, he followed the feet of the mules as a humble muleteer, and so escaped through; then mounting their horses they rode on, avoiding Vicenza; and such was their haste, that on the third day they reached Milan. Thence they pursued their journey steadily to Narbonne; and then after taking some rest there, they passed into Catalonia. On coming within view of the white top of Mount Canigo, which is so called from being covered with snow, the blessed duke knew that he was near the monastery that was to receive him, and he said to the abbot, 'I believe we are now near the place. It would be wrong riding thus proudly to approach the court of angels; for an unworthy servant like me should enter the presence of his master in humility and penitence.' So saying, he alighted, took off his spurs and his shoes, and thus barefooted proceeded the rest of the way. The brethren came forth a mile to meet them, singing hymns to God, and with a solemn processsion bearing the relicks which the abbot had brought with him into the church. Thus in the year 978, one month after his flight, did they enter the abbey of St. Michael at Cuxano, and here he *received the* habit from the hands of St. *Romuald.* In this house he remained, a mirror of justice to all, performing every duty with the utmost obedience and humility, being chiefly employed at first in dispensing food to the poor, assisting the sick, receiving strangers, tilling the ground, and subsequently as sacristan, showing himself in all states a man both in heart and word pacific,—Senex in mundo juvenescit in Deo,—accustomed to command, he submitted to obey; from being a lord he became a servant, and led a humble and merciful life. During this time Romuald and Marino lived in a desert place not far from the abbey, in a wood called Longadera, where they erected cells.

"The death of this great duke took place in the fifth year after his arrival. After receiving the sacraments with infinite devotion, he begged the brethren to place him sitting up in his chair, and then asked if the lord of that country would come at his invitation to see him; for he wished to give him useful counsel and the kiss of peace. Accordingly, that nobleman, Oliba, count of Cabra, came humbly to see the venerable duke, who gave him the kiss of peace, and exhorted him to despise the world for God. His words made such an impression that Oliba soon after chose the monachal life. The blessed duke expired at the ninth hour on the third day of January. Immediately alternate choirs of monks with tearful and tremulous voices sung the office round the dead. The next day the lord of the province coming with the first nobles, at sight of the pious limbs lying upon the bier, burst into tears. Then the body was brought into the church, and masses were said with all devotion: they buried him in the cloister near the church door. Some time after, it is said, lights used to appear by night over the grave, illuminating in a wonderful manner all the cloisters, so that the brethren did not dare to pass one by one separately before the office, as they had previously been accustomed. The Count Oliba leaving great riches to his son, having a treasure sufficient to load fifteen horses, after consulting with St. Romuald, proceeded in company with Guarinus Marinus and John Gradiniscus to Mount-Cassino, where he assumed the habit. St. Romuald desiring to follow them, such was the ardour of the people for possessing him, that, in order to escape, he was obliged to feign himself mad. So he returned at length barefoot to Ravenna. Marinus the hermit, whose only object had been to accompany Oliba to Mount-Cassino, and to venerate there the bones of St.

Benedict, being accustomed to solitude, departed soon after their arrival and travelled into Apulia, where he fixed his hermitage near Mount Gargano. Here his travels ended, for the Sarassins who occupied the top of the mountain strangled the pious hermit in 988, a man of wondrous simplicity and of sincere purity. The Christians, however, gave him an honourable sepulture in the place which they called after him Marino. Guarinus, who was so accustomed to wander, being rather a palmer and superior of different abbeys, than the abbot of any one house, resolved to proceed to Jerusalem, and John Gradiniscus, the third companion of Oliba, proposed to accompany him. That poor convertite was overwhelmed at the thought of being deserted by them all: he wept, and entreated them not to forsake him. 'You, at least,' he said to John, 'ought not to violate the promise you made to St. Romuald, who wished you to keep me company in the service of God.' Nothing, however, could change their resolution, so they set out together. After descending the hill, the horse on which Guarinus rode became restiff, and after wheeling round, struck John with his hoof and broke his thigh. Falling down, he began to think of his own perfidy and disobedience; his broken thigh reminded him of his broken faith. Being carried back, he begged permission to have a cell built for himself near the monastery, after the manner that he had learned from St. Romuald in Catalonia; and there, during thirty years, till his death, he remained in holy conversation. Guarinus and Marinus being departed, and John Gradiniscus coming but rarely to the monastery, Oliba left Mount-Cassino and returned to his own country; for the next year we read of his being present at the consecration of a church there. The death of Guarinus is only indicated by letters of Pope Sergius IV. in 1011 to Oliba, his successor, son of that former count whom Petrus Urseolus and Romuald had converted, but who subsequently returned to his former state. Romuald, in fine, by his prayers and tears gained his father, Duke Sergius, to religion, completing thus the group of chosen spirits that surrounded Urseolus."*

The next, also, comes not singly. Let us inquire who he is. The monk who should be thus questioned would acquit him thus.

* Annal. Camaldulensium, Lib. iv. viii.

Charles, the eighth abbot of Villiers, had been a famous knight, and mighty in deeds of arms. From the school he had been trained to warfare, in which he so greatly distinguished himself, that he became dear to kings and princes; so that the Lord Philip, archbishop of Cologne, when at the court of Mayence, fearing for his own life, chose him for his special guard. It happened once that he rode from Mayence with the Lord Gerard Wascard to a certain tournament at Worms. After some time they descended upon a meadow, which was most agreeable with flowers of every colour, with streams and fountains, which they traversed in silence, neither speaking to the other. At length, breaking silence, they proposed that each should tell the other what had been his thoughts. "Truly then," said the first, "I have been thinking and attentively considering the wonderful and various beauties of this place, and, in fine, it has been foreshown to me, that all which flourishes in the world is but vanity and of little value:" and the other replied, that such precisely had been his own thoughts. Thereupon they said to each other, "Let us provide something for ourselves of real utility. Shall we pass the sea? But we shall meet with there what we leave behind us here,—noble horses, seductive beauty, brilliant armour and weapons; hearts will be wounded, and perhaps virtue injured. What then? Shall we pass to the wolfskin habits of Emmerode, and declare a truce to tournaments for five years?" This was their resolution. So they proceeded to that monastery, and made their vows conditionally; and then, contented with one squire each, they returned to Cologne. Soon afterwards Ulricus Flasco, who had wished that they might accompany him beyond sea, took himself the same vow, and with them received the habit. Gerard Wascard lost a part of his hand, because he said that he had rather this should happen to him than that the least injury should befall Charles, whom he foresaw would by God's grace become a clerk. After some time such was the event; for Charles having left his parents, and his riches, and his companions, repaired to the abbey of Emmerode, and there assumed the arms of sacred chivalry, and by his example and exhortations, many nobles and chieftains, not only from the holy city of Cologne, but also from remote lands, namely, Ulricus Flasco, Gerald V[illegible] Walter de Birbac, and many othe

men in secular warfare, became no less illustrious in spiritual conversation. How much the monastery of Emmerode was benefitted by this accession may well be thought. When the Emperor Frederic came to Liege, and a great crowd of nobles had met there, as soon as Charles and Ulric appeared, Philip, count of Flanders, with a multitude of nobles, went to meet them; so that the emperor, as if deserted by all, was left almost alone; for as they had the favour of the emperor in the world, so he loved and honoured them in religion. His son the Emperor Henry no less honoured them; he gave to Charles a cross adorned with precious stones and gems. About this time Godescald de Volmonsteyn was converted from the world to which he had been wholly devoted: he went to the abbey of Mount Stroeberg, and left all the world in ignorance of his vow. It happened that Evrard his brother was going into Westphalia, and on the way he turned aside to see a certain recluse, who lay concealed on a rock, who received him with great benignity. After the first words of holy salutation she said to him, "My lord, say to your brother Godescald, that his light is burning before the Lord, and that it shines brightly." He, all astonished at these words, said, "Sister, consider what you say. There is no one in all Cologne so devoted to secular pleasures as my brother; for he attends to nothing else but to satisfy his curiosity. Therefore reflect upon what you say." After much entreaty he extorted from her the meaning of her words; when she told him plainly, that God had effected this great change. Hearing such news of his brother, he was profoundly sad, like a man devoted to the world; and returning to Cologne he found that what had been told him was quite true. Godescald thus wishing the world farewell, entered Stroeberg, and led a holy life among that congregation of saints. His brother Evrard was afterwards seen in the monastic habit, in a certain church in which all the congregations of Cologne were assembled.*

Perhaps, however, no conversion was more celebrated in the middle ages than that of the Duke St. William. "Where is there a dance of young people," demands a monk of his monastery in the desert, "or any assembly of peasants, warriors, or nobles, or when is there a vigil of a holy feast, when one does not hear sung sweetly in modulated words what and how great was William? with what glory he served the Emperor Charles? and what victories he gained over the Infidels?" The conquest of Barcelona, which they surrendered to him in 801, was his last exploit; for he then resolved to retire from the world, and abdicate his military command of Aquitaine. He found an austere desert in the Cevennes, at the junction of the little valleys of Gelon and of the Herault, and there he built his monastery. Still he doubted whether he ought to come to any instant decision without having consulted Charlemagne, to whom he was attached by the closest friendship. It seemed to him best not to transfer himself to this new warfare until he had gained the consent of this most Christian king. He accordingly departed to the north of Gaul, desired the occasion of a private interview, and spoke as follows:—"My lord and my father Charles, whom the heavenly King hath made king over the people; you know how true and faithful I have been always to you, and how I loved you more than my life and this pleasant light. You know how often as your soldier I have followed you to the peril of death, always ready to lay down my life for you. Now then hear me, I beseech you, patiently: lo! I reveal to you my conscience before God, and demand permission to become a soldier of the eternal King. I have a vow and a long desire, that, renouncing all things, I may for the future serve God in that monastery which by your favour I have constructed in the desert." At these words the countenance of Charles fell, and his eyes overflowed with tears. "My Lord William," he replied, "what a hard word is this,—and how bitter! You have wounded my heart by this petition. Nevertheless, since it is just, devout, and reasonable, I have nothing to oppose to it; nor is it lawful for me to refuse you. If you had preferred the service of any other mortal king, I might indeed have felt that it was an injury to myself,—if you had done it for the sake of greater honours, or dignity, or riches, I would willingly have offered all that I possessed to retain you; but since nothing of this is the case, but that, despising things present, you wish to be the soldier of the King of angels, so be it with you: I consent to it: only you must take with you some gift, as a token of my affection, and a memorial of our friendship." With these words he burst into tears, and

* *Hist. Mon.* Villariens. ap. Martene, Thes. *Anec. iii.*

on his neck, and for a long time
›itterly.* After this scene William
ed to Aquitaine, visited on his way
mous monastery of St. Julian at
, where he deposed his arms as an
g to God. In the twelfth century,
ckler used to be shown in the treasury
; house as a precious curiosity, at-
g, by its dimensions and weight, the
ic form and strength of the hero.
e he returned to his monastery of
, where he took the habit, and ever
ards comported himself as the hum-
of the brethren. The disciple and
pher of St. Benoit d'Aniane says,
e had often seen him in the plain
ane, in the time of harvest amongst
apers, mounted on an ass, and car-
before him a great vessel of wine,
he presented to each reaper in turn.
›t have been an affecting spectacle,
so humbly and charitably employed
an who had so often given battle to
rassins, and won such renown among
y heroes.†

bert de Nogent ascribes the restora-
monastic discipline in his time to
1 wondrous conversions which had
taken place; of which one of the
emarkable was that of Ebrard, count
teuil, in Picardy. This was a famous
nan,—young and handsome, im-
ly rich, but of a proud mind; a man
guished, however, for many brilliant
es, amongst the first nobles of
e. At length, he began to contem-
his own state, and to consider how
nothing in the world but consign
lf and others to damnation. So hav-
ecretly made some of his ancient
nions aware of his thoughts, he
ely along with them departed into
foreign country, where unknown he
yed himself in making charcoal in the
; and there, when he had sold it in the
he thought that he had for the first
attained to supreme riches. Thus
terior glory of the king's daughter
be considered by all. Teudebaldus,
now universally regarded as a saint,
h of noble race, had previously re-
ed the world; and it was his example
brard was animated to follow. Finally
ght the abbey of Marmoustier, where
eived the habit. We have heard,
when he lived in the world, he was
so studious of dress that none of the rich could equal him, and of such a haughty manner that no one could hardly address a word to him; but, after he became a monk, we beheld him so careless about his person, that to judge by his dress and humble countenance, you would have thought that he had not been a count, but a poor rustic; and when he used to be sent by the abbot through cities and towns, he never could be induced by his own will so much as to enter the castles which he had left. All these things, continues Guibert de Nogent, he related to me himself when I was young, for he used to treat me with an especial love on account of our consanguinity. On these conversions,—for that of Bruno also was at this time,—vast flocks of men and women began to follow in the holy track. What shall I say of their ages, when children of ten or eleven years used to meditate things belonging to the old, and acted with more discipline than would seem possible for their years! In these conversions took place what was observed in the ancient martyrs,—that greater vivacity of faith was found in the weak and tender bodies of the young, than in those which were in the authority of age and science. Monasteries then increased in number, and were built not only in cities, towns, and villages, but also in the woods and deserts, where formerly were only dens of wild beasts or caverns of robbers. Nobles caught the holy flame, and came forward with their treasures, and illustrious women enriched and adorned churches with precious gifts.*

All these that we have as yet beheld are convertites that once were eminent in secular and military life, but there are amongst them many others, who, though previously separate to the Church, stood in no less need perhaps of total renovation. The crowd which follows, then, is made up of priests and great philosophers, who have come here demanding from the cloister peace. Thus to Mount-Cassino came Paul the deacon, after the captivity of King Desiderius, whose notary he had been, and the death of Ariches, prince of Beneventum, who had received him in his banishment; for the sentence of death passed on him on account of his fidelity to the king had been commuted to exile, through regard for his genius as an historian and poet.† Hither came Mark the poet, contemporary

ta S. Will. Ducis et Mon. Gellonens. ap. Acta S. Ord. Ben. sæc. iv. 1.
uriel. Hist. de la Gaule Mérid. iii. 489.

* De Vita Propria, Lib. i. c. xi.
† Chronic. S. Monast. Casinens. xv.

of St. Benedict, who speaks of his own conversion in these lines :—

"Huc ego cum scelerum depressus fasce subissem,
Depositum sensi pondus abesse michi
Credo quod, et fælix vita fruar insuper illa
Oras pro Marco si Benedicte tuo."

Hither came to receive the habit Constantine Africanus, that prodigy of learning, who brought from the east, after studies and travels of thirty-nine years, a profound knowledge of grammar, dialectics, geometry, astronomy, and all the sciences of the Chaldæans, Arabs, Persians, Sarassins, Egyptians and Indians. Here came also Alfanus, a poet and musician; and Alberic, full of all erudition.* Many others of this class might be shown in different monasteries. To single out but one from England,—Henry de Murdac, a great theologian in the church of York in the twelfth century, and of eminent dignity in the province from his nobility and riches, left every thing to become a monk at Clairvaux, under the conduct of St. Bernard. Such convertites excited greater astonishment than the sight of kings, and barons, and laymen who had studied sciences, in the cowl; for, as Dante says, "More easily and perfectly do they come to the habit of philosophic truth who have never heard it, than they who have heard it when imbued with false opinions."†

Jordan of Saxony being asked, on one occasion, why masters of arts, more than theologians, came to the sermons of the friars, replied, "As peasants that drink water are more easily intoxicated with wine, so those who drink only the water of Aristotle, when on Sundays or festivals they come to the church, are more easily converted by the words of Jesus Christ; whereas theologians are like sacristans, who, from daily habit, pass before the altar without saluting it." In fact, the lay scholars come in crowds to conversion.

"How many learned men and great philosophers embraced the Carthusian order, beginning with St. Bruno? Sutorus enumerates them :—Guigo de Castro, Rifferius, Trusianus the Florentine physician, Ludolphus, Henricus de Kalkar, Rainald, Bonifacius Ferrarius, brother of blessed Vincent the Dominican, Henricus de Cosfeldia, Adrian, John de Teneramunda, Hermann, Henry de Halsia, Stephen de Senis, Goswin de Beca, Oswald de Corda, Gerard de Stredam, Nicholas Albergatus, Bartholomew of Ruremunda, John of Louvain, James de Paradiso, Ægidius Aurfaber, Ulricus, John de Indagine, Dionysius Rickel, James de Gruytrode, Henry de Piro, John Venetus, Henry Vroede, Henry Arnold, Gerard of Breda, Henry Loen, Laurentius, Martin of Laon, John de Lapide, Werner de Laer, Peter Ruffi, Francis de Puteo, author of the Margarita Philosophica, and many others.* In fact, the Carthusians, more than any other order, received into its port the wearied scholars and philosophers of the university of Paris.† Cluny and Citeaux, however, were not without their tribute. But we must not suffer to pass by unnoticed in the crowd the Socrates of the Gauls, the western Plato, as his friend the venerable Peter, styled Abeilard, of whom he says, after describing his intellectual victories,

"———— tunc magis omnia vincit,
Cum, Cluniensem Monacum moremque professus,
Ad Christi veram transivit philosophiam."

Let us hear the holy abbot describe this illustrious convert in a letter to Heloisa, who called herself the source of all his misfortunes, and from whose affection death alone could take away the sorrowful. "I wish that our Cluny might possess you;" it is thus he writes to her; "I wish that you might there be expecting, with the other handmaidens of Christ, the day of heavenly deliverance; but since this is not granted to us, yet we may rejoice in possessing your—yes, I say, your servant; who is always to be named with honour, that true philosopher of Christ, Master Peter, whom in the last years of his life the same divine disposition transferred to Cluny; and with him enriched it as with something far above all gold and precious stones; to relate whose holy, and humble, and devout conversation among us would require no short discourse. Unless I am deceived, I do not recollect that I ever saw any one like him in the habit and gesture of humility; insomuch, that neither Germain was more lowly nor Martin himself poorer to a discerning eye. And when I compelled him, amidst that vast flock of brethren, to hold a superior rank, he seemed to be the last of all. Often I used to wonder, during the processions, when he with the rest walked before me, and to

* *Lib. iii.*
† *De Monarchiâ*, i. p. xiii. 41.

* De Vita Carthus. II. iii, 7.
† Bulæus, Hist. Universit. Paris, II.

be truly amazed how a man of such a celebrated name could thus despise himself, and throw himself away. He was the most simple, the most abstemious, the most mortified of us all. In him were seen constant study, frequent prayer, perpetual silence, unless when a familiar conference of the brethren, or a public sermon in the convent, obliged him to speak: devoutly he used to frequent the celestial sacraments, offering up to God the sacrifice of the immortal Lamb. His mind, his tongue, his work, were always divine, philosophic, full of erudition and instruction. Thus did this simple and just man, fearing God and departing from evil, pass some portion of his time with us, consecrating the last days of his life to God. For the sake of his health, as he laboured under a bodily disease, I sent him to Châlon-sur-Saône, which is the most agreeable and beautiful spot in our Burgundy, and there I procured him a residence in our monastery near the city. There, renewing his ancient studies, as far as his malady would permit, he was constantly over his books, and every moment, like the great Gregory, he either prayed, or read, or wrote, or dictated. In these exercises did the evangelical summons find him, not sleeping like many, but watching; truly watching; and called him, not as the foolish but as the wise virgin, to the marriage of eternity: for he bore with him a lamp full of oil; that is, a conscience filled with the testimony of a holy life. His last illness was sudden, conducting him speedily to the extremity. Then, how holily, how devoutly, how Catholically, did he make the confessions of his faith, and of his sins! With what affection of a desiring heart did he receive the body of our Lord and Redeemer, the viaticum of this pilgrimage and the pledge of eternal life! How faithfully did he commend to Him his body and soul, here and for eternity! all the religious brethren of that monastery are witnesses. Thus passed to God with meekness and humility Master Peter, the master of science, he who was known to the whole world, and every where celebrated. Therefore, venerable and beloved sister in the Lord, he to whom you were bound in the bonds of marriage, and in the still better chains of divine charity; with whom, and under whom, you have so long served the Lord: he, I say, in the last advent, with the voice of the Archangel, and with the trump of God, shall be restored to you. Be mindful, therefore, of him in the Lord: be mindful also of me and of the holy sisters associated with our congregation."*

With the fame of this flight the whole Christian world rung; and yet there were instances in which the power of grace was thought to be still more visibly displayed; for the conversions deemed most astonishing of all were those which took place within the cloister itself, of monks who had not the spirit of their order, or of men who had assumed the cowl without purity of intention, and worn it without sanctity of life.

"A wandering clerk," says Cæsar of Heisterbach, "came to Clairvaux with a design to steal, under cloak of religion. During the whole year of his noviceship he could pilfer nothing, such vigilance was observed. 'Then,' said he to himself, 'if I become a monk I shall have more opportunities:' so with that intention he was received to the habit. But the pious Lord, who wisheth not the death of a sinner, wonderfully changed his perverse will; for he became contrite; and so much did he advance in holy religion, that soon after he was made prior of that abbey. Such was the mercy of God and the monachal benediction."† This example, however, exhibits not one of the most desperate cases; for, of all conversions, the most rare and difficult was from the corruption of the best state or from tepidity in the cloister. So deep was the impression of this truth, that we find there was a necessity for guarding monks against being too quick to believe themselves involved in the danger. Let us hear Ælred, abbot of Rivaulx. "Not long ago," he says, "a certain brother, renouncing the world, came to our monastery, and was placed by our reverend abbot under my littleness, to be instructed in regular discipline. He used sometimes to ask me how it came to pass, that, while in the secular habit and conversation, he used oftener to feel compunction and to be dissolved, as it were, in the sweetness of divine love. I demanded of him whether he thought his life was then more holy than his present, and more acceptable to God. 'Far otherwise,' he replied; 'since I now do many things, of which if I had done one formerly; not only I should have been thought holy by all, but as worthy of being adored.' On my questioning him still further, he said, that 'he did

* S. Petri Ven. Abb. Clun. Epist. Lib. iv. 21. Bibliothec. Cluniacensis.

† Cæsarius Heisterbachensis Illustrium virorum et Hist. Memorabilium, Lib.

not remember to have thought much about the many tribulations through which we must enter into the kingdom of God, but he used to feel as if he loved Christ with more sweetness. Yet,' he added, 'I then never suffered any thing for Him, whereas now I suffer much for His sake; formerly I never kept silence, or refrained from idle and vain words; and even after my devout tears, I used immediately to return to laughing and to fables, being borne hither and thither as passion directed; loving assemblies, not shrinking from drinking-bouts, and indulging in matin sleep and in excessive feasting. I was subject to anger, and I had cupidity for worldly things: and now all is changed and reversed for temperance, coarse raiment, study, a hard bed, and a bell to call one up to Matins; we eat our bread in the sweat of our faces; we have no will of our own; there is no place for idleness. I ought not to omit some things which no less delight than the former fatigue; there are no quarrels; never is there heard a sorrowful complaint, on account of the dire oppression of the rustics, nor the piteous clamour of the injured poor; no law-suits, no secular judgments; all is peace, tranquillity, and wondrous freedom from worldly tumults. There is such unity existing among the brethren, that we seem to be all one; and there is no excepting of persons, no regard to birth; the will of one is law to three hundred men, who hear his words as from the mouth of God: and to sum up all in brief, there is nothing in the Gospels, or Apostolic precepts, or books of the holy fathers, which does not belong to this order and profession.' 'What you say,' I replied, 'is not to be ascribed to your boasting, but to the fervour of a novice; yet I wish you to be cautious that you should not believe there is any profession in this life which has not feigned persons attached to it; lest if by chance you should find something in word or deed deficient, you might be troubled. But do you think that all these things which you enumerate, may be compared with your former tears?' 'No, truly,' replied he, 'for that flowing of tears never rendered my conscience more secure, nor delivered me from the fear of death; and now I have attained to this good. Of a truth, I must confess, unless I wish to deceive myself, that were I to choose to return to that former life, it would not be on account of Christ, but for the sake of the world; not *through* a desire of greater perfection, but through unwillingness to endure my present labours. So that, notwithstanding what I remember of those sweet tears, and that fervent love for Christ, I am compelled by the authority of all Scripture, by reason, and by my conscience, to believe that this life is to be preferred to that former conversation; for it is the keeping of the commandments which proves love.' 'Remark again,' I said, 'how that transitory emotion can be no criterion of the love of God, since men are moved so easily to tears at any tragedy or vain recitation which displays the oppressions of innocence, or any beautiful and heroic deed; therefore, it is absurd to estimate love from such vain piety: for were such things really to pass before his eyes, the same man would not sacrifice the least part of his substance to deliver the person for whom he weeps in fable. Much greater folly is it to believe that if any luxurious or tepid person, by the hidden dispensation of God, should be easily moved to compunction and tears, and yet return with the same facility to his former vanities, that his sterile tears and momentary affection would be a greater proof of the love of God than the resolution to fly from whatever is contrary to the divine will, and to endure every labour which is imposed upon him in his name.' 'This is true,' he replied with downcast eyes; 'for I remember that I used to be sometimes moved to tears at the fables which are invented about Arthur; and, therefore, it was great vanity in me to think that I was holy, and capable of great things, merely because I used often to weep when they read some affecting trait respecting our Lord. Ah, how miserably are such men deceived when they are encouraged, by the experience of such emotions, to return to their unholy living!' 'Truly,' I concluded, 'the pouring forth tears is a most grateful and acceptable sacrifice to God; but only so when offered by the penitent and the assailed, in the spirit of humility, and with a contrite heart; by those who fly to the bosom of Jesus, and bring forth fruits worthy of penance. Therefore, you and I, and all of us, should labour that this mortification of the flesh, this solicitude of vigils, this coarseness of raiment, this austerity of food, this gravity of silence, this holocaust of the whole interior and exterior of man, may be fattened, as it were, by the sweetness of tears and devout affection; that being lighted over the altar of the heart by the fire of divine charity, it may send up

pleasant savour; but if you cannot have both, it is better to be without tears in apostolic poverty than with daily tears to transgress the divine commands; for though we should raise the dead and cast out devils, and give sight to the blind, we should nevertheless hear from the Lord these words, 'Discedite à me quicunque fuerint operarii iniquitatis.'"*

Moreover, converts within monasteries sometimes complained that they were no longer objects of the same attention as before they entered them, when they were only wavering between the world and God. A knight who had entered the order of St. Francis, complained thus to brother Giles through whose admonitions he had taken the habit, that since he had followed him to the cloister, he no longer instructed and conversed with him as he had been accustomed to do while he was in the world. The holy man replied "that now being of the house and family of God, he did not think it becoming to advise him any longer, as he was now only his companion and brother."† However, the evil did exist, which rendered necessary conversions within the cloister, and its insidious progress is thus described by Richard de St. Victor: "If you think that you have fallen from that grace which you enjoyed at the commencement of your religious life, attend diligently to what you act silently with yourself, think upon what thoughts occupy you. If you meditate only on vain, only on present things, how is it strange that you should be deprived of a revelation of profound and future things? In the beginning of your conversion, when you thought alone on eternal, alone on spiritual and future things, when you breathed only for things sublime, what wonder if, according to your desire, you deserved to be comforted? The Lord heard the desire of the poor. You have ceased to sit at the feet of the Lord, and to rest like Mary. You are troubled about many things, like Martha. Remember then whence you have fallen; do penance and resume your former works. If you desire to regain the ancient grace, if you seek to recover these visions in your secret chamber, recur to Daniel, renew your devotion, and prepare again your heart for the recovery of that pristine grace."‡ Again, he speaks as follows:

"The voice of the Lord is on the waters. Remember this when you tremble for your own infirmity. Do you fear pride of mind and vain self-confidence? The voice of the Lord breaketh the cedars. Do you fear the flames of passion? The voice of the Lord extinguisheth the fire. Behold, you say, your mind is very light, inconstant, wandering, fluctuating, wishing and not wishing, changing its purpose like the flood of the sea, which is moved by every wind. But he who converteth the sea into dry land can easily cause the waters which are under heaven to be gathered together into one place, that the dry land may appear. The voice of the Lord is on the waters. How many do you see advancing before you to religion, who were before inconstant and frivolous like yourself, and who are now stable, solid, and perfect in discipline. When you see these men leaving the world to assume the habit of religion, know assuredly that the Lord of Majesty hath thundered, hath terrified their hearts, hath sent forth his thunder over many waters. He who hath given them stability can also strengthen you, and repress these fluctuating thoughts which detain you. The Lord will give you latitude of heart even as the sands on the sea-shore, and you will have as great an abundance of good, as you had formerly of useless and vain thoughts; your heart, like the great sea of the world, will be made to repose, and good desires will be multiplied in it like the sand on its shore. What almighty power is here displayed? But you say, vile men are in authority who abuse it according to their own caprice. How could I ever endure this, who am an ingenuous and learned man, and of noble family? How should I be able to stoop who bear a lofty heart, exalted above the cedars of Libanus? To this I answer in brief, the voice of the Lord breaketh the cedars. He can easily repress your pride, and make the camel pass through the needle's eye, for all things are possible to him who can do all things in heaven and in earth, in the sea, and in all deep places. Though he behold a heart bitter and fluctuating as the sea, a mind dark as the abyss, yet always and every where he can do all things, and not only at the thunder of his voice, but even often at his aspect, the mountains of arrogance are broken down, the hills of pride bent low, and the cedars of Libanus laid prostrate."*

* Ælredi Rhievallens. Abb. Spec. Charitatis, Lib. 11. c. 17. 20.

† Les Chroniques des Frères Mineurs, Lib. vii. 18.

‡ De Eruditione Hominis Inter. Lib. i. 1. c. 19.

* Annot. in Ps. xxviii.

But let us now observe some of these converts whose deliverance had consoled the family of heaven. St. Gunther had been received into the Benedictine abbey of Altaich, but the habits of his early life were so strong, that all the efforts of the Abbot St. Godehard were ineffectual to overcome his fickleness. To reclaim him from his lingering attachments, a more powerful monitor was, at the abbot's request, induced to see him. This was no less a person than the Emperor St. Henry, who represented to him that as he could not serve two masters, God and the world, he must choose which he would follow. From that moment Gunther became as firm as he had before been wavering.

The next is still more worthy of regard. Suger's early life was in the bustle of secular affairs, amidst wars, and diversions of the chace, which were but ill becoming in a monk. The origin of his conversion is ascribed by Gervaise, abbot of La-Trappe, to many events that were calculated to turn his mind to meditation. Such were the circumstances of his last military expedition when he followed King Louis against certain nobles who had driven the bishop of Clermont from his see, at the siege of which city Suger was exposed to great danger, and this he considers to have been the first blow by which God deigned to open his eyes, and make him consider the fragility of life. The second he suggests, was the assassination of Charles, the good count of Flanders, who had often admonished him to amend his life; and the third, which made sure the conquest of this rebellious soul, the spectacle of the terrible vengeance which King Louis exercised against his enemies. After this last sanguinary expedition, Suger returned to his abbey very pensive, buried in profound melancholy, of which no one could imagine the cause; "he was suffering," says Gervaise, "the pangs of parturition," that is, as St. Augustin explains it, the sorrows of a true penitence, which were to bring forth the fruit of salvation, and produce the formation of Jesus Christ in his heart by a new life. It is the combat of the flesh and spirit, of nature and grace, which causes all these convulsions: and the life which Suger had previously led, had fortified nature so that the struggle was terrible; but his heart having now been shaken, might with only one more effort be carried by assault. The tragical end of two famous abbots of his order, who had been his friends, and who had led a life very similar to his own, was the last blow which grace made use of to carry this fortress, which had long been giving way. The one was Ponce, abbot of Cluny, and the other Oderic, abbot of Mount-Cassino. The former deposed by the Pope, and excommunicated, died in a tower at Rome, impenitent, notwithstanding every effort made for his conversion. The latter was also deposed and excommunicated: in which acts of just discipline, Suger beheld the judgment passed upon his own conduct by the sovereign pontiff, similar probably to that which awaited himself. Finally, the charitable severity of St. Bernard, his strong and energetic remonstrances, filled with the Spirit of God, completed the conversion of this noble heart. Being thus wholly transformed into a new man, his first act was to reform the abbey of St. Denis by his guidance and example; which he effected without noise, opposition, or scandal. Thus was God glorified, the neighbourhood edified, the church consoled.*

Now comes another of great learning and no less renown, who will relate to us his own conversion. "There was a time," it is Guibert de Nogent who speaks, "when I was animated with such a desire of learning, that I gasped after it, and thought myself worthless if I past a day without study. Often was I thought to be sleeping when my mind was dictating something, or my eyes rivetted on some book. And, O pious Jesu, thou wert not ignorant what was my intention; for I sought to gain praise and to become more honourable in the present world; for I had friends against me, who, though they advised me well, yet encouraged me with praise; and when I fancied that I could soon obtain all that they promised me, they were but deluding me with most vain expectations. However, my mind was thus prepared for temptation, and undoubtedly at that time I was in a certain manner reformed as to my intelligence; for although I still had puerile movements of joy and anger, yet I felt not formerly more horror at the greatest sins, than I experienced now at the least, or rather at what were none at all. I emulated most zealously those whom I saw weeping for their offences, and whatever things were from thee, were to my seeing and hearing most grateful. Clearly, O Lord God, I was then living with a great reverence for thy law, and with an infinite execration of all sin; and whatever could be said and

* Hist. de Suger, iv. v.

heard and known of thee, most ambitiously did I drink it up. The cruel demon, irritated by these puerile studies, afflicted me now and sent me horrible dreams, so that one winter's night, lying in my bed, and the lamp shining brightly, near me suddenly I thought I heard the voice of many persons, and I seemed to behold a dead man, who cried out; and when I arose up terrified, I saw the lamp extinguished, and a demon stood near, at whose sight I should have fallen into madness, if my master had not hastened to tranquillize and console me. Thus in many ways did the tempter persecute me in these years of youthful tenderness; and, O pious God, how many victories, how many crowns for victories should I this day merit, if I had immoveably persisted in combating him! I now suffered great sorrows from the jealousy and envy of others, who were angry at my success; and I was wearied by constant subtlety of inquisitions. I became so enraptured with the study of versification, that I neglected the serious things of the divine page for ridiculous vanity, and I even affected to write in the style of Ovid and the Bucolics,—so forgetful did my mind grow of the proper vigour, and of the monastic profession, only considering how I could imitate the writings of some poet, without ever considering to what distance this might lead me from the end of my holy order. In fine, such an effect had this lascivious literature upon my mind, that at last, from the abundance of the heart, the mouth began to speak, and I composed letters void of all honesty and moderation: this my deplorable state was divinely revealed in a dream to my master, who beheld an aged man, and heard him say, 'Give an account to me of the letters which have been composed, but the hand which wrote these letters is not his who wrote them;' the meaning of which words, my master and I easily conjectured, for they seemed to predict that my hand would not persevere in such compositions; and yet, O Lord, thou knowest how I did still continue secretly to write such poems, without daring to show them to any one, though sometimes I used to recite passages to my companions, and be overjoyed when they exalted them. For all this, O Father, thou didst punish me, visiting me with various sorrows and vexations of mind, and infirmities of body, and thus at length came that sword even to my soul. Having then felt the vanity of useless studies, I began, though late, to breathe after the commentaries on the sacred Scriptures, to which many good doctors had often endeavoured to entice me. I now gave myself to the study of Gregory and of Anselm, that man of incomparable learning and most holy life, who knew me when a boy; and when he heard how my interior proceeded, used to teach me many things; and when he came to this monastery in which I resided, he so sedulously indulged me in the benefits of his erudition, that I seemed to be the sole cause of his having come to reside with us. In process of time, being exhorted by my abbot, I began to compose a commentary on Genesis; which work, whether it hath done service to any other, I know not, but this is certain, that it conferred no small benefit on me, by delivering me from the idleness which ministers to sin. I have besides written many other works, which I shall not enumerate, because I intend to exercise myself, as long as I live, in such exercises."*

How many curious facts might be elicited from this affecting description, given by Guibert of his early life, which would throw light upon the intellectual history of the middle ages, and confirm many of our former statements! but for such comments time is not allowed us.

The conversion of John Taulerus, which I shall next relate briefly, was, however, more remarkable. Born in 1294, he had embraced the Dominican order in the convent of Strasbourg, in which city and at Cologne he had preached with great fame, though being still far removed from the spirit of an interior life. His change was mysterious. He had arrived at the age of fifty in 1346, when a simple laic of devout retired life was secretly warned to go to Cologne, a distance of fifteen leagues. He obeyed, arrived, heard Taulerus preach, and the spirit of God made him feel that it was to instruct this preacher that he had been called from his solitude. Accosting him he besought him to be his confessor. Taulerus consented. After three months, the penitent requested him to make a discourse on the means of attaining to perfection. The confessor was surprised at the demand, but he complied, and nothing could be nobler than the sermon which was the result. The laic at his next confession repeated it all word by word, and then asked him if he really felt that he possessed that humility, that purity of heart, and detachment from

* De Vita Propria.

creatures; or if he, like a Pharisee, only pretended to have these graces. Taulerus, already humbled under the hand of God, opening his eyes to the divine light, heard him with respect and astonishment, and then said, "Finish what you have begun, you know me better than I know myself; behold me in your hands and under your direction; you are my conductor and my master." Thus did this renowned doctor become the humble disciple of a poor peasant. The catechism or alphabet which he placed in his hands, to teach him the practice of whatever was most elevated in religion, has been published by Surius.* The laic, on seeing him well confirmed in his resolution, said that the will of God called him elsewhere; told him to refrain from preaching and from hearing confessions during two years, and to pass that time in solitude, studying the life and doctrine of Jesus Christ in his cell. "And now, my lord master," said he, "confiding in the divine assistance, persevere as you have begun, and resign yourself to God in all things with profound and true humility. Trust in God and expect his grace; and obey whatever He may prescribe, whether it be sweet or bitter. As for me, I beseech you, be not troubled that I can no longer remain with you;" and with these words he departed to his own country. The sacrifice thus imposed was immense; but Taulerus never hesitated to comply, giving up all the fruits of his ministry and his great reputation; for, in fact, it soon became the general opinion, that he had lost his senses, his best friends repeating what the Roman governor said to Paul, "Multæ te litteræ ad insaniam convertunt." At length, in 1348, the term of his retreat drew near its end. The church celebrated the conversion of St. Paul. He felt an extraordinary consolation: the laic returned and told him that the time for resuming his preaching was arrived. Taulerus announced that he would preach on the third day. Immense crowds assembled. He ascended the pulpit, and found himself unable to speak: he wept, but could not articulate a word. The people withdrew, saying, "Of a truth he is mad." The laic however returned to him, and suggested that the humiliation must have come from God. There was too much confidence in his first announcement. "Ask," he said, "permission after a lapse of five days, to preach in any obscure church of Cologne, or in your convent." Having obtained leave, his first sermon to the brethren filled them all with astonishment, and his second before the people, on the words, "Ecce sponsus venit, excite obviam ei," produced effects that would seem incredible, if they were not attested by eye-witnesses. In fine, through all the provinces of Germany, from the day of his conversion till his death, his preaching reaped innumerable souls, while his predictions as to the religious innovators who were to commence with Wickliffe, seem to warrant the opinion that his voice was miraculously prophetic.* When he foresaw his end to be near, he desired once more to see the mysterious laic; and on his arrival he put into his hands the history of his own conversion. "Do with it," said he, "what you please, only let not my name appear in it." "I have," replied the laic, "five of your sermons, written out as I heard you preach them: I can join them to these memoirs, so as to form a little book." Taulerus made signs of assent, and shortly after was seized with paralysis. He expired in his convent of Strasbourg, on the 17th of May, 1361, nine years after his happy conversion. Taulerus wrote only in German, and to Surius we owe the Latin translation of his works, which, Louis of Blois says, "alone are sufficient to refute all the heresies of these later times."†

One more instance let us mark, and then the chapter ends.

A wondrous conversion was that of John of Fano, provincial minister of the marshes, who, after being the bitter enemy of the Capuchins, and, like another Saul, in his attempts to extinguish that reform at its birth, became suddenly, in 1534, another Paul in regard to zeal and services for the same reformation. The origin of his change is thus related. Having been for some time considering the decayed state of his order, and the virtues ascribed to the new reformers, he called to mind the persecution he had exercised against them, and thought at times that he was called to judgment on account of it. While ruminating these things there arrived late one evening at his convent of Cingulo, over which he presided, two Capuchin friars drenched with rain, to whom the porter, with harsh words, refused a lodging. John, who was walking in the cloister next the gate, asked the porter who they were, and

* Hist. Vit. Sublim. ex Surio.

* Taul. Serm. Dom. Pri. Quad. 148.

† Touron, Hist. des Hom. Illust. de l'Ord. de S. Dom. tom. ii. Liv. 12.

he heard they were Capuchins, he ed them to be admitted and received kindness. So a fire being kindled, they dried their habit, John con- ɔd within himself the rough mended recalling the ancient poverty of St. ɔis, their cheerful faces, their humility, sty, and simplicity. The sight affected as it did also the other brethren. supper, when the others had retired ir separate cells, John alone remained them, and began to inquire of them cting the state of their reform and mode of life. After they had ex- ɔd every thing, he rose, broke an which he held in his hand into ɔarts, and gave it to them, saying, ınwhile, take this apple, brethren, ɔusly until you can receive myself happily." In brief, the whole commu- esolved to migrate to the Capuchins, ıch had only ventured to disclose his to one especial friend. John of Fano g deliberated with Eusebius of An- general of the Capuchins, and each of the brethren having taken similar precautions with respect to himself, while each supposed that there was only one friend privy to his design, it so happened that all set out in one night, though at different hours, taking the road to Rome, so that there remained in the convent only one old layman and a companion. It is said that they all met together before the gate of the convent of St. Euphemia, where they were received with joy, and admitted into the order.*

But we have already overpassed our limits in remaining with the convertites. Our guide proposes to introduce us now to the community at large; as it is important that we should observe the peculiar features of the monastic character, concerning which there are at present such contradictory opinions. Modern sophists, when alluding to the religious orders, are fond of designating them contemptuously as "a race." Well, be it so. Let us observe then by what traits or instincts, if you will, it was principally distinguished.

CHAPTER XIV.

WHOEVER is conversant with the different estates that spring from the different duties in human life, needs not to be told that there are intellectual and external features ap- riate to all, in forming which nature, is, the seal to mortal wax, doth well art. The pacific inhabitants of the er, perhaps above all others, were sub- to the influence of a peculiar mould which no disposition could very long e; and our object now must be to tain what fruits were the result. has been said that one should have five years in tilling the ground to un- and the Georgics of Virgil, and twenty in the management of affairs to see way clearly through the epistles of o: but to comprehend and taste the stic attributes pourtrayed in the living , a much shorter interval spent in intercourse with those who wore the cowl will prove sufficient; as every one must feel assured who, like the Author of the pages, has seen monks with his own eyes, and conversed with them as familiarly as with other men.

A sweet and natural simplicity, including all that was gracious in Homeric manners, may be noted as the first effect of embracing that monastic rule which rectifies in men whatever the world made crooked and depraved. "If you wish to have rest in the order," says Cæsar of Heisterbach, "its simplicity will suffice to you."† "Simple is the way of the Lord," says Fulbert of Chartres, "and he who walks with simplicity walks securely."‡ "You will be simple," say the monastic guides with St. Augustin, "if you do not involve yourself in the world, but extricate

* Annal. Capucinorum, 1[illegible]
† Lib. vi. 1.

yourself from it. By extricating yourself from it you will be simple; by involving yourself you will be double." "Now," says St. Gregory, "truth, which is simple, does nothing by duplicity."* Therefore Bona counts among the marks of being led by a divine and not any other spirit, "that love of simplicity which is unknown to the lovers of the world."† The Benedictines pray expressly for this gift in their hymn for Lauds on the fifth feria: for, in allusion to the golden light of morning, the words are these—

"Hæc lux serenum conferat,
Purosque nos præstet sibi:
Nihil loquamur subdolum,
Volvamus obscurum nihil."

The monks, in fact, brought the simplicity of truth into the paths of life, where it was found as becoming in actions as in words. Nothing required them to depart from it; for "a simple and obedient brother," says the ascetic, "without many arguments and learned discourses, can come to the kingdom of heaven with a safe conscience, and escape the eternal torment of hell."‡ Savanorola philosophizes on this theme, and distinguishes, as theologians say, for he speaks thus: "Spiritual and moral simplicity renders us most resembling God; and in proportion as we have this simplicity, our science, and prudence, and wisdom, are increased, as is also our similarity to God. The true Christian loves and embraces moreover exterior simplicity according to his degree, the wants of which are to be estimated according to Christian simplicity: for all the works of nature are simple and yet unequal; and in like manner all exterior works of the Christian are simple but yet different, according as the state and condition of each requires: for man being a civil and social animal, there must be among such a multitude a difference of office and degree."§ Such were the principles or the general ideas. Now let us look at the facts that were combined with them.

The character invariably ascribed to monks when not degenerate, is that attributed in the most ancient of books to the great Oriental prince, Job. "Erat vir ille simplex et rectus, ac timens Deum, et recedens a malo." Thus, "To Odo the second, abbot of Cluny, succeeded Heymandus, of happy memory, a child of innocence and blessed simplicity," says St. Odilo.|| Speaking of the blessed Maiolus, the fourth abbot of that house, the same saint says, "He preferred to syllogisms and rhetoric, and all the wisdom of all the philosophers, the practice of Apostolic simplicity, saying with Paul, 'Ego enim didici, in quibus sum sufficiens; scio et humiliari, scio et abundare. Omnia possum in eo qui me confortat.' As is said of Moses, he was loved by God and men, and therefore his memory is in benediction."* Of St. Adalhard, abbot of Corby, Paschasius Radbert says, "There was in his breast nothing but a fountain of truth. Wondrous was his simplicity; if you looked at him attentively, you discerned in him a mind impressed with the seal of Christ. Therefore in no respect could he ever be corrupted."† The very tombs of monks attest this trait in their character. The inscription over Pierre de Saux, abbot of St. Victor at Paris, in the cloisters of the abbey of Livry at Saux, who died in 1383, began with these words—

"Hic jacet in tumbâ simplex humilisque columba."‡

To estimate this grace rightly, we should observe that it was a virtue of which the possessor was so little conscious, that he might have truly said with the patriarch, "Etiam si simplex fuero hoc ipsum ignorabit anima mea:" for there was no sophistical affectation under the cowl; so that if a philosopher had come to the monks, and, as Socrates acted with the poets, had asked them concerning the science of their art, with their books before them, however he might be ashamed to relate it, the truth would be that he would find every one present able to discourse better concerning what they had done than they were themselves, and therefore he would be driven to draw the same conclusion in their regard, *ὅτι οὐ σοφίᾳ ποιοῖεν ἃ ποιοῖεν, ἀλλὰ φύσει τινὶ καὶ ἐνθουσιάζοντες ὥσπερ οἱ θεομάντεις καὶ οἱ χρησμῳδοί· καὶ γὰρ οὗτοι λέγουσι μὲν πολλὰ καὶ καλά, ἴσασι δὲ οὐδὲν ὧν λέγουσι.*§

And now, pausing for a moment, who can remark without delight this feature in the monastic character? Menedemus used to say of those who flocked to Athens, "that at first they became sophists, then philosophers, then rhetoricians, and at last, like other men, *ἰδιώτας*; because, in proportion as they became conversant with reason, they

* Hom. 22. + De Discretione Spirituum, 8.
‡ Thom. à Kemp. Serm. i. 5.
§ *De Simplicitate* Vitæ Christianæ, ii. 4. iii. 5.
|| *Bibliotheca Cluniacens.* 269.

* Bibliotheca Cluniacens. 269.
† Vita S. Adal. Mabil. Acta S. O. Ben. iv. 1.
‡ Lebœuf, ix. 313. § Apol. 22.

ıide pride and affectation." Estimating onks then by this rule of Plutarch, it ar what a progress they must have in virtue. Their very manner indeed ims it; for, as Malebranche observes, the different airs of men of different ions are only the natural results of teem which each person entertains for lf in regard to others. Fierceness and ity indicate the man who esteems himreatly and despises others; modesty is ir of a man who esteems himself but and others more; gravity is that of vho esteems himself very much and lesires to be so esteemed; the simple that of one who does not think much about himself or others."* Their ted habit, which, according to the f St. Francis, should be mended with s when torn, was no less significative. time Walter, the abbot of Villers, ed a new habit, and some of his friends king that it was very handsome, he it into some water, and would not t until it had lost all its freshness."† s monastic simplicity exercised an ine beyond the cloister, and imparted of candour to social intercourse in l, which is now more rare, since men come political, and tortuous, and cun-

That simple and open virtue has place to an obscure and cautious art; what Fulbert of Chartres praises with eeling as "angelic hilarity with mosimplicity,"§ would be disdained by ilosophic spies who visit cloisters, as ing a want of education, or perhaps erent vulgarity of mind. Montaigne, ng of the simplicity of Socrates, makes ark that would be still more true at t. "If," he says, "any thing like this o rise up now, there are but few men ould know how to appreciate it: we scern only the graces that are pointed, erated, and stuffed-out artificially; which flow under artlessness and simeasily escape a rude sense like ours: have a delicate and secret beauty; and ght must be clear and piercing to dis- its gentle light."‖ Again, cheerfuland good-humour were prominent es of the monastic character. "Qui unt pacis consilia, sequitur eos gau- " saith the divine text; and the monks ly pacific verified it. They were graceninded men. Their words, their looks, bespoke content, and hope, and gladness. Thus a modern traveller, speaking of his visit to the Grande Chartreuse, says, "You would have been both charmed and surprised with the cheerful resignation that appeared in their countenances, and with the easy turn of their conversation:"* a grace which monks of the middle ages could recognise, as where Trithemius praises the charming and polished diction of the holy man Berthold of St. Blase in the Black Forest. Michelet is of opinion that the refinement of French breeding before the revolution may partly have arisen from the monastic influence. The flower of delicacy, the exquisite politeness which were found in the parlours of the convents, contributed, he thinks, not a little to forming the tone of manners in society. The Abbot Gasper Jongelinus, the historian of the Cistercian order, expressly claims to himself, as observant of the rule of ancient manners, the permission to indulge in words of gaiety—

"Innocuos censura potest permittere lusus."†

St. Peter the Venerable, abbot of Cluny, says, "That with St. Bernard he can joke, but that he might fear to jest with others lest he should seem to them to depart from gravity and incur vanity; but with St. Bernard he fears no such charges. Therefore, united in charity, he finds it delightful always to converse with him, enjoying and preserving the sweetness of affection with playful words."‡

Kindness and the most benign gentleness towards all men formed another characteristic of the cloistral school, recognised even by writers who seldom favour it; as where Michelet says that the chief features of monastic life, from the sixth to the eighteenth century, were sweetness, innocence, and rectitude of intention. But it will be asked, How should the love of men be a particular characteristic of monks? Are not persons in the world similarly benevolent? Those who know them well, we may reply, seem to doubt it. Boyle says, that, "if all men, at all times, spoke their minds freely, and did not soften one another by concealing their mutual dislikes and dissents by certain outward expressions of kindness or respect, made by compliments and gestures, men have so many imperfections, and withal so much self-love, that scarce any two of them

echerche de la Verité, Lib. ii. c. 6.
ist. Mon. Vill. 5. ap. Martene, Thes. Anec.
‡ Drexel. de Univers. Vitiis Linguæ, 2.
ist. lxvi. ‖ Essais, iii. 12.

* Beckford.
† Notit. Abb. Ord. Cist. L[illegible]
‡ S. Bern. Epist. 238.

would endure one another."* Now, the monks required men to conceal nothing; and yet they esteemed them still: for in all, whatever might be their faults, they could discern some root of goodness, some ground for palliation, and much to love. But were not the secular clergy also benign? Truly they were: still there was something undefinable in the monastic manner more expressive than theirs,—something which rendered it impossible for any one while observing it to repeat, with a shadow of pretext, the exclamation of Dryden, "How are things ordered, that the wicked should appear more kind and gentle than the good!" The type of monks, with all our old English writers, not excluding even the dramatists of the Elizabethan age,—as Massinger, Ford, and, above all, Shakspeare,—is that of universal, adorable benevolence. "Sweetness, peace, charity, liberality to the poor, and, above all, piety towards our Lord Jesus Christ, are arms which every brother must assume," says St. Anthony, in his first discourse to the monks. "Gravity, sweetness, and humility," says St. Bonaventura, "constitute the grace of monastic manners: gravity renders religious men venerable, and worthy of respect; sweetness, amiable and deserving of love; humility, exemplary, objects of imitation."† "There are some men," he says elsewhere, "who never feel moved with affection for strangers, reserving, such sentiments only for those with whom they are acquainted by daily intercourse,—whom they love, not because they are men, but because they are known to them; but such piety is not the gift of the Holy Ghost."‡ This love of men as men,—the constant desire like that which St. Clement of Alexandria says is the wish of highest God, "to save the whole human race,"§ the hatred of the perfect, as when David says, "Perfecto odio oderam illos;" which, as Peter of Blois says, "consisting in loving the sinner, as the image of God, while hating the sin,"‖—such were the fruits of the cloistral discipline: and hence the monk was always affectionate in look and tender in address, as well became a messenger of grace to sinful men. This explains that passage of an English writer, where, speaking of the accumulation of lands in churchmen's hands, he says, "the nation apprehended that the engaging behaviour of the mendicants would still add to the inconvenience."* Alas! it is not exactly in the engaging manners of the proprietors who drove them out that the same nation now finds grounds of complaint. But the danger then might be imagined; for engaging truly were monastic manners; so that monks were dear, not alone to the aged and experienced, but even to children—

"——— and children know,
Instinctive taught, the friend and foe."

How loving and warmed-hearted were these holy men! "Strangers and foes do sunder and not kiss," would be their salutation; "for why," they would add playfully, "should a man whose blood is warm within sit like his grandsire cut in alabaster?" Never any thing can be amiss when simpleness and duty tender it. The monks loved those who came across their path, with that excellence that angels love good men with. They loved their beauty; as when Dionysius the Carthusian, after observing generally, that "in this life we see the beauty of God in all creatures, in roses and lilies and other flowers; in herbs, in the shade of groves, in the elegance of trees, in the amenity of fields, in the height of mountains, in fountains, lakes, rivers, and streams, in the beauty of animals, and, above all, in that of men," adds "if God has chosen to place such beauty in some countenances, that we seek with great desire to behold them, and gaze upon them with such delight that we can hardly be satiated or fatigued, or perceive the flight of time, how beautiful is God!"† Back from their presence the cold and formal! Was there mention made of some fancy of an unfledged comrade? They were the first to cry,—

"Hold it a fashion and a toy in blood,
A violet in the youth of primy nature,
Forward, not permanent;
The perfume and suppliance of a minute,—
No more———."

Hugo of St. Victor distinguishes expressly "the play of boyhood, of simplicity and innocence, from an illusion of mind, from persecution and death."‡ The monks knew what became their order, and also what became others who had duties to fulfil in social life. They would have man simple, affectionate, magnanimous. All their praises were reserved for him when he appeared "natural, vigorous, and elastic; such as

* Reflections.
† De. Reformat. Hom. Exter. c. xvi.
‡ De Septem Don. Spirit. i.
§ *Protrepticus*, x.
‖ *De Charitate* Dei et Prox. 38.

* Dodd. † De Venustate Mundi, 22.
‡ De Claustro Animæ, v. 18.

r saw him first, such as Poetry would ıee him."* Within the cloister too, rouded as he stands in robe majestic, re him before us in his own features, own dimensions; neither cramped by ıs, nor jaundiced by schools. "It is t gift of God to have a magnanimous ' says Antonio de Guevara, speaking conscious of having in his veins the noble blood of all Castile; but as a f St. Francis.

ı moderns, when it is a question of ing monks, have that defective vision distinguishes some nations generally, m the power of correctly drawing the figure is denied. A cowl or cord of Francis seems to have the power of ing the conjoined image on their so that many, misled by their report, ı surprised to hear that monasteries ıed men whose countenance and form ıonded to this nobleness of the heart

Yet such was the fact. The monk .en like the Homeric hero,—

— ὃς ἄριστος ἦην εἶδός τε δέμας τε
ἄλλων Δαναῶν———.†

were to desire to praise the beauty of rson and countenance from his boy- says Paschasius of St. Adalhard, "I not do it justice; but doubtless all ı as grass, and all its glory like the of grass; but the virtue of Christ, ılways flourished in him, remains for

Peter, abbot of Mount-Cassino, a from a child, and of the most holy rs, was of such an angelic counten- nd majestic air, that when the Em- Henry came to that house he was so that the chronicler of the abbey t it proper to record it.‡ In ascribing reet and tender disposition to the as fulfilling the type of their institu- ɜ have not been separating ideas from ıdulging in empty speculations and a rd of truth. Let the following illus- ı serve to convince the reader. Of

Balbulus we read expressly, that ɜsired to lead a life of celibacy on and preserve fraternal love for all rather than, with an eye of sus- to cherish partialities and hatred."§ ıtker Labeo we find this testimony: æ memoriæ hominum doctissimus et ssimus."‖ Bertram, abbot of St. Godehard, in Hildesheim, was never approached by any one, says a monastic historian, though it was only a poor boy or a rustic, but he stretched out his right hand to take his.* Of blessed Berthold, the first abbot of Garsten, an old writer says, "he was of such simplicity, that he used to speak to little boys as if they were old men, and used to win them so."† Benignity is the prominent feature in the character of Erluin, abbot of Gemblou, in the time of King Otho, as described in verse:—

"Sincero Dominum corde sequi studuit.
Quam patiens, et quam dulcis, quantumque benignus:
Alloquio blandus, mira gravitate modestus:
Mitis erat cunctis, suavis, pius,———
Quem mœstum vidit, quem tristem, quemque dolentem
Affatu dulci mœrentia pectora mulcens:"‡

as also in that of Halynardus, abbot of St. Benign, in the tenth century, who "discharged every office with zeal and gentleness, giving no offence to any one, that his ministry should not be blamed."§ If St. Bonaventura ever saw any one sad, he could never rest till he had consoled him, and made him joyous.‖

"He knew his soothing words to weave with skill;
Of all my madness told;
Then slowly from my brain the darkness roll'd,
My thoughts their due array did re-assume,
Thro' the enchantments of that hermit old;
—— Now cheeringly,
Though he said little, did he speak to me,—
'It is a friend beside thee,—take good cheer;
Poor victim, thou art now at liberty!'"

Thus did the monk practise the precept of St. Columban, "Pro misero miserans lacrymas effunde sodali."¶

Let us hear the friar speak, in his sweet simple way. "St. John slept on the bosom of Jesus before he wrote his Gospel," says the Franciscan, Antonio de Guevara, "whence we may collect that we shall learn more secrets sleeping near our Lord, than studying in all the schools of the world. The science we learn depends on the school where we study. I say this from experience: for in the school of the world I only learned to play the fool; in that of Satan I only learned malevolence; in that of the flesh I

ıdor. † xxiv. 17.
. ii. cap. xciii.
ehard, Min. de Vit. Notk. Balb.
on. Hepidanni ad an. 1022.

* Bodonis Chron. ap. Leibnitz, ii.
† Vita ejus ap. Pez. Script. Rer. Aust. ii.
‡ Libel. de Gestis Abbat. Gemblacensium, ap. Dacher. Spicileg. vi.
§ Chron. S. Ben. ap. Dacher. s. i.
‖ Wadding, iii.
¶ S. Columbani Carmen [illegible]
Canis. Lect. Antiq. i.

only learned to sin; in that of men I only learned to hate; but in thine, O my God! I have only learned to love. In this wretched world the moment that a poor sinner falls, he is detested and shunned by all, as if no one else was accustomed to sin; but I assure you, if all those who have sinned, and who glory in having sinned, were dead, there would be no occasion to build many houses, nor to sow much corn. But it is not so in the house of God; for what was snuffed used to be placed in basins of gold, to show that we ought not immediately to defame the sinner; for if God, who is the most injured, pardons, it is not reasonable that another great sinner should condemn his brother. This is the difference between serving God and the world; that in the house of the world many services are forgotten for one offence, and that in the house of God many offences are pardoned for one service."* Then preaching before the emperor, Charles V., in Lent, on the conversion of the good thief, after remarking that he remained three hours on the cross, and Judas three years in the apostleship, he exclaims, "O secret judgments of God! that, after thirty years spent wickedly in the world, this thief should satisfy God in the three hours that he was good upon the cross, and that these three hours should serve him more in stead than three years of apostleship served Judas. Truly in the house of God good thieves receive more honour than bad emperors. What faith was here! Faith had Abraham, but it was when God spoke to him from heaven: faith had Isaac, but it was from having seen God in his majesty: faith had Moses, but it was from the vision of the burning bush: faith had Ezechiel, but it was from having seen God surrounded with seraphim: whereas this good thief saw no miracles, and yet believed, calling him Lord whom he saw upon the cross: and how wondrous was his reward! for we daily see men rob in childhood, in youth, in old age, and even to the gibbet; but only of this thief do we read that he robbed on the gibbet, and what he took was the kingdom of heaven. O good Jesus, O love of my soul, if you permit me with such a thief to be a thief, I promise and swear to steal not an apple like Adam, nor idols like Rachel, nor a flask like David, nor a golden rod like Achior, nor grapes like the men of Moses, but thyself, Lord; for having found such a booty, was this thief made for ever happy. Cain offered to God fruits, Abel lambs, Noah sheep, Abraham pigeons, Moses incense, David gold, Jephtha his daughter, and Aaron his son, but the good thief offered his own heart; so that no one should marvel that I magnify him thus. For if I am asked what did he offer, I will demand in my turn what did he reserve? He that was of old called the God of vengeance, is now named the Father of Mercies, and indeed justly; since he pardoned St. Matthew his publican manners, the Magdalen her vanities, the Samaritan her adulteries, the thief his robberies, St. Peter his denials, and the Jews his death. O good Jesus, O love of my soul, let me ever remember that thy Father is no longer called the God of vengeance, but that Father of mercies is now, and ever shall be henceforward his name."

All persons conversant with the monastic character will admit that one can recognise it in every line of this passage. Had I not reason then to say that monks were skilled to cherish the love of men, whatever might be their faults? In regard to persons who were obnoxious to censure, it was expressly prescribed to them to show indulgence and liberality.

"When the brethren go forth, two by two, from the convent," says the rule of the Minims, "and see men clothed in soft raiment, and feasting delicately, they must not despise nor judge them, but let each one judge himself."*

A minor friar, who used to commend himself to the prayers of every one, met a woman, who was a sinner, at the city gate, and asked her to pray for him. "Father," she said, "how can the prayers of such a woman as myself profit you?" "Nevertheless," he replied, "pray for me, such as you are, and perchance your prayer will profit both you and me." She was converted by these words; she rose up contrite, confessed her sins, and led a holy life ever afterwards.† "Let us attend to the judgment of the love and promise of God," said that friar with St. Augustin; "What is the earnest we have received? We hold the death of Christ: we hold the blood of Christ. For whom is he dead? For the good, for the just? Nay, Christ died for sinners. Let human fragility take courage then: let it not despair."‡ Every fibre of spiritual pride was eradicated from the heart of monks. The personal humility which breathes in their looks breaks out where one might least look for it, as may be

* Regula Min. xi. † Wadding, tom. viii.
‡ In Ps. 148.

ed in the prologue to the chronicle of
a by Neplacho, abbot of Opatovic,
s most affecting from the earnestness
ich he prays for spiritual illumina-
How well the cloister was guarded
is insidious enemy may be learned
ie work of St. John of the Cross,
obscure night of the soul; in which
les to "those novices who receive
ions of a secret pride from things
id divine; judging others in their
being animated by a malignant spirit
l actions, in order to become more
eager to meet with persons who will
iem, and abhorring like death all who
regard them with indifference.†
onaventura shows that when monks
ier persons calumniated, they are to
i their defence, and never to sanction
nversation.‡ "It is a thing full of
they say, with Peter of Blois, "to
n any sinister suspicion against a
herefore, the apostle to the Romans
infirmum in fide assumite, non in
tionibus cogitationum.'"§ A cer-
anish nobleman drew on himself a
f reproach from the Franciscan,
de Guevara, for having, as the
's, unbaptized a recent convert, pre-
that he was a counterfeit. "Certes,
, you acted neither as a knight,
ourtier, nor a Christian, in styling
er day Cidy Abdicarin 'moor and
it.' What, are you the God of
ie prophet says, 'Scrutans corda et
to discover that this convert is not a
hristian? In all things external
ears as good a Christian as your-
d be assured that God alone can
ie who will be saved and who lost."
s enforcing the lesson taught by St.
who, when certain objectors were
ning a sense to his words, which he
d, replied that he preferred the
ce of the old Christians to the ob-
iligence of such censors.‖ The
tmosphere of monasteries was not
le to the latter, as Abeillard found,
for himself, when he was sent to
etreat in the abbey of St. Medard,
ie monks evinced such displeasure
rrow jealousies of the half-learned,
for detecting error in all his words;
he present day one finds no where
e truly liberal and delicate in their
t than in monasteries, where the

Pez. Rer. Aust. Script. II.
i. c. 2.
ilum Novitiorum, 32.
. xlv. ‖ Apol. Epist. xxx.

desire ever is to give to all men honour, and to genius and merit of any kind, though in avowed adversaries, whatever praise may be its due. The monastic writings abound with instances of this liberality; but I shall only cite the single example of Sigebert of Metz, who in the tenth century was a light not only to monks but to all the clergy, who flocked to him from every side. "His memory is still sweet," says an historian, "to many who remember his wisdom. He was most dear, not only to the Christians but also to the Jews of that city, because he was able to distinguish the Hebraic truth from other additions; and to what they said according to the Hebraic truth he would always assent. Upon coming to Gemblou he freely instructed many, who came to him, of his elders and superiors in dignity. This prudent man, while of much gravity, was not of indiscreet austerity, but was to all, as things demanded, of discreet moderation; for the reading and meditation of the divine Scripture greatly occupied him; and yet the daily celebration of mass and devout prayer to God were his first concern."*

The monks were accustomed to the hand, in the sense ascribed to the word mansuetus by St. Bernardine of Sienna; "accustomed to suffer, not rendering evil for evil." They had that mildness of heart in which he makes beatitude to consist, their maxim being always that of St. Augustin, "Melius est dubitare de occultis, quam litigare de incertis." St. Thomas says that this meekness prepares man for the knowledge of God, and, as Touron observes, "when he wrote those words he had had a long experience of their truth." Hear how the monk of St. Gall, Notker Balbulus, is described: "The meekest of men, in gentleness of spirit, and in peace of heart always walking."† One of the three Notkers of St. St. Gall being deficient in regard to this monastic feature, though one of the greatest men of his age, has nevertheless, in consequence, come down to us stigmatized with a reproachful epithet.‡ He had been seen angry. It is almost needless to add that the monastic meekness has always struck observers when they visited a convent. The same traveller I lately cited remarks, that in the manners of the monks of the Grande Chartreuse there was a mixture of dignity and humility which could not fail to interest. Mabillon says that he publishes the account

* De Gestis Abbat. Gembl. ap. Dacher. Spicileg. vi. † Eckehard, Prol. in Vit. ejus.
‡ Piperis-Granum.

of his travels in Germany, "non sine aliquo pudore;" adding, "Neque enim ii sumus, quorum facta vel itinera reipublicæ litterariæ scire intersit;"* and Trithemius apologises for writing his own life by saying, that "there are many things he has suffered, of which the memory can produce a contempt for the world and a desire of dissolution from this prison of the body."† In the monastic humility there was something mysterious, and no one could deceive or imitate it without possessing it. One evening St. Benedict was taking his repast, and a certain noble youth stood holding a candle before him. The saint knew that this youth secretly murmured, as if disdainful of such service; so he said to him, "Signa cor tuum frater, signa cor tuum:" then he ordered the light to be taken out of his hand, and desired him to sit down in peace.‡ In general their whole style savours of men who, at the elevation, kiss the pavement of the church.

But it will be said perhaps, the monk after all, generally speaking, is not a learned man, a man of letters: he is not distinguished as an author or an orator. Probably not. But, without alluding here to the facts which demonstrate that the contrary was often true, let us take occasion to show how this very observation, which may seem to furnish ground for disdaining monks, ought to be turned to their praise. For, supposing that the type in general was that expressed by Villani, the historian, where he says "he was a man of good life and little knowledge," whether, because he receives no consolation of science but from God, will he remain without consolation and inglorious? Is it a small glory that he has the knowledge of truth and love, and the will to die for them?§ You say he is ignorant of literature. Louis of Blois would not abandon his defence on that ground, but would reply, "Utilis satis est simplicitas, per quam melius conservatur humilitas." "It may be often doubted," says Cardan, "whether erudition conduces to happiness;"‖ and as often whether it tends to promote wisdom or goodness. It is not knowledge that makes men happy; it is the quality, the subjective state of knowledge. "Knowledge and wisdom," says the poet, "far from being one, have ofttimes no connexion;" and it was an observation of the ancients that man might be φιλόβιβλος μᾶλλον ἢ φιλόσοφος.*

"A multifarious reading, tasted at the edge of the lips," says Wibald, abbot of Corby, "pleases, but does not feed the mind. There is a certain avarice in science by which also our first parents were tempted. 'Eritis sicut dii, scientes bonum et malum.' Many things are learned, not that we may become better, but prouder."† "For the sake of guarding humility," says Eckehard Minimus, dean of St. Gaul, speaking of the monk of that abbey, Notker Balbulus, "though he was most learned and profound in science, he always applied more to the Psalter than to other books."‡ Many instances can show how well the monks were read to reason against reading. "The highest wisdom," says Peter of Blois, "is not to read Plato, nor to disengage the subtleties of Aristotle, but to love Christ, to serve Christ, and in this most grateful and fruitful service willingly, efficaciously, faithfully, and finally, to remain. Thus did and taught Paul; thus did and taught Bernard; of whose science you must be imitators, if you would share in their beatitude."§ The Master of the Sentences speaks to the same effect, saying, "There are some things of which the knowledge does not bring, nor the ignorance prevent salvation; and perhaps ignorance of such things is no defect."‖

There is a peace resulting from science, a false peace, which the discipline of true peace would discountenance; such is the calm and self-content of those engaged in mere human sciences, without a divine direction; as when Ulysses came to the Syrens, who promised knowledge. Homer says, that immediately the winds ceased, and that there was a great calm, and that the demon pacified the waves.¶ Thus does he appease the workings of the troubled mind, by promising natural truth. But the monks knew that the true peace could only be found in that wisdom which is sanctification and redemption; following St. Paul, who knew nothing but Jesus Christ and Him crucified; for all other wisdom without that they knew to be "inflation and perdition, a school of which they could not be disciples."**

Lupus, abbot of Ferrers, gives a letter to a monk who was about to travel, in order

* Vet. Analect. iv.
† Trithem. Nepiachus, ap. Eccard. Corp. Hist. Med. Ævi, 11. ‡ Chron. Casinens.
§ *Nieremberg*, Doct. Ascet. iv. 7.
‖ *De Sapientia*, Lib. ii.

* Strabo, Lib. xiii.
† Ap. Martene, Vet. Script. tom. ii.
‡ Lib. de Vit. B. Notkeri, 25. ap. Goldast. i. 11.
§ Sermo. liii. ‖ Lib. iii. Dist. 15.
¶ xii. 167. ** Pet. Bles. Serm. liii.

that he may present it to those who might require his testimonials; in which, after begging that favour may be shown him, he adds this testimony "For though he is ignorant of letters, the commandments of God, which he does not read in a book, he shows in his works, so as to merit from all with whom he converses not alone love but veneration."* Now this is the type of the monastic character, when void of learning. Let us beg to be presented to some who realize it. "Here is our Gerard, then," says a monk of Cluny, "born, indeed, not of the most noble parents, and not so imbued with letters, but that there are many more learned than he; but I know no man of such faith. It is now thirty years since he built a small monastery in his native land being on the public way, no mortal village, dedicating it to St. Mary of Charity passes by who, however he may dissemble, does not experience that Gregorian precept,† 'Quod hospites non solum sunt invitandi sed etiam trahendi,'"‡ "Lately," says Peter of Blois, "I saw a brother of the Carthusian order, Gerard by name, who above all things has desired to die for the last seven years, saying always with the prophet, 'Educ, Domine, de carcere animam meam.' His wish was to be dissolved and be with Christ. While we used to sleep, he passed the night in prayer and weeping, longing after eternal things; and though a laic and illiterate, he had written in his heart by the finger of God the science of life. He would answer concerning the articles of the Christian faith no less circumspectly than if he had spent a great part of his life in the schools of Paris. He was of a truth a condisciple of the Apostles, and of him who said, 'De excelso misit Dominus ignem in ossibus meis, et erudivit me.' Ah! how truly learned and wise was he! What did the windy loquacity of worldly philosophy profit Aristotle and his followers? Inflated with secular science, they knew not the God of Sabaoth. Let my wisdom and philosophy therefore be the philosophy of brother Gerard, who had nothing in his mouth and in his heart but Christ Jesus. Let my philosophy be the philosophy of Paul, who affirmed that he knew nothing but Christ Jesus, and Him crucified."§ Speaking of Father Euhyme, the abbot of La Trappe says, Although he had never studied nor received any tincture of letters, yet he had so solid a judgment and so quick a discernment, and God had given him so much grace and light, that he knew perfectly the whole depth and extent of his profession; and as he had a right heart and a right will, and as he loved Jesus Christ with an ardent love, so did He serve him for a guide. 'Lucerna pedibus meis verbum tuum.'"* Neither the wisdom, then, nor the goodness of monks were compromised by such deficiency. Goldast, in the dedication of his collection of old German historians, written by the monks of St. Gaul, uses these remarkable words, "The materials are good, if the workmen should not be great artists, yet are they, I believe, excellent in piety, if less so in regard to letters; nor do I think that any one can be found so ignorant of all things, who would not study to be rather better than more learned from these books, to acquire good morals rather than elegance of diction, to correct vices rather than expressions. Truly we might desire in the words of Plautus a return of their ancient manners; but some one perhaps will exclaim, 'What manners? Do you desire monastic manners, which all these writers instil, who cannot even teach us to approximate to prudence? The gods avert such madness!' If prudence be the ability which can by reason distinguish good from evil, truly such objectors, if they choose, may take examples from these writers. 'But they were abbots!' What then, has it escaped their observation, that in the whole action and administration of empire abbots flourished among the princes of the same empire?"†

Cardan himself, we may infer, would give the palm to monks rather than to the philosophers; for he says, "No one of these made men perfectly good, but the law of Christ alone makes men good."‡ And that, too, without other learning; when they are ready to say, "Let us be ignorant, and in nothing good, but graciously to know we are no better." "A pacific man," says the sage of cloisters, "is more useful than a learned man." And the same observation was made by the father of the scholastic philosophy, St. Anselm, who says that "God often works more by the life of the illiterate seeking the things which are God's, than by the ability of the learned seeking the things which are their own."§ On the

* Lupi Epist. 107. † Greg. Hom. 23. in Ev.
‡ Antiq. Consuet. Clun. Epist. Nuncupat.
§ Compend. in Job. c. v.

* Relations de la Mort de quelques Rel. ii. 152.
† Alemannic. Rer. Script. Ded.
‡ De Utilitate ex Advers. Lib. ii. c. 14.
§ Epist Lib. ii. 34.

other hand, we must not suffer the simplicity and humility of the religious to lead us into error, as to the extent of their attainments. We must remember that theirs was what Horace calls "the secret tracks of the deceiving life."

"Secretum iter et fallentis semita vitæ."

The poet calls "deceiving the world," the wise and happy life of those who live and die so obscurely that the world takes no notice of them. "Bene qui latuit, bene vixit." But it does not follow that their secrecy was uninformed. Each monastery, like Rome at the present day, had its mute sages; for the maxim of the monks was, that "wisdom is of use to him who possesses it, even if it be hidden from others."* Cardan surrounded with monks, found that the name of philosophy was sacred; but they had taught him this lesson, that "the thing necessary was not publicly to profess, but to show one's self wise, and not so much in studies as in actions; not to wish to overturn laws, to seduce the people, to contend with the ignorant, to take glory by teaching, but to be wise in secret, to lie hidden, and to trust in just deeds."† Monks, when obliged by charity to express their sense, spoke not that their hearer should bear a good opinion of their knowledge, neither did they labour for a greater esteem than might in some measure draw a belief from him to do himself good, and not to grace them. Petrus Sutorus shows that the Carthusians do not even desire canonization, all their labour and intention being to become holy in the sight of God.‡ Wadding observes that the seniors of the Franciscan family cared for nothing less than for gaining renown by the deeds of their predecessors:§ and Touron complains of the extreme negligence in all ages of the Dominicans to collect and transmit to posterity what would have conferred honour on their order.‖ See how careless monks were of fame. In the eighth century, in France, Prince Charles, surnamed Tudides, had for his confessor a monk of Corby, named Martin, who encouraged him to make a holy death. Mabillon complains that in the annals of the Francs he is only designated by these words, "Anno DCCXXVI. Martinus mortuus est;" and Adrian Valesius condemns this negligence and security of the Benedictine annalists, who seem to have supposed that posterity could divine what they meant. Mabillon, in the course of his elaborate researches, made the discovery of this Martin from an ancient manuscript in the library of an abbey, in which he read as follows: "Anno DCCXXVI. Martinus mortuus est. Fuit autem Monachus in Corbeïa, vir vitæ continentissimæ et adprimè eruditus, quem Karolus Dux in summa veneratione habuit, et peccata sua ei confitebatur."*

The supposition that men can be philosophers without being authors, seems inadmissible to our men of letters, who, if they had been contemporaries with Pilate, would not have left him the monopoly of writing in the days of the Church's greatest sorrow: but they should recollect that Pythagoras wrote nothing; for it was from memory that Lysis and Archippus composed a sum of his philosophy after his death; that Thales probably wrote nothing, and that Socrates never committed his thoughts to writing: which facts are remarked by St. Augustin, in answer to the pagans, when they objected that Christ had not written. "Authors are defective, like all artists," says Novalis, "and only more stubborn than others. Among authors by profession there are few liberal men, especially when they have no other subsistence but their writing."† Cardan, who had deep thoughts, seemed sometimes ashamed of having been an author; for he says, "After supper such a hatred seized me of my own books, as well as of others, that I cannot bear to think of them or to behold them."‡ Monks were not always authors; but their intelligence was able to divine and feel the force of the old Spanish maxim, that truths fine-spun, in retailing of which so much of authorship consists are fooleries. They were not always men of genius; but when they were, they knew that the good lives of their less able brethren evinced the best genius. They were not like the sentimentalists, who write so fervently on æsthetics or the poetic beauties of religion, without ever imagining that it should influence their daily actions; for to their genius one might apply the words of St. Gregory, where, speaking of the love

* Pet. Sutorus, De Vita Carthusiana, ii. 11. 4.
† De Utilitate ex. Advers. Cap. Lib. ii. c. 14.
‡ De Vita Carthus. ii. i. iii. 6.
§ Epist. ad Lector.
‖ *Hist. des Hom.* Illust. de l'Ord. de S. D. I. *Præf.*

* Præfat. in III. Sæc. Ben. 8.
† Schriften, ii. 222.
‡ De Vita Propria, 52.

d, he says, "Quanto ea valentius ur ad summa, tanto potentius recur- ima." Still less did the monks ond with the idea of high intellec- nerit, when the talent of display the public is made to be its criterion. ome defines a philosopher as "an l that feeds on glory."* This was ıe type of monks; for an everlasting ıther than an everlasting memory hat they sought, as Sulpicius Severus "Non scribendo aut pugnando vel ophando, sed pie, sancte, religioseque o."† There was much in them, er, that would have pleased the erd king, who sent back the messen- tell his countrymen that Cyrus ed the threats of men who had a place in their city set apart for the se of false swearing and mutual "The inhabitants of cloisters," Iugo of St. Victor, "investigate the ents of the Lord, not secular judg- . They keep the law of the Lord by meditating, and loving. In that ere are two witnesses heard, life and ence, two judges, meditation and e, two counsellors, the love of our our and the love of God."‡ They ıothing to do therefore with the gs, or what, in the babble of some s called "the platform;" or with the buffooneries of men who think that can know any thing of philosophy ıt having dined at a London tavern. were to love," as Hugo of St. Victor not the decrees of assemblies, but rets of mysteries; to meditate, not ecretals, but the Psalms; and the who spoke much disgraced his sacred § If one of the poor monks of ıd at the time of the dissolution, had rawn from his cell to appear before c assembly, he might have apologised ironical words of Socrates, begging ntrymen to excuse his utter want of nce and art, saying that he had the age of more than seventy years t having ever appeared there before. efore my manner will be unskilful, at of a foreigner. So then excuse if on the ground of my being a r and foreigner, if I speak in the ıd manner to which I have grown r."‖ We may describe the contrast in this respect between the monks and the sophists of these latter days in the very words of Plato. "Our hooded men, whose time has been spent in the study of wisdom, when led before public tribunals, are sure, as Socrates says, to excite laughter; while, on the other hand, those who have been occupied from youth in public pleadings and such affairs seem to contract a manner and character most opposite to that of persons who have been bred to philosophy. They have never been accustomed to discourse at leisure or in peace upon any questions. They always speak in a hurry; for they know there are limits in time, which they must not transgress; and they plead before a despotic power, whatever may be its form, and often concerning life and death; so that from all these causes they are vehement and acrimonious, knowing how to flatter and deceive that power, and having narrow and false souls; for servitude deprives them from youth of enlarged views, and straightforward integrity and generosity, compelling them to do many things by crooked ways, involving their tender minds in great dangers and terrors, which being unable to meet with justice and truth, they turn to lying and to retaliating injury for injury, bending and twisting many things, so that they grow up to manhood, having no soundness in their minds, but being clever and wise, as they suppose. As for the monks, bred to philosophy, all is different. In the first place, from youth they do not know the way to the courts of council or judgment, or to any public assembling place of the city. They neither see nor hear any of the laws or decrees, but as for parties of society or festive meetings, dinners and banquets, with music, they do not know in a dream how such things pass. Whether, also, any one has done any thing well or ill in the city, or whether injury has been done to any one, whether man or woman, by his ancestors, μᾶλλον αὐτὸν λέληθεν ἢ οἱ τῆς θαλάττης λεγόμενοι χόες, and of all this they knew nothing; since it is not for the sake of gaining reputation that they are ignorant, but because their minds esteeming all these things little, and as it were as nothing, are borne aloft above the earth and occupied in the contemplation of the universal essence of things, to the utter neglect of such matters. Therefore when forced to appear before a public assembly they appear deficient and absurd; for amidst reproaches they have nothing personal with which to reproach any one,

st. 92.
Vit. B. Mart. Prolog.
Claustro Animæ, Lib. ii. c. 17.
Claust. An. ii. 17.
ılog. Socr. 18.

as not being acquainted with evil from never having paid attention to it. Being wanting in this, they will be laughed at; and, moreover, looking upon every thing in another point of view from that which the multitude takes, they cannot fail to be despised. Property, parentage, power, all are estimated by them in relation to the whole of things."* Pardon this abstraction then in the monks, as lovers of wisdom, and be not surprised that they, coming from their cloisters, should be thus diverted by their souls to look and move always upwards. For this was to be expected of them. Do you think it strange if coming from the divine visions to the evils of men they should appear weak and dim of sight before they have become sufficiently familiar with the present darkness, being compelled to contend concerning the shadows of justice or its images, and to discourse of them before men who had never themselves seen justice? Certainly this would not be strange; for the eyes are obscured by two transitions, when they are directed from light to darkness, as well as from darkness to light."† Such was the abstraction of the spiritual ascetic as described by Louis of Blois, who learns to leave all things for the love of God; who possesses nothing with a tenacious affection of heart; who adheres to no visible and perishable thing, to no mortal creature;‡ who may say of himself in the poet's words,

"I have not loved the world, nor the world me;
I have not flatter'd its rank breath, nor bow'd
To its idolatries a patient knee,—
Nor coin'd my cheek to smiles,—nor cried aloud
In worship of an echo; in the crowd
They could not deem me one of such; I stood
Among them, but not of them; in a shroud
Of thoughts, which were not their thoughts."

Such was the ignorance of public and political affairs of the monks, who were expressly forbidden to crave for news, which became old and then known to them. "Be not curious," says St. Bonaventura, "to hear news of what passes in the world, which may distract your soul, diminish your devotion, and consume your time."§ So the monk in Spenser makes this reply—

"Ah, my dear son, how should, alas! a poor old
Man that lives in hidden cell, bidding his beades
All day for his trespass, tell tydings of war
And worldly trouble."‖

"To purity of heart," the monks were told, "conduce solitude, silence, study, prayers, meditation, and the wish to know nothing respecting the state of the world, 'quia sæpe plus nocent mala audita quam bona quæ sunt in libris lecta.'* Hence when certain persons came one day to the cell of the Abbot Stephen, and knocked at the door, the old man was unwilling to receive them, and contrived to withdraw into the desert without their seeing him, not returning till he knew that they were gone."† St. Benedict had charged monks who return from a journey not to bring back with them rumours, which always cause some distraction. In fine, obedience to their rule disqualified them for contending with men. They could not employ ridicule, falsehood, or the zeal of retaliation. They could have no chance, unless under the peculiar circumstances created by divine faith. Hermippus says that Demosthenes, when a youth, used to hear Plato, but that one day as he went to him, seeing a great crowd, he asked what it meant, and was told that it was hastening to hear Callistratus, an orator, and that having turned aside to hear him, he was so pleased, that he ceased to follow Plato, and thenceforth attached himself to the rhetorician.‡ There is therefore nothing wholly new in the choice so often made in later times, when men prefer the sophist to the monk.

From these observations, however, we must not conclude that the type of the monastic character, even when without learning, was deficient on the side of intellectual cultivation. "Sermo datur multis, animi sapientia paucis," said St. Columbkill.§ This last the mute unlettered monks might claim. When monks were not great readers, they might themselves be read; and as Fenelon says, it is better to be a good living book than to love good books.‖ One might study them as an old clasped volume, to imitate their style, and to treasure up their observations; for from their replies on various occasions much true wisdom might be often learned. Thus the historian of the monastery of Villers relates different sayings of Walter, the tenth abbot of that house, which had been diligently marked by the brethren.¶

"What does it avail," says St. Augustin,

* Theætetus. † De Repub. vii.
‡ Instit. Spirit. ii.
§ *De Reformat.* Hom. Exter. 26.
‖ *i. 1.*

* Thom. à Kemp. de Discip. Claust.
† Sophron. Pratum Spirituale, c. lii.
‡ Aul. Gel. iii. 13.
§ Carmen Monost. ap. Canis. Lect. Antiq. i.
‖ Epit. 22.
¶ C. v. ap. Martene, Thes. Anec. iii.

occupied with continual study, read-
actions and writings of the saints,
we imbibe their justice by masticat-
l ruminating, transmit them by
ion down to the depths of our heart,
ring in them our own state, and
uring to imitate the deeds of those
n we read?"* The monk, least
conversant with his breviary alone,
said, like that hoary man the poet
,—

e spent his live-long age
'erse with the dead, who leave the stamp
-burning thoughts on many a page
they are gone into the viewless damp
'es:—his spirit thus became a lamp
ndour, like to those on whom it fed."

in the cloister is a theme not suffi-
familiar to any of us, though it is
which poets and philosophers might
e most sweetly. "When I was
says Abbot John, "I used to go
nowned old fathers, to be blessed
, and to be edified."† Philosophers
iddle ages approved of this custom.
h observation," says Cardan, "was
ould respect infinitely old men,
much with them."‡ It was to
that these deep thinkers repaired
n of them, where especially were
who, like Cardan, had all their
g been "deep observers; attentive
lmonitions of God; in prosperity,
grateful; in adversity, remarking
y thing is for the best, at least to
ersal order; and convinced that
e personally remembered by God
extremest evils;—who, moreover,
ays set great value on time, like
whether riding, eating, in bed, in
, or in conversing; always medita-
ething, and laying up something."§
o, old age has its honour, and, as
its festival, on the beautiful day of
sentation of our Lord; when, as
he was acknowledged by Simeon,
famoso, annoso, probato, coro-
St. Augustin says.‖ As if it was
gh to have the testimony of angels
hets, but that also that of old just
required. Shall I cite witnesses
that in this respect monasteries
ivileged places? Then hear one
w the world well, and who ex-

le Scala. Parad.
onius, Prat. Spirit. c. 137.
ita Propria. § Id. 23.
13. in Temp.

"New love was this—old age with its grey hairs,
And wrinkled legends of unworthy things,
And icy sneers, is nought; it cannot dare
To burst the chains which life for ever flings
On the entangled soul's aspiring wings,
So is it cold and cruel———."

"Ah! my good lord, esteem more your prudence than your old age," says the Friar Antonio de Guevara, writing to Don Alphonso Espinel; "for otherwise, if you begin to count your years, there will be always some one ready to count your vices." How many in the world come to old age, as Cephalus significantly says in Plato, verifying the ancient proverb, "being filled with all miseries and vain regrets!" But, as this wise and happy old man observes, it is through their own fault; for with all men of just lives,—ἐν τῷ γήρᾳ πολλὴ εἰρήνη γίνεται καὶ ἐλευθερία. When old age is miserable, there is one cause,—οὐ τὸ γῆρας, ἀλλ' ὁ τρόπος τῶν ἀνθρώπων; for, if they are orderly and cheerful, old age is but moderately troublesome or painful; but if not, O Socrates! then both old age and youth will prove difficult to such a person.* "Men do not live now to be as old as formerly," said Luther mournfully, as he felt himself drawing to his end. We have before remarked to what an advanced age the monastic discipline tended to preserve men. Independently of the peace resulting from it, which no doubt was a main cause, the expansion of heart produced by the majestic offices of the choir, and the habitual exercise of the intellectual faculties, which, as Alibert observes, "is singularly useful for the physical duration of our organs," explain the fact sufficiently; which is avowedly recognised by physicians, who remark constantly that among monks old men are generally found. One of these venerable fathers, who had outlived three generations of men, must have appeared to a stranger and guest as did Nestor to Telemachus, when the youth said to him,—

ὥστε μοι ἀθάνατος ἰνδάλλεται εἰσοράασθαι.†

He must have been esteemed worthy of reverence, as in a true sense one of the immortals, already united with the infinite and eternal, a living witness fulfilling the prophetic song of the Church: "O mors, ero mors tua: morsus tuus ero, inferne." For, as far as regarded such men, there was in reality no such thing as death,—nay, we may add, no such thing

* De Repub. i. † iii. 245.

as old age, in the unhappy sense of the word; though there was a most sweet and peaceful state provided,—different indeed from that of youth, but still lighted with a smile that recalled the bliss of Paradise. Their words could spell-bind the listener, as the tones of the secret bird whom the twilight wakens: for such old age commanded a religious veneration; since, as St. Clement of Alexandria observes, "in proportion as man approaches to his end, so much more is he deserving of honour, when, having God alone older than himself he has more resemblance to Him who is styled in prophecy 'the ancient of days.'"* St. Jerome says, that in old men all other things decreasing, wisdom alone increases.† The aged monk, comparing his age with his first years, could say of himself, in Homer's words,—

———ἤδη γὰρ νοέω καὶ οἶδα ἕκαστα
ἐσθλά τε καὶ τὰ χέρεια· πάρος δ' ἔτι νήπιος ἦα.‡

Such old age, no one can doubt, exercised a great power. Even men of the external world were moved by it. "Its counsels," says a celebrated diplomatist, "do not wound, because it extinguishes rivalities; it shocks no self-love; and the impression which it wears of experience causes in others a diminution of confidence in their own judgment. Let us hope," he continues, "to preserve long the old men whom we still possess where we meet; they belong to times of which nothing else remains: their presence is a continual instruction; they tell us to take time in all affairs, and to appreciate all things without illusion. In their long career, all the sanctuaries of the human mind have been opened to them, and they have learned the science which estimates at their just value both the resistances of habit and the enterprises of the imagination." "I venture to recommend all younger members," says the learned Oliver, speaking of the society of Jesus, "to revere the hoary head, to court the company of those whose wisdom has been enriched by the experience of multiplied years. If this advice were better attended to, many interesting anecdotes, and points of valuable information, which elude the notice of general history, would often be perpetuated by tradition, and transferred to record."§ Yes, when men repaired to abbeys in the ages of faith, it was not so much the antiquated slab or mouldering column that they sought out with inquiring eyes, as the hoary head,—the father whose port and mien bore mark of many years, and within whose eyes were legible chronicles of untold ancientness, such as Dante had in view when saying,—

"I saw an old man standing by my side
Alone, so worthy of rev'rence in his look,
That ne'er from son to father more was ow'd."*

"I have seen some monks," says St. John Climachus, "worthy of eternal memory, of an angelic aspect, hoary with venerable age, of profound innocence, and full of the simplicity of wisdom; not insipid or irrational, like the old men of this world, bland, meek, placid, joyful, nothing feigned in them, nothing negligent, nothing adulterated, in words or deeds."† Trithemius bears a similar testimony to the innocence and patience of the old learned monks in the Benedictine order.‡ It was in monasteries that men found "the heart which had grown old, but had corrupted not." It was there that they found the equal to that great Henry Dandolo, the doge of Venice, in 1201, of whom we read, "Jam senex sed vir magnanimus."§ John de Monsterolio, secretary to Charles VI., describing his visit to the monastery of Caroliloci, near Senlis, says that the abbot, in the eightieth year of his age and the sixtieth of his profession, was erect and active as a young man, joyous and benign to every one, so that he was loved by all, proving the truth of Cicero's remark, that the vices which belong to many old men are of the men and not of old age; "though exempt from obligation, himself, he says mass every day, sings in the choir, and differs from no one else in the community excepting that what others do from obligation he does through devotion."|| Monastic peace not being exposed to perish when monks required power, superiors lived long, as may be witnessed in those of Cluny; of which St. Mayeul bore the abbatial crosier forty, St. Odilon his successor fifty-six, St. Hugo sixty, and Peter the Venerable thirty-five years,—each of whom, in turn, performed great things. What must have been the experience of such men! How much treasured up in their minds! In general, memory, without books, was a

* Pædagog. Lib. iii. c. 3.
† *Ad Nepot.* Epist. ‡ xx. 309.
§ *Collections* of the S. J. 154.

* Purg. i. † Scala Paradisi, iii.
‡ Chronic. Hirsaug.
§ Chron. Aud. Dand. in Murat.
|| Ap. Martene, Vet. Script. ii. 1390.

source of wisdom in the cloisters
middle ages, as was to be expected,
ist according to the opinion of the
s, who thought that its seat was in
irt, with the affections, which are
inseparable from mind; for which
the Romans said "recordor," and
a wise man "cordatum;" whence
r expression came, "to learn by
The Abbot Ammonius had learned
t both the Old and the New Testa-
s also a great part of the writings
thanasius and St. Basil. Orderic
says that William, a monk of the
f Ouches, had learned by heart the
s of St. Paul, the Proverbs of Solo-
nd many other treatises of holy
re, which he employed in his daily
se, to exhort those with whom he
ed.* Pope Paul IV. had learned
le Bible by heart, as also the works
a; and Gregory III. could repeat
lter, without missing or misplacing
Dominick de Mendoza, brother
as de Loyaso, confessor of Charles
also a Dominican, had learned by
ll the Sum of St. Thomas, and
de an abridgment of it in verse to
s memory.‡ Stung by hearing of
amples, the profane scholars of the
h century had recourse to strange
s in order to obtain results in the
imilar to these in the cloister.
ora was said to have anointed him-
h a certain ointment, which he
could impart an artificial memory,
ch drove him mad.§ The memory
ts supplied indeed very different
from that of such men, and seemed
the notion that its seat was in
irt: for they remembered best what
upied it,—their faults, to lament
he virtues of others, to extol them;
efits they had received, to repay
he divine mercy, to nourish hope;
to keep them watchful; and eter-
at they might never attach them-
what passes away.‖

Hugo, archbishop of Rouen, wrote
s in praise of memory, of "holy
" as he styles it, he had in view
er of commemorating the whole
of the Catholic religion from the
g of the world.¶ Lord William,

ii. † Drexel. Auri Fodina.
n, Hist. des Hom. Ill. de l'Ord. S. D.

. Camald. Lib. lxviii.
elius, Auri Fodina, iii.
. de Memoria, ap. Martene, tom. ix.

the eleventh abbot of Villers, was learned, we read, in the divine law; so that, in the chapter, he would produce before the community things new and old, exciting the hearts of his hearers to a love of the celestial country.* Halynardus, abbot of St. Benign, made archbishop of Lyons in 1015, used to read the books of the philosophers and those of secular wisdom, and whatever he found useful in them he used to treasure up in memory.† It entered into the monastic character to regard as common to all whatever had been written by any author, and to make use of it without fearing the literary quarrels which have so often embittered the existence of mere secular scholars. Like Aristotle and Pliny, the monks were great makers of extracts from the books they read; a custom, to prove the utility of which, Drexelius devoted an entire volume. Pasquier need not have charged with ingratitude Ives de Chartres, for copying from Burchard without naming him, nor Burchard, for having borrowed from Isidore: for such plagiarism in the cloister was deemed innocent, by men who were dead to egotism. "We are like dwarfs mounted upon giants' shoulders," says Peter of Blois of himself; "by means of whose stature we can see farther than they. The treatises of the ancients we render more elegant, by suppressing what was become obsolete; and we give new life, as it were, to their books which, through the neglect of men, had become as dead."‡

But what, above all, distinguished the men whose disposition was formed by the laws and spirit of the religious orders, was the unity of their character, the consistency of their manners with their doctrine, or, in other words, the fidelity of their lives to the vocation of God. "Magna res est unum hominem agere," says Seneca. Nothing, in fact, as De Maister after citing him observes, is so difficult as to be always only one man,—without inconsistencies, and without self-contradictions. Where can this be found in the world? "The truth is," says a keen observer, who quite looks through the deeds of men, "there is not in the Chamber," meaning the French Parliament, "a single deputy of any opinion who is consistent."§ Perhaps, if this Timon were to travel northwards, he would not

* Hist. Monast. Villar. ap. Martene, Thes. Anec. iii.
† Chronic. S. Ben. Divionensis, ap. Dacher. Spicil. i. ‡ Epist. 92.
§ Timon, Etudes sur les Orat.

have a better account to give of those who compose other assemblies, though guarded by every privilege excepting that of moral dignity. But if he were to pursue similar investigations into the character of men cloistered in a religious house, his testimony would be very different: for the monk was what he desired to find,—a man, consistent, collected, always one, the same unalterable friend and disciple of his divine Master. He looked at each action of his own life as other men regarded the deeds described in books, and applied his religion to daily practice: according to what St. Thomas says, "Conscience is nothing else but an application of knowledge to a certain action."* The monk was serious and in earnest. St. Odon, awakening in the night which followed his ordination, and seeing for the first time the stole suspended to his neck, began to weep.† "Unity is good; plurality, evil," says Cardan: "for if the good be perfect, it leaves nothing without itself; but when there are many things, one is not in another, and therefore goodness cannot be absolute."‡ The one thing was ever in the mind of monks, and hence the simplicity of their goodness. As is said of St. Hugo, the sixth abbot of Cluny, "On their tongue there was no arrogance, no word of vanity; but all holiness, and all that bespoke the monk."§ Their conversation, like their books, was perfumed with the fragrance of the desert; for they carried with them that interior solitude of the mind, which the ascetics said was more necessary than that of the body. Hence, too, that tone of Christian dignity, which is so remarkable in the writings of Suger, and of men like him. "I have resolved to take no notice of your insults," writes Antonio de Guevara to an Italian nobleman, "esteeming more my profession than the blood from which I descend; being convinced, that, after my death I shall not be asked whether I have lived as a knight, but whether I have lived as a Christian." And to another correspondent, who inquired respecting certain local antiquities, he replies, "Being a monk, it would be more fitting for me to inquire respecting the time that my order was founded, and the country to which the glorious St. Francis, belonged, than to know when the Carthaginians entered Spain, or the Romans took Carthage." Thus they never themselves. As we read of the b Hartmann, "whoever looked on th in a mirror might learn easily, by co ing them with other men, what was ing and what displeasing to the e King."* Such have I found the Italian friar, whose head inclines foundly each time that the name Francis is pronounced. In his h carries devout prints, to distribute walks along; he has a picture for smile and some gracious word for an though in company with the pr thinking no evil, diffusing charity very looks, simple as a child, recol as an angel: for he does all things spirit of prayer. When the pious found St. Benedict in his cave at Su the hermit was surprised to see a come to him; but, before he would into conversation with him, he d that they might pray together. The discoursed for some time on God heavenly things. Such is the cerer still in use in the holy courts of n teries. What dignified consistency in sages of the cloister adhering so fir God's service, and showing forth Ch liveliest portraiture! After once them, it is easy to detect the coun who goes forth to preach. "Who man," asks Cardan, "that writes 'De paupertate toleranda?' It is h in less than four years of friendshi Nero, has heaped up by usury, throu Italy, and by the testaments of w seven million five hundred thousan crowns!"† When monks preached o subjects, there was no danger of a being at their side to make comput of this kind. They taught nothin what they had long practised, and the sound of truth was mighty on lips; for, as St. Columban said,

"Doctor erit magnus factis qui quod do plet."

Monks, devoted to religion by thei profession, are bound, says S. Bo tura, "to live only of Jesus Christ a Jesus Christ."‡

But how shall we describe wh ascetic terms their "stupendous fami with Jesus?" Whenever these true f

* Q. xix. 5.
† S. Od. Vit. Lib. i. n. 37.
‡ Liber de Uno. § Biblioth. Clun. 415.

* Ap. Pez. Script. Rer. Aust. i.
† Hier. Card. de Util. ex. Advers. Cap.
‡ De Script. Grad. Vit. Spirit. c. 82.

him, their soul seemed to dilate
ıer proper self. We read of St.
he Cross, that on entering a mo-
ne day, and passing before a cer-
ıre of Christ, he was moved by it
a degree, that he seemed in a
o those who observed him.* "I
what I have seen," says a Fran-
for there is a good friar, whose
is greatly honoured throughout
ıo could not say a page of his
without being in a ravishment,
ɔuld repeat thousands of similar
: of ecstasy from our chronicles."†
k who conducted me through the
f Vallombrosa, could not point to
f our divine Saviour in the sepul-
hout kissing it, and saying, "It is
we owe salvation." His look,
dfastly he pored upon the view,
al his tone of voice, which I can
get, more impressive than a thou-
ds, formed a fine comment on the
t. Columban,

ıs est animus Christi vestitus amore."

these instances, the soul being
ed through ardour of affection
: body, had no need of a voice
ɔeaking to guide her; but as the
philosopher says, "the smallest
acted upon her, as a great ship is
rned by the least inclination of a
udder." "I believe," says Peter
"that the poor in spirit is he who,
ul of himself, and denying him-
Christ, has nothing in his thoughts
ry, nothing in delectation or de-
Christ."‡ Then we should have
this history in our first book; for
re the monks. Three old men
Abbot Stephen to speak about
ɜ useful for the soul; but he was
They asked him, "Will you make
, father, to us who came here for
"Pardon me," he replied, "all
will show to you. Day and night
d nothing but our Lord Jesus
ıanging from the wood." The
then departed.§
St. Dominick recommended most
riars, was to "speak always with
of God." They had no need of a
ɳuscript to aid them in the pulpit.
ɪrother Thomasuccius, a Francis-
ıt from Italy on pilgrimage to St.

thée, vii. † Le Sacre Mont. d'Olivet.
. xlii. § Sophron. Prat. Spir. c. 64.

James of Compostello, he took nothing with him but a staff and seven ears of corn in his hand, to contemplate in them the seven gifts of the Holy Ghost."*

Speaking of brother Euthyme, the Abbot De Rancy says, "he was so familiar with the holy Scriptures, and had made such just and spiritual applications, that every one who approached him was consoled; and nothing has so fully convinced me that the science of the saints, or rather of God is not learned by books, but that it is only God who can infuse it into the heart, as when I saw this poor monk, who had acquired with so little study such pure and exalted wisdom." This holy man says that Dom Bazile observed with the strictest constancy the precept of the apostle, "If any one speak, let it be as if God was speaking by his mouth." Of Dom Bernard he says, "one never observed in him an action, word, or movement, which had not Jesus Christ for its principle, its rule, and its end;" of another monk, "as for me, I feel bound to declare, as a testimony I owe to truth, that during the five years he has passed with us, I have never seen him commit an action that was not conformable to our holy laws;" and of Dom Ephrem, "I counted him rather an angel than a man."†

"Semper in ore tuo resonent bona verba salutis."

The monks to the letter followed this precept of St. Columban,‡ and what a charm did its fulfilment impart to their sacred character! To use the Platonic language, one might have asked how was it that such simple men, who seemed unable to speak or give an opinion on common subjects, should in an instant become so eloquent and profound, appearing to waken up from sleep, when there was made mention of our Lord? The reason was, because their inspiration and dependence was from Him, in the same manner as Socrates says that the faculty of the poet was from Homer. So when the melody of his sacred name sounded in their ears, immediately they awoke up, and their soul danced, and they found the words flowing to them in abundance; for not by art or learning did they deliver what they uttered concerning Christ, but by a divine power enabling them to proclaim his praises:

* Wadding, An. Min. ix.
† Relat. de la Mort de quelques Rel. de La Trappe.
‡ Carm. Monast. ap. Canis. Lect. t. 1.

while as for any thing else they paid no regard to it; so when any one mentioned the adorable name, they had no want of words, though they would be at a loss with regard to other subjects. "When once Jesus is named," says Peter of Blois, "all names of antiquity become wearisome to me. Most sweetly sounds the name of Jesus, that new name, the name of Him who said, 'Behold I make all things new.'"*

Thus they made no pretensions to proficiency in any art, though, as the ascetic says, "Magna ars est, scire cum Jesu conversari:" nor was it on learning that they depended. Their mission was to keep alive on earth the sacred fire of divine love, and to form some intermediate link in the chain of spirits, not as from a personal choice teaching wisdom, but as godlike men, divine, pouring forth what they received of his free bounty, who had made them apt for ministry so high. Still, to pursue the parallel in Plato, methinks Apollodorus would reserve his ears for them, as he did for his old master. "When I hear others," he would say, "especially your smooth, polite, or money-making men discourse upon such topics, I have compassion on them, because they think they do something when they are doing nothing." His language would be the same still; he would be disposed to criticise himself and every one, but those, who become the true representatives of wisdom.† And indeed, after becoming acquainted with a Bernard or a Francis, or any from the tribe of lowly ones that traced their steps, whose marvellous lives deservedly were sung in heights empyreal, can we wonder at such predilection?

Thomas de Celano concludes his portrait of the seraphic father in these words: "His raiment was rough, his sleep short, his hand liberal. As he was the humblest of men, he was sweetness itself to every one, accommodating himself to the manners of each; amongst the pious, the most pious; among sinners, like one of themselves." What would it have been to have followed this blessed man, or any of those who resembled him through life? To have marked how sung, how combatted these beautiful souls? how wandered upon earth, before mounting to heaven, these noble Christian intelligences? If since the time of the apostles, the Saviour has found any who have followed all the traces of his steps, who have fulfilled all his wishes, and attached themselves to Him with all the force and ardour of their souls, beyond all doubt or question these were the men.

The picture which Pope Clement VIII. gives of religious men when sending Carmelite missionaries to the king of Persia, is a portrait of monks by a master's hand. "Do not be arrested," said the Pontiff, "by their simple and rough habit; because if you consider their life and manners, you will discern that there are under this vile and penitential raiment, certain admirable virtues which are hidden, and certain rare talents which make them agreeable to God and man. Do not attend either to their feet which are defiled with dust and mud, as is inevitable with pilgrims who make long journeys, but consider the gravity of their discourse, and the sweetness of their conversation, and you will arrive at this conclusion, that they have souls void of the least stains, and that their hearts are purified from the infection of the things of this world. You will in fine admire the internal beauty of those who come to announce to you, with all imaginable blessings, peace."

* Serm. vi. † Plato, Conviv.

CHAPTER XV.

UT in what useful employment did the monks engage, and what service did they render to the world? For there are many who will still persevere that the monk was not fit for , as the author of Margites says,

ἄρ σκαπτῆρα θεοὶ θέσαν, οὔτ' ἀροτῆρα, τι σοφόν.

speak again of their literary prodigious, that a recent histo- rves, "it would put to shame our self-complaisance, and that, of fact, these calumniated com- did more for literature than any cal body of the present day."* bserve whether the advocates of ight not meet their opponents heir own most favoured ground, nstrate that by rights the palm them there also.

he friends of this world," says stin, "there is nothing more than not to labour." Cardan same remark, and says, "They to be the most prudent, find this or evils, namely, the being occu- etually with business, so as to ime for thought.† Similarly for ning is more tumultuous than t. "Solitude," says Cowley, "can ted and set right but upon a very us." Even Petrarch, writing from ry, remarks that he is not quali- joy its peace. "I have been happy, and master of my time; at present that liberty and leisure for souls of consummate virtue. t is not my state. Nothing is erous for a heart subject to the han to be free, unoccupied, and nd nothing more difficult, he e added. For see to what inter- abours are the lives of passionate ted! what activity in them to Calvin was more ardent in this respect than Voltaire himself. Besides the ten folio volumes that are printed, he left in manuscript wherewithal to form thirty more of the same contents; every page of which breathes restlessness, and impatience, and ardour for change. "They who are carnal men," says Richard of St. Victor, "that is, occupied with the desire of worldy things, have labour; but the good, because they neither love nor desire these things, escape and fly away from these afflictions; for from cupidity, which is the root of all evil, that labour arises, but by the renovation of the Holy Spirit the soul acquires wings and liberty."*

Thus when we at once come to the conclusion that what some wished to be the crime of monks is all turned to their praise: since it was a proof of goodness that they could have rest; that they could enjoy solitude; that they could devote themselves to contemplation, and spend their time in the idleness of the wise and virtuous, in sweet and sacred peace. The epithet *ἀπράγμονα* was used in praise of a person by the Greeks.† What, in fact, becomes of that contemplation of abstract truth, in which they so much delighted, where the whole life is engrossed with business? Pliny quotes the saying of Attilius, "Satius est otiosum esse quam nihil agere;"‡ which the monks might repeat in defence of their leisure when vilified by men of secular action. "We shall speak at leisure to those who are at leisure," says Richard of St. Victor.§ Happy times when great men could say that; but now all must be said and done in haste: for, since monasteries were destroyed, it is impossible to find any one of intellectual worth who has leisure to sit and converse with either young or old; or if such a person should exist, the influence of monasteries having been withdrawn, there are not even men who have time to listen to him. He is left alone, and may sit like a sparrow on the housetop.

. iv. 316.
lit. ex Adver. Lib. i. 4.

* In Cantica Cantic. 15. † Thucyd. ii. 40.
‡ Epist. Lib. i. 9. § De Contemplatione, i. v. 19.

Again, when you have abolished monasteries, what becomes of contemplation in a religious sense? of that free perspicacity of mind, as Richard of St. Victor defines it, which is occupied with admiration on the spectacle of wisdom?* "Honours," says Cardan, "when we are compelled to give our ears to salutations, steal time, and prevent the study of wisdom, than which nothing more divine can be found in man."† How many have been spoiled by the honours paid to them in drawing-rooms, and stript of all the fruits that their first years promised, when they were uncourted by the frivolous and only loved by good men for their "poetic meditations!" "External occupation," as St. Thomas observes, "may hinder the contemplation of wisdom;" and St. Bernard draws the conclusion in reference to the monastic leisure. Now these views are not to be immediately abandoned at the call of manufacturers, and of the writers who extol the consequences of their industry. These new teachers must first disprove the axiom of St. Thomas, "that beatitude consists in the operation more of the speculative than of the practical intelligence."‡ A great deal of occupation is similarly destructive of prayer, even of that which is mental; for the thoughts of men so engaged have no leisure for any subject but that of their business. Sheer idleness itself is not more opposed to the object of a spiritual life. The monks, therefore, required leisure, and sought to imitate in that respect the angels, of whom St. Gregory says, "Non sic foris exeunt ut internæ contemplationis gaudiis priventur." But like them they did go forth; and St. Augustin thus describes their two-fold operations: "The charity of truth seeks holy leisure, and the necessity of charity accepts just business; but if no one impose that burden on it, they should hold themselves free and at leisure to perceive and behold truth; if it be imposed, it must be accepted for the necessity of charity, yet not so as altogether to desert the sweetness of truth, lest that necessity should become an oppression."§ St. Thomas uses nearly the same words.‖ But Richard of St. Victor shows that without retreat not even the active virtues can be brought to perfection. "For he who indiscreetly desires to benefit others, and pours out before the time, remains," he says, "always poor and void of grace, having impeded his own progress and done less good to others. The prudent soul, therefore, does not wish to be called away from the quiet and silence in which it studies justice, because the worship of justice requires silence, until that worship comes to fruit and maturity; whereas others who are imperfect and carnal affect discipline before the time, and are more actuated by passion than by the instinct of utility."*

From these few observations it is easy to perceive the fatuity of those who speak evil of the leisure which the monks enjoyed. We read that the sons of Sophocles accused him of neglecting his family affairs when he deserted the care of the house for the sake of writing tragedies; but that the Areopagites absolved him: and assuredly the monks who neglected no duties to enjoy the same facility for intellectual labour must expect a similar sentence wherever wisdom is their judge. Speaking of the designs of God in requiring the service of contemplative souls, St. Gregory says, "That those who have made a great progress in virtue ought not to despise the lives of their superiors when they see them unemployed in external things."† It does not follow that they are therefore idle men. St. Bernard, to those who affirmed that a life of contemplation was a lazy life, thought it sufficient to reply, "Otiosum non est vacare Deo, sed negotium negotiorum omnium." Admirable sentence! with which the voice even of the ancient philosophy agrees. "The reward of wisdom," says the Pythagorean, "is not to be despised by men; for as the poets sing, that those of justice await men in Hades, so those of the understanding will be obtained in the islands of the happy. It is not grievous therefore if, for the present, wisdom should appear to be useless and good for nothing. For it should be chosen not on account of utility but for its own sake, because it is good. And as we ascend to the top of Olympus merely to enjoy the view from thence, without regard to any thing else, for that spectacle is worth more than great riches, in like manner the contemplation of universal nature is to be preferred to all the things which seem useful."‡ The monks, I am aware, would not have sought to defend themselves by citing such testimony. "I read of the question of Martha,"

* Allegor. Tabernac. Fœd.
† De Vita Propria. ‡ Quæst. iii. art. v.
§ De Civ. Dei, xix. 19. ‖ ii. 2. Q. 185.

* In Cantic. Cantic. † Hom. xv.
‡ Jamblich. Adhortat. ad Phil. cap. 9.

says Hugo of St. Victor, "but I do not read of Mary's reply. Nevertheless, I read that Christ answered for her: from which answer prelates might learn somewhat."*

But it is not necessary to take such high ground when meeting those who charge the monks with idleness. What land is not full of their labours? What city does not contain some memorial of their activity?

Quæ regio in terris nostri non plena laboris?

How often might the traveller, through countries now spiritually desolate, have repeated this exclamation of Æneas on finding wherever he went representations not indeed of battles and heroes, at sight of which the Trojan stood still and wept, but of the peaceful triumphs of religious men? Like that Virgilian wanderer let us feed our mind with an empty picture, and bathe our cheeks with tears, while alluding to the labours which deserved eternal gratitude, the very thought of which renders those who are too blind to pay that debt objects of an immense pity. "The monks were founders of cities, and true fathers of their respective countries. They built beautiful edifices and bridges, hospitals and colleges; they made roads, plantations, drainages, and above all —they made a happy people."† Hear how St. Paulinus, bishop of Nola, in his epistle to Victricius, bishop of Rouen, describes the labours of the Benedictine order in Belgium in that early age: "And now in that land, at the extremity of the world, which the roaring ocean beats with boisterous waves, to the people of these remote nations who were sitting in darkness, on the sandy way of the sea beyond Jordan, has arisen a joyful light from the Lord, and they have laid aside their rough hearts on the entrance of Christ. Where lately barbarous strangers or native robbers frequented deserts of forests and shores equally as dangerous, now venerable and angelic choirs of saints in cities, towns, islands, and woods, celebrate the divine praises in churches and monasteries with a numerous people."‡ In fact, the missionary labours alone of the monks demonstrate that they were not men who sought peace by idleness. In the seventh century the holy children of St. Benedict spread the light of faith through the benighted region of Europe. Andomar, and Amand, and Columban, in Gaul; Augustin, Wilfrid, and Cuthbert, in England; Kilian, Rudpert, and subsequently Boniface, in Germany; Fructuosus and Hildefonso in Spain instituted vast communities of saints. Anschar, the apostle of the north, was a monk of Corby. He, with one companion, went in 826 to the confines of the Danes, where, not content with the success, though so prodigious, which crowned his own labours, he instituted seminaries for future missionaries.* At the prayer of St. Stephen, king of Hungary, and Bareson, king of Sardinia, Desiderius, abbot of Mount-Cassino, sent monks from that abbey to evangelize their respective states.† In the tenth century twelve monks proceeded thence to Poland, where they established themselves in Calvo Monte, in the diocese of Cracow. In the same age Giles of Tusculum went also as a missionary to Poland. Thus, without alluding to the oriental missions undertaken by the Mendicant orders, in later times, here was sufficient proof that monks were not unprofitable labourers. Their journeys, described in great detail in the chronicles of their respective houses, are deeply interesting. When St. Otho with his companions, so late as in 1150, proceeded from Poland to preach the gospel in Pomerania, the difficulties they underwent may give some idea of the labours which then belonged to such an office. Entering the vast and horrible forest which divided those two countries, they had to make their way through pathless wilds and marshes, exposed to danger from serpents and monsters of diverse kinds, while the cranes, which had nests in the trees, harassed them continually by their clamorous cry. After six days they came to the banks of the river which formed the boundary, and there they first saw the pagans. Not knowing the disposition of their chief, the horror of the solitude, the black density of the forest from which they had immerged, the shades of approaching night, and the cruel aspect of the barbarians, caused them no small dismay.‡ Of their style of preaching on these occasions we can judge from many curious monuments. The sermon of St. Gall, preached at Constance in 615, conveys in brief space an excellent epitome of the whole history of man, and of the scheme of God in creation. This one short sermon forms an abstract of the whole Bible composed in the very words of the sacred text.§ Nor are we left in ignorance of the

* De Claustro Anim. ii. 21. † Rubichon. ‡ Bolland, Jan. 16.

* Mab. Præf. in iv. sæc. ii. 5.
† Hist. Cassinens. vi.
‡ De S. Ottone Pom. Apostol. Lib. i. ap. Canis. Lect. Antiq. iii.
§ Ap. Id. tom. i.

purity of intention which was required in these monastic enterprises. "The brethren who, by Divine inspiration, wish to go to the Sarassins and other infidels," says the rule of the Minors, "must obtain leave from their superiors;" and Louis of Paris supplies this commentary, "They must not go through lightness of mind or cunning to avoid regular discipline, or from a desire to see the world, but they must go, inspired by the Holy Ghost, from a zeal to gain souls, and content to suffer even to the effusion of their blood for the glory of Jesus Christ."* But the difficulty of my present task is not to point out the labours of the monks, it is only to know how to convey some faint idea of their multiplicity and extent. There is one ministry to which some orders were expressly devoted, of which I must relinquish the attempt to speak in despair. Such was the office of redeeming captives. The pages which describe it in the monastic writings are so delightful that I should fear to trust myself with any citations, lest this chapter might swell into a book. Only let the reader refer to the travels of the monks of the order of the Holy Trinity, whose provinces in our own three kingdoms were once so flourishing as to require a separate history, and he will wonder that such long tract of ages should have constantly seen angels pass. There he will find a description of the adventures and sufferings of the captives, often deeply affecting, as in the instance of the Countess de Bourk and her daughters; there he will read of the barbarity of the infidels, and the characteristics of their tyranny; of the zealous and devoted exertions of the fathers of the redemption; of their travels and escapes; of their institutions of charity in the Ottoman empire; the history of the monks who served them from their first vocation to the death which closed their heroic self-devotion; of the return of others with the captives whom they had delivered; of their general processions through Spain, and Italy, and France, leading back thus to their respective homes in solemn triumph the Christians whom they had redeemed, some of whom had been slaves from boyhood to a great age. There he will read the long catalogue of these redeemed slaves, the order of their progress, and of the transports and charity of the population through which they passed.†

* Expos. Lit. de la Règle des FF. Mineurs, 12.

† Les PP. Comelin, De la Motte, et Bernard. Voyage pour la Redemption des Captifs, Paris, 1721. Busnot, Hist. du Règne de Mouley Ismael, roy de Maroc. Rouen, 1731.

Another labour of these ministers of love to which I can only allude in passing, was the service which they rendered to the people in times of public calamity. We met with instances in the Seventh Book. They come before us everywhere. What tombs are these in the chapel of St. Lambert on the left bank of the Aisne? They cover what was mortal of two monks of St. Leger and a Franciscan friar, who fell victims while serving the sick during the pestilence at Soissons in the reign of Louis XIV.* Observe how the physician Berniers speaks of the Franciscans, and Minims, and Capuchins in Blois, and of their heroic services rendered to the inhabitants during the pestilence in 1631. "Of the latter, father Vincent de Nevers alone escaped the danger: and he performed the office of magistrate, physician, and pastor."† The continuator of Nangis, speaking of the plague in 1348, says, "that in many cities and other places the secular priests left the task of assisting the people to some courageous monks and nuns, who, rejecting the fear of death, in their sweetness and humility, used to touch and handle them. Renewed often by death," he adds, "they repose, we believe, in the peace of Christ."‡

But these, it is true, were not the universal and constant employment of the monks. Let us then see whether, apart from the particular vocations of some orders and from the services of others, on occasions of a peculiar nature, the monastic life in general can be justly designated as an idle and unprofitable existence. Truly there must be much ignorance or courage in those who bring such an accusation against it. If the term "stationary period," in an evil sense, is to be applied to the middle ages, assuredly the monks were not in fault; for their maxims were those proclaimed by St. Bernard to the abbots assembled at Soissons, when he said, "Non est stare omnino in pendulo fragilis scalæ, neque in incerto hujus mortalis vitæ quicquam in eodem statu permanet. Aut ascendas necesse est, aut descendas. Si attentas stare, ruas necesse est."§ Was it idleness to pray and devote one's self to God's service; to give the world an example of detachment and of virtue; to cultivate deserts; to till and embellish lands reputed uninhabitable; to create resources for thousands of families; to teach youth gratuitously; to extend all

* Martin, Hist. de Soissons, ii. 588.

† Hist. de Blois, 68.

‡ Contin. G. de Nang. 110. § Epist. xci.

succour through the country; to
and complete immense works;
retreat to repentance, a refuge to
and to innocence; to exercise a
affectionate hospitality; to satisfy
ual and temporal wants of an
l population? Could a life that
ich labours be deemed idle, though
gmatized as something infamous
eachers of the new religion who
Europe in the sixteenth century?*
nks," says an old historian of
who knew them well, "were always
occupied and never idle, but
ing of good and godly works, or
he holy Scriptures."† Dom Bon-
ler to labour with more assiduity
at work, the Biblia Maxima Pa-
cated the dignity of prior which
n the abbey of St. Germer de
retired to that of St. Ouen in
Gillebert of Holland, the abbot
ned the sermons of St. Bernard
ng of Solomon, expressly com-
e labour of those who committed
thoughts to writing, on the prin-
it was good to give motion to the

à Kempis, speaking of the ad-
f a monastery, says, "There it is
to no one to be idle, but to every
ointed a measure of appropriate
Different arts," says Duns Scotus,
iplied on account of their limita-
pect to different artists, or diverse
form in respect to diverse effects
"¶ The monks seemed to have
oraculor the line of St. Columb-

amanda quidem est rerum doctrina
im."**

are so many occupations in the
life," says its historian, "that
nlearned can scarcely find time
all that is to be done."†† An
d hardly be an idle man, when,
eter the Venerable, he had not
swering the letter of such a cor-
as St. Bernard. "The multi-
affairs," says that holy abbot to
ged me to put off writing first

ller, Hist. de Réforme Prot. en Suisse.
cient Rites, &c. of Durham, 137.
h. Hist. de la Cong. de S. Maur. 41.
Tract. de Studiis Monasticis, i. cap. x.
um, p. 1, 2.
rum Principio, i. 1.
. Monast. ap. Canis. Lect. Antiq. i.
Sutorus de Vita Carthus. Lib. ii. tit.

for one day, then for several days, then for a month, finally for a whole year; and now at length with great difficulty I find an opportunity for writing."* Of Lambert, abbot of Lobes, we read, "Concerning the assiduity and devotion of his prayers, the grace of compunction which he evinced, the constancy of his reading to which he applied himself not only at home, but even when travelling on horseback, or lodging on the road, the sparingness of his food and clothing, the love which he cherished for the word of God and for the science of the Scriptures, to the study and collation of which he applied himself whenever he had opportunity, the fervour of his love for God and his neighbour, which he exercised in worthy works, it would be difficult to treat sufficiently. At his death the image of our Lord's cross was before his eyes, for in that he placed all his hope of redemption. His constant words, even in his agony, were, 'Multa flagella peccatoribus; sperantem autem in Domino misericordia circumdabit.'"† "Halynardus, abbot of St. Benign, at Dijon, in the tenth century, was so diligent, that he used to carry a book in his hand even on a journey."‡

Thus was verified in monasteries the remark of Cowley, that "the first minister of state has not so much business in public as a wise man has in private: and that if the one has little leisure to be alone, the other has still less to be in company." Hear how conscious of this fact were the men who founded and inhabited them. Saba the monk, and as he styles himself, the unworthy abbot of St. Salvator de Scholari, speaks as follows in his testament. "Being a scholastic, I considered these things deeply, and because I, an humble sinner, am created out of nothing by God, and decorated with his image, and because Jesus Christ delivered himself up for us, I, inflamed with divine zeal, and neglecting all earthly things, have chosen the monastic life, and offered myself to Jesus Christ, for I knew that I could not otherwise pay Him unless I committed the remainder of my life to Him, and served Him: therefore, going from the city to a certain place of my possessions near the river, called Bordonari, like another Abraham, I made my dwelling there, leaving the world, my neighbours, and friends. Wishing also to divide my substance fraternally among my children, I did so by God's

* S. Bernard, Epist. 229.
† Fulcuinus de Gest. Abb. Lobiens. ap. Dacher. Spicileg. vi.
‡ Chronic. S. Ben. ap. Dacher. Spicileg. i.

help; for having assembled them all, I judged that the eldest should have his part, and the others the rest of what I possessed in Sicily and Calabria, whether fields, vineyards, gardens, mills, houses, vassals, and mountains in the territory of Messana and Palermo, and besides horses and mares, cows and oxen, sheep, asses, men-servants and maid-servants, with their sons and daughters. All these I divided amongst my sons justly. Therefore, in the name of Jesus Christ our Saviour I built a beautiful church, in which I placed all my legitimate property, moveable and immoveable, with 300 beautiful manuscripts; and I walled the place round, and built cells, and ornamented it as much as I could; in which house I cut off my hair, and put on the habit of monastic life, and I am called Saba, and I live with other monks in the usual manner of monks, praying and seeking alms from God, not idling, nor fearing labours nor death, since it is not corruption of life, but a change to another greater and eternal life; for precious in the sight of God is the death of his saints."*

The Benedictine monks penetrated into the vast deserts of Germany, which are designated as the Black Forest. There they built monasteries, cut down trees, and renewed the face of the ground, breaking down rocks, and cultivating the land, so that by degrees this holy colony in the woods gave birth to noble towns and great cities. Walafrid Strabo says, that St. Gall "found the place on his arrival subject to frequent inundations, terrible through its asperity, and nourishing amidst precipitous mountains and winding valleys many wild and raging beasts; for besides stags and herds of harmless animals, there were many bears, and innumerable boars and wolves of singular ferocity."†

"In the fifth and sixth centuries," as Staudenmaier observes, "the monks who were not employed in preaching tilled the ground, and converted deserts into fruitful fields. Where there had been only wastes and barbarous pagans, men saw gardens, meadows, and corn lands, as if a new created world, and also great towns. Posterity," he adds, "has ungratefully repaid them, having no eyes for that which can be accomplished by a life that is spent in prayer, labour, and contemplation."‡

In the tenth century, Aligernus, abbot of Mount-Cassino, built the towns of St. Angelo, Terrucculus, Cervarius, and others, which he fortified with besides erecting several detached tow castles for the defence of the country

Down to late times the Benedict the abbey of Badia, near Florence, was founded in the tenth century by Hugo, marquis of Tuscany, son Countess Villa, and Albert, marq Spoleto, have rendered important se the country by the encouragement they have given to the cultivation Appennines. In general, of all th works of the middle ages that would termed national, the monks were the and hence many abbots, like Bernard I of the monastery of St. Martin de at Palermo, have won from the peo title of fathers of their country.† It that the abbots of Croyland had been accustomed to undertake and prese embankments in the fens, to preven dations, that on a certain occasion, reign of Henry VI., when the floo them down, and, aided by a strong wind, laid the whole parish of Whs under water, some chief men of th thinking that the abbot had perha lected the necessary precautions, in a process against him, as if he ha bound by law to secure the banks. result of the trial in the king's cou the dismissal of the charge, on the as the judges declared, of there be legal obligation to oblige him, althou abbots had always been in habits of re and making embankments, solely t charity, for the safety of the country benefit of the people of our lord the

Egelricus, of the monastery of D in the reign of Edward the Confesso great expense, made a solid road o and sand pressed down through the of that vast forest and profound m Depyng as far as Spaldyng; a pro work, says the old historian, called fro Elricherode, and for which all the F midlanders and Saxons blessed his n

A vast number of the parish chur the county of Somerset were rebuilt paired by Richard Beere, abbot of G bury, in the fifteenth century, the of whose name may be discovered walls. It was a poor monk of Einsi at the suggestion of his Abbot Ger

* Ap, Sicilia Sacra, ii. 1004.
† *Gerbert*, Hist. Nigræ Silvæ, tom. i. 44.
‡ *Johan Scotus und die Wissenschaft Seiner Zeit. i. 73.*

* Hist. Cassinens. sæc. v.
† Sicilia Sacra, ii. 1080.
‡ Hist. Croylandensis, Rer. Ang. Script
§ Id.

the twelfth century, who threw that daring bridge over the river Sylle, to which the name of the Devil's Bridge has been given, to indicate the difficulty of its construction.* In all curious and useful works monks took the lead every where. Those of the abbey of Cork were the first to erect a salmon weir in that country. In the fourteenth century the abbot and monks of Hauterive contributed so much to the great work of surrounding the city of Freybourg with walls, that the magistrates returned them solemn thanks, with a declaration that they had followed solely their own free will through zealous love. Such were the fruits of the monastic industry on great occasions; and its usual direction day by day was no less profitable, as will appear from observing the services rendered by the monks in their capacity of rural proprietors. Monks are continually styled agriculturists in the old chronicles. William of Jumiège uses the terms as synonymous.†

"We cannot shut our eyes to the fact," says a recent historian, "that for improvement in agriculture the Germanic empire was indebted to the monks. In whatever place these extraordinary men were located they soon showed what could be effected by willing minds, still further influenced by the sacred obligations of duty. From incontestable evidence we know that luxuriant meadows were soon made to start up from the fens, and ample harvests to wave on the sandy plain or the black mountain."‡

The monk might make the innocent boast of one of Virgil's farmers, and say,

"Possum multa tibi veterum præcepta referre;
Ni refugis, tenuesque piget cognoscere curas."§

It is recorded of St. Ansegisus, abbot of Fontanelle, in the ninth century, that "he was most sagacious in the precepts of agricultural matters; so that there never was wanting to him an abundant supply of the various fruits of the earth, which he always gave with a liberal hand to all who were in want."‖ Similarly we read in the old life of blessed Stephen, abbot of Obazine, in the country of Limoges, that "nothing of rural exercise was unknown to him, and that there was no agricultural or rustic art which he was not qualified to teach and exercise better than other men."¶ At Pierri, a village near Epernay, there was a Benedictine monastery, in which Dom Périgoon made some celebrated experiments, which proved successful in bringing the art of making wine to perfection.* It is a remark by Le Grand d'Aussy, that in later times the proprietors of vines, through greediness of gain, have neglected the cultivation of the best for others that bring more, but a worse produce. The monks attended to this work themselves, and did not leave it to ignorant cultivators.

In the time of St. Filibert there were rich vineyards on the territories of the abbey of Jumièges, where now there are none. In the time of Duke Richard II. the monastery of Fécamp had vines; and in the beginning of the thirteenth century some of the wine of the abbey of Bec used to be sent to Philip Augustus; and Corby had also its vineyards: none of which places now prodnce wine.† Ildefons von Arx, in his history of the abbey of St. Gall, remarks in like manner, that, since the days of the monks, the avarice of the proprietors of vineyards has caused a deterioration in the quality of wine.‡

The idea of cloistral Bucolics conveying rural observations in verse was not unknown to the monks. Perhaps we might gather much from the Hortulus of Walafrid Strabo and the peaceful eclogues of the monk Metellus, who, in the twelfth century, wrote them in his monastery of Tegernsee,§ which is a house embosomed in the Alps in Upper Bavaria. The subjects of his ten eclogues, in imitation of Virgil, are the cattle and pastures of the monastery. The piety and simplicity of these productions would at least charm those who love to repeat the religious maxim of Virgil's goatherds,

"Ab Jove principium, musæ; Jovis omnia plena:
Ille colit terras; illi mea carmina, cura."

In the monastic Georgics might be found many curious rules for conjecturing the weather from the flight of birds, the habits of animals, and the aspect of the heavens. The monastic shepherd tells us that in every flock there should be one sheep wearing bells, which, if the weather is to be fine, will be the first to leave the fold, and if the contrary, the last; that if the starlings fly from a tree all together, there will be cold weather; if one by one, rain; and that as a general rule we may remember this line,

* Chronique d'Einsid. 27. † vii. 23.
‡ Dunham, Hist. of German Empire, ii. 78.
§ Georg. i. 176.
‖ Mab. Acta S. Ord. Ben. sæc. iv. p. 1.
¶ Ap. Baluze, Miscell. 1.

* Monteil, Hist. des Français, iv. 469.
† Id. tom. iii. 39. ‡ ii. 639.
§ Ecloga Quirinalium, ap. Canisii Lect. Antiq. iii.

"Rouge vespre et blanc matin font esjouyr le pelerin."

"The meteorological observations of the monks," says one who is not their friend, "are interesting to determine the maxima and minima of temperature, and to attest the periodical return of certain phenomena. Making the necessary corrections in the calendar, we find from them at certain epochs that storms occur."* What curious notes of this kind were written by Angelus de Nuce, the 136th abbot of Mount-Cassino, to illustrate the chronicle of that house by Leo of Ostia and Peter the deacon. In the Chronicon Lamberti parvi a Reinero Monacho continuatum we find a complete journal of the seasons.† In the annals of Corby in Saxony peculiarities in the habits of storks and wild geese are incidentally noted; for after relating that in 974 a fire began in the stable, the monk adds that it was soon extinguished, the storks giving notice of it in the middle of the night, by their glotterating much. Again, in 1141, he mentions that some wild geese on their passage sat on the roof of the church and fought together.‡ In another history we read, that, on the thirteenth of August, 1620, a vast flock of no fewer than fifty storks were seen from the monastery of Plass in Bohemia, near which they rested all night.§ The monks were fond of making observations of this kind, which must have rendered them in one respect at least well qualified to compose Georgics. During a short walk round their monastery, they could point out some things that are now perhaps known but to a few; for they had many latent Watertons and Audubons amongst them, at whose predominant propensity the good fathers smiled. But we must not loiter here with them, watching the birds and the sky. The words of Petrarch will direct us to survey other fruits of the monastic industry; for, after exclaiming, "Oh, peaceful and celestial life, O life better than all lives, life susceptive only of good, where salvation is expected, and the sweet yoke of the Lord borne in silence and rest; life that repairs the soul, repairs the affections, reconciles men to God, and that saves innumerable men from ruin," he adds, "life favourable to genius, disdainful of the body, the mother of nobility, the nurse of virtue, the mountain of contemplation,—and what shall I say, unless that thou art all things together—a life most happy and proper for every good work; a life for philosophers, for poets, for saints, for prophets."*

Such was the conviction of men in ages of faith, which every observation of the fruits of monastic life justified; for monks were poets, painters, and musicians of excellence, so great as not to let the tongues even of their foes be idle in their praise. In entering under the sweet shade of the cloister the Christian offered to God whatever peculiar talent he had received from Him. Before the altar all the brethren resembled each other by prayer, but on returning to their cells the prism was decomposed, and each expressed after his own manner a ray of the divine beauty.†

After our late walk then in the fields with our hooded guide, let us follow him from cell to cell, to visit brethren who delight in labours of this latter kind. We have seen practical men, busy men, ardent to conceive great works, indefatigable to perform them; let us pass to the contemplatists, and we shall find that neither were they idle or inactive in their sphere of usefulness; for poetry, painting, and music are useful as well as delightful labours to men of good will.

"In 999, say the annals of Corby, in Saxony, Meynholt shone in various literature; for he was a theologian, a philosopher, a musician, a poet, a good master of the school, an eloquent orator, and a devout monk, quam pulcrum hoc septenarium!" After this they have only two words for their domestic calamity, adding, "Corby is burnt."‡ It would be long to tell how many poets wore the cowl. In the abbey of Reichenau we find Walafrid Strabo celebrated for his poems on the life of the monks Mamma and Blaitnaic, on the visions of Wetten, and also for his Georgics and Epistles. In the abbey of St. Victor, in Paris, we find Leoninus, from whom the Leonine verses derived their name; who composed a poem in twelve books upon the Bible, and whose Epistles to the Popes Adrian IV. and Alexander are versified in the monastery of Cluny we find another poet, who thus sings of himself,

> "Hugues de Bercy qui tant a
> Cherché le siècle ça et là,
> Qu'il a veu que tout ne vaut rien,
> Presche ore de faire bien."§

* Libri Hist. des Sciences Mathem. en Italie, ii. 235.
† Ap. Martene, Vet. Script. v.
‡ *Ap. Leibnitz*, Script. Brunsv. iii.
§ *Gasp. Jongel.* Notit. Abb. Ord. Cister. v. 8.

* Lib. ii. De Vita Solitaria, Tractat. ii. cap. ix.
† Lacordaire sur l'ordre des Frères Prêcheurs.
‡ Ap. Leibnitz, Script. Brunsv. iii.
§ Pasquier, Recherches de la France, vii. 3.

Dom Morillon, who acquired great reputation for his French poems, wore the Benedictine cowl in an abbey of the congregation of St. Maur. In the monastery of St. Gall were many poets. Konrad the Abbot is cited, with counts Kraft of Toggenburg, and Werner of Homburg, even among the Minnesingers.

Rapertus, in a solemn poem, described the life and manners of St. Magnus, as evincing the graces of the eight beatitudes. He also composed many songs and hymns; and, for the use of the people, a canticle on St. Gall, in German. This was the author of that curious history of the abbey, carried on after his death in 897 by others, which is one of the most important books for the study of the middle ages. Tutilo, his companion and devoted friend, who could preach in both Greek and Latin fluently, was also a poet, some of whose hymns and songs are extant. Waltram, the librarian of the abbey, and confessor of the blessed Wiborad, wrote also many hymns and elegies; as did Notker Balbulus, that meek and holy monk of the race of Charlemagne, whose proses and melodies were so celebrated. Hirmann, son of the count of Veringen, surnamed "Contractus," from a weakness in his limbs, who is said to have prayed that he might have science of the Scriptures rather than soundness of body, was another monk of this abbey celebrated for his poetic genius. He it was, as Trithemius says, who composed the "Salve Regina."

In English cloisters many poets wore the cowl. In the abbey of Dunstable we find the monk and poet, Robert; in that of St. Alban, Hanwill; and another hooded man, whose name is unknown; in that of Circenster, Neckham, who was abbot there; in that of Bury, Lydgate; in that of Whitby, the elder Caedmon, a cowled poet, of whom Bede makes mention thus: "In this monastery," saith he, "there was a certain monk remarkable for the divine grace which enabled him to compose songs to the encouragement of devotion; so whatever he learned he could turn into poetic words and metre of exceeding sweetness, in his native tongue,—the English. By his songs the minds of many have learned to despise the world, and to glow with the love of heavenly things. None were able to contend with him in making verses; for he learned his art, not from men, nor by men, but received it as a gift from above. While in his secular habit, until of mature age, he learned nothing of the art. Indeed he had no taste for it: for sometimes, at a festive entertainment, where for the sake of hilarity the harp was brought in, and all were required to sing in their turn, he used to rise up, leave the table, and return home, withdrawing from the hall of feasting to look after the cattle in the stable. It was one night, in a dream, after retiring in this manner, that a man appeared to him, and enjoined him to sing on the creation; and, having received this command, he began immediately to sing verses in praise of God the Creator which he had never heard before." Bede then gives the sense; adding, however, that it is not possible to translate his songs into Latin, or any other language, without injuring their elegance or majesty. "The next morning he proceeded to the sheriff of the place, related the gift which he had received; and all persons who heard his songs and verses agreed that it was a gift from heaven. The abbess, therefore, admiring the grace of God within him, persuaded him to exchange the secular for the monastic habit, and ordered that he should be instructed in holy Scripture. He sung on the creation of the world; on the departure of Israel from Egypt; on the incarnation, passion, resurrection, and ascension of our Lord; the descent of the Holy Ghost; the preaching of the apostles; and many were his songs on the terrible judgment to come, on the horrible pains of hell, and on the pleasures of the celestial kingdom. To these he added many other strains on the divine mercy and judgment; in all of which he endeavoured to withdraw men from the power of evil, and to allure them to the love and practice of good deeds: for he was a man truly religious, humbly observing the regular discipline, and filled with a holy zeal against those whom he saw remiss; wherefore a suitable end crowned his life."*

In the Italian monasteries perhaps still more frequently hooded poets sung. Thus, at Mantua, in the Carmelite convent, we find Baptist; and in Camaldoli, Ugolino Verino, whose poem, in three parts, on hell, purgatory, and paradise, was praised by Petrus Delphinus, prior-general of the order.† But, above all, in the Franciscan convents were men who held the muses dear; and who, even when they had them not on their lips, held them in their minds. Brother Pacific, whose conversion was ascribed to his having beheld the seraphic father in a miraculous vision in the town of St. Severin, in the marshes of Ancona,

* Bede, Hist. Lib. iv. c. 24.
† Annal. Cam. Lib. lxviii.

which caused him immediately to renounce the world, was a most celebrated poet, who had been a courtier of the Emperor Frederic II., who, with his own hand, had given him a laurel-crown, entitling him the "Prince of Poets." The poetic genius of Jacoponus, and of St. Francis himself, we have before had occasion to remark. I shall only observe here, in conclusion, that the seraphic love which breathes through their compositions is expressed in the most noble and harmonious words. In the convent of Celano, lived Brother Thomas de Celano, who wrote the life of the Seraphic Father, and the Prose of the Dead,* compositions which might justify our assertion that the monasteries of the middle ages contained men who—if their genius had been so directed—might each have held the tragic throne, like another Æschylus. They have a great majesty of ancient language, says Geoffroy Tory, in his book, "Du Champ Flori;" and although Jean le Maire makes no mention of them, he nevertheless borrowed from them the greatest part of his treasures: "not a little praise, adds Stephen Pasquier; for Jean le Maire, in his illustrations of Gaul, has adorned our language with many fine traits; and if he borrowed these from them, trust me they were not bad masters in their art."†

In many of these monastic poems are fine ancient words, of which some have been lost through negligence, and others changed to worse by our ignorance. Their conceptions of the art, too, as we before remarked of Catholic poets generally, were just and noble. Their muse was not a howling spectre which shakes its bones against the crannies of the tomb; but a smiling angel, pointing to the skies. Above all, their deep religious spirit sheds a delicious peace around them. Canisius quotes Marcus Velserus, who says that the ancient poems of the holy monks of St. Gall can draw tears, when we compare that ancient piety with the spirit of our times,‡ to whose admired poets one may apply the words of one who saw their fathers,—

> "'Tis hard to say, whether for sacrilege
> The rhyming fiend is sent into these men;
> But they are almost visibly possess'd."

The monks were sufficiently quick to take alarm when poets, even in the world, assumed a less religious style. John, of the monastery of St. Mary of the Angels, at Florence, wrote to Angelo Corbinello, to recal him from reading the Gentile poets; but the reply which was addressed to him by Colucio Salutati expressed views which had been long adopted and sanctioned by religious men. "Venerable brother in Christ," said this poet, who deserved to be extolled as a just man by St. Antoninus, 'do not so austerely recal me from honest studies. Think not that when truth is sought in poets, or in other books of the Gentiles, one cannot walk in the way of the Lord: for all truth is from God, or rather is of God. He is truth, as he witnesseth by his son, the Mediator of God and Man; and not merely truth, but all truth. Whatever is sought elsewhere but in Him is vain and foolish. There can be no truth out of God; so that he who seeks truth of any kind seeks God, who is its plenitude. Do not then reprove your brother because he seeks truth among poems: for no kind of speech has more affinity to the Divine words, and more connection with the Deity, than the language of poets, as may be witnessed in David, Job, and Jeremiah. Do not object to me the reproof given to St. Jerome, for he was especially ordained to the work of translating the Scriptures; and that reproof was not given to Augustin, nor to any one else before or since Jerome. Be assured that while I read those fabulous things, and admire the beauty of the language, I distinguish the falsehood from truth, and always return thanks to God. Farewell, and pray for me."* In fact, at this very time, Colucio Salutati was corresponding in poetical epistles with another monk of the same monastery,—Zenobio of Tantino; who, in many sonnets, contended with him in teaching the way of heavenly life.†

The monks, indeed, as the sons of peace, could not but favour an art which was so calculated to soothe and tranquillize the human mind under all its vicissitudes. "It is good," says a great living observer of society in France, "that there should be some voices of poets, to rise between the furious parties which tear each other to pieces; to inspire some compassion, if not remorse, in the soul of these pitiless oppressors." Such too doubtless was the conviction of St. Columbkill, when he interfered in behalf of the threatened bards of Ireland, who were then about to be sup-

* Annal. Min. ix.
† *Recherches* de la France, vii. 3.
‡ *Lect. Antiq.* ii.

* Annal. Cam. Lib. lvii. † Id. Lib. lvi.

pressed; on which occasion he prevailed so far as to obtain permission for them to continue to exercise their art, under certain limitations. Truly it was in the interest of peace, and of all who loved it, that there should be some who would have no other ambition but to excel in song,—who, in their capacity of poets at least, could consort with poverty and retain contentment; whose desires and wants would interfere with no passions of other men; who would demand no other possessions but the spectacle of the universe; who would turn their fellow-countrymen from loving wars and wrangling, to the innocent delight inspired by the aspect of the meadows and the fountains and the groves,—to that true philosophy, in short, which so few attain, but to which all men should aspire.

From the monastic poets let us turn to the musicians in the cloister: and these were many, as old chronicles attest. Indeed, here their science took its rise; for the first trace of the use of musical notes is found in the abbey of Corby, in Saxony, in the year 945.* Alfanus, a monk of Mount-Cassino, is mentioned as having been eminent in this noble art, which was esteemed in close alliance with philosophy.† In the abbey of St. Gall, Notker, Ratpert, and Tutilo, who were of one heart and one soul, though of most dissimilar natures, were all three musicians, most learned and holy men. Notker, in body, not mind, was weak; in voice, not spirit, defective; in divine things, elevated; in adversity, patient; to all, mild, timid; in prayer, reading, and dictating, most eminent; and, to sum up all in one word, a vessel of the Holy Ghost. Tutilo was a strong, active, athletic man, fit for every kind of work: he had a clear voice, and an elegant form: he was an admirable painter; and, besides other instruments, most skilled in playing on flutes and pipes, so that he used to teach the sons of nobles how to play upon the flute. A great builder was he, as well as a famous preacher in both tongues: alike good for hours of mirth and seriousness; so that King Conrad used to swear in jest at him, for having made a man of such a nature a monk. Besides all this, he was strenuous in choir; full of tears in secret; expert at composing verses and melodies; and chaste as a disciple of Marcellus. Ratpertus held a middle place between both. He was a master of the school from youth; a clear and benevolent teacher, rarely putting his foot out of the cloister; a strict disciplinarian, calling death an excursion, and Tutilo, a wanderer, to admonish him to be sedulous in the school.*

In the ninth and tenth centuries the monks of St. Gall generally were great musicians, whose compositions were celebrated far and near. No musical piece at the present day, of the most eminent composer, is heard with greater ecstasy than was inspired by a composition sung at Mayence on Easter-day, in presence of King Conrad I. and all his court, by a monk of St. Gall, who was a professor there, and by two bishops who had been his pupils. The king, the queen, and the king's sister, called him to them, took off their rings, and put them on his finger, to signify an admiration which they could not express by words. Musical science had been first brought to St. Gall from Rome, by a Roman musician, singer of the pope, who instructed the monks through gratitude for their gracious and hospitable treatment during a sickness which he had caught on his journey to Germany, having been brought by Charlemagne to Metz from Rome, to found his musical school there.†

Some of the musical manuscripts, of St. Gall are still extant. In that abbey every monk seems to have been inspired with the same taste; so that we find even Notker the Physician, maternal uncle to the Abbot Notker, cited as being admirably skilled in music. Down to late times music continued to be cultivated in the religious houses, and in a spirit conformable to that of the great modern musician, Zingarelli, who, whenever he was about to compose, used, as a preparation, to read some treatise by one of the holy fathers.

Theophilus Macchetto, a Venetian monk of Camaldoli, in the abbey of St. Michael at Pisa, was celebrated no less as a musician than as a mathematician and historian. He had learned music from Horatio Tardito, a famous master in the abbey of Classe at Ravenna. After consulting all the musical works in the Vatican and other great libraries, he studied attentively the manuscript on music of Franc of Cologne, and then published his Curiositates Musicales.‡

* Hock. Gerbert. und sein Jahrhundert.
† Chron. S. Monast. Casinens. Lib. iii. 7.

* Eckehard de Casibus S. Galli, c. 3.
† Eckehard in Cas. 4. Id. Minimus, in Vit. S. Notkeri, Monach. Sangall. de Gest. C. M.
‡ Annal. Camald. Lib. lxxix.

Painting was another art in which many monks were sedulously employed; and the beneficial influence of the cloister appears very manifest in the peculiar graces of the school which they formed within it. In the ninth and tenth centuries, the monks of St. Gall were not less eminent as painters than as poets and musicians. Tutilo not only painted well, but he also was skilled in forming great metal vases, which he used to adorn with images and verses and epigrams. As an artist he was renowned all over Germany, as far as Metz. There are extant still the carved cover of a book of the Gospels, and images of the Blessed Virgin and of St. Gall, wrought by his hand.* Many other monks of this abbey were celebrated sculptors and painters in miniature. Notker the Physician painted admirably, and adorned many books, and also the church of the abbey. John was drawn from St. Gall to Aix-la-Chapelle by the Emperor Otho III., in order to paint an oratory there. In the abbey of Tagernsee, also, in Bavaria, about the time of the crusades, there was a school of painting, as well as of learning, and of all the arts that belonged to an asylum of peace.

In the eleventh century Heldric, abbot of St. Germain of Auxerre, and Adelard, abbot of St. Tron, were celebrated as painters in miniature. The monk Thiemon, after painting in many convents, became archbishop of Salzbourg. About the year 985, in the abbey of St. Florent of Saumur, the monks used to manufacture tapestry, adorned with flowers and animals. The Camaldules of the monastery of St. Mary of the angels in Florence had been celebrated from the first for their admirable skill as artists. Here also the monks manufactured embroidery in cloth of gold and silk. The most renowned painters of this monastery were Dom Sylvester and Dom James the Florentine, who endowed their convent with the most magnificent choral books ever seen. The right hand of the latter was preserved with veneration in the monastery as a holy relic. Dom Lorenzo and Dom Bartholomew in a later age continued to render this house illustrious for the art of miniature painting, which did not degenerate till 1470, when the discipline became relaxed.†

Fra Bartolomeo was a friar at first in a convent of Prato, to which he had retired after the death of Savonarola, and afterwards in that of St. Mark at Florence. His skill as a painter delighted the Florentines as much as his piety edified them. His first picture, after spending four years in contemplation without taking up his pencil, was that in a chapel of the abbey, representing St. Bernard in an ecstasy. The blessed Angelico of Fiesoli, a Dominican friar, was a painter of such celebrity, that the pope drew him from his convent to Rome to complete some works he had commenced there; and it was his conversation while painting with the pontiff which caused St. Antoninus, whom he pointed out as a proper person when the pope expressed his disquietude on not being able to make a choice, to be raised to the archiepiscopal see of Florence.* It was the disciple of this blessed friar, Benozzo Gozzoli, who painted the history of the Old Testament from Noah to Solomon in the Campo Santo at Pisa, where he spent the ten last years of his life, in the practice of his art and of all Christian virtues. In later times the same track was followed by Benedict de Matera, a monk of Mount-Cassino, and Gabriel Mattei, a monk of the order of Servitans, of Sienna, who decorated the choral books of the cathedral. Before the Introit of each Sunday and festival they placed a picture analogous to the commemoration of the day, and "I doubt," says a modern author,† "whether it be possible to find a collection of paintings which could leave a more delicious and durable impression on the Christian soul." At Ferrara also flourished a series of similar artists in the cloisters, from the Benedictine monk Serrati, who painted the choral books in 1240, to brother Jerome Fiorini of the monastery of St. Bartholomew, in the fifteenth century. Michael Savonarola, in his book in praise of Padua, speaks of its school of painting, as being concerned with a part of philosophy.‡ The monks held the same opinion, and extended the connection to religion. "I think," says Cæsar of Heisterbach, "that sculptors and painters of sacred subjects will have a great reward when devotion and not avarice is their motive. There was a certain monk of a black order in the diocese of Mayence, lately deceased, who was a good painter, and so devout to our order, that, gratis, having only his expenses paid, he used to paint crucifixions

* *Ildefons* von Arx, i. 100.
† *Annal.* Camald. Lib. xlviii.

* Touron, Hist. des Hom. Illust. de l'Ord. S. Dom. tom. iv. † Rio.
‡ Comment. de Laudibus Pat. ap. Mur. Rer. It. Script. xxiv.

of great beauty over different altars; for he made nearly all the crucifixes that we possess, asking no expenditure from us. The supreme Crucifix, in whose image we are all made, wishing to show to his painter how much that most holy labour pleased Him, on Good-Friday, when His Passion is especially represented, deigned to take him from the world, not without the admiration of many. As if the Lord had said, 'Because you always laboured devoutly in mind and body concerning my Passion, thinking upon it, and exhibiting it by pictures to others, so on this very day of my Passion, I will take you from labour to rest, in which, not mentally or by pictures figuratively, but in presence, that is, face to face, you shall contemplate me.'"* In fact, closely connected with the devotion of the cloister was the old Christian school of painting; and even when artists did not wear the cowl, they sought its influence, as may be witnessed in those of Umbria, who with Perugino and his disciple Raphael, at first a pupil of Fra Bartolomeo, drew their conceptions under the influence of the seraphic father and his holy order,—as also in the Venetian painters, who remained in communication with the pure monastic school, in the mountains of Umbria down to the end of the fifteenth century. When artists, forsaking the mystic school of painting of the ages of faith, yielded to the influence of the heathen delusions that were revived in the fifteenth century, that school still found an asylum in religious houses, where the monks retained a style pure from all profane innovations, forming it from the models in the miniatures of the old choral books; while in the cities where universities were established, as in Pisa, Pavia, and Padua, there was hardly any mystic painter, Bologna itself becoming sterile during the interval between Francia and the Carachis, in consequence of the classical mania reigning in them, which was incompatible with these religious inspirations of art.†

It is gratifying to find in conclusion, that the monastic labours in relation to the arts, which require for their perfection a lofty and spiritualized imagination, are appreciated according to their true value, by one of those philosophers who have the best right to complain of the misdirection and deficiency of their works in regard to scientific subjects. "It may perhaps be a necessary condition in the progress of man," says Whewell, "that the arts which aim at beauty reach their excellence before the sciences, which seek speculative truth; and if this be so, we inherit, from the middle ages, treasures which may well reconcile us to the delay which took place in their cultivation of experimental science."*

Thus, having followed the monks through the circle of their various occupations, without and within the cloister, methinks the charge of idleness adduced against them has been sufficiently refuted. Casting a look back upon the prodigies accomplished by their industry, how strange and unjust must seem that accusation now! What immense results were obtained in the beginning by the Benedictine order, from the fifth to the twelfth century, as detailed in the thirteen volumes of Mabillon! Such was the first stage of monachism. Then with the order of preachers came that of St. Francis, perhaps more speculative, more tender, more replete with every fruit of noble genius than the Benedictine family. Fresh obstacles intervene; but the activity of charity is not to be extinguished. Whatever weight the world puts down, the flame breaks out elsewhere and mounts. The third stage commenced with the heresy of the sixteenth century: a different order was required to meet this new disaster; therefore then arose the Jesuits, more adapted than the others to combat it, including instructions, preaching and confessing, or the art of conducting minds. "One can never sufficiently praise," says Michelet, "their devotion in the missions. China would now possess the plenitude of Christian felicity if their work had not been destroyed. Such," he adds, "is the threefold stage of the monastic history,—the Benedictine, or work; the Franciscan, or love,—the Ignatian, or action, social action. What astonishing fecundity," he then exclaims, "what an exhaustless sap in the Christian religion!" But let us return to the cell of the contemplatist, that we may admire the sublime elevations of ascetic wisdom, to which so many monks attained in the cloisters of the middle ages.

* Illust. Mirac. et Hist. Mem. Lib. viii. 24.
† Rio, De l'Art Chrétien.

* The Philosophy of the Inductive Sciences, vol. ii. 339.

CHAPTER XVI.

LOOK you, who comes here? a young man and an old, in solemn talk. This is what the cloister daily witnesseth; for here was practised the prophetic precept, "Interroga patrem tuum, et annunciabit tibi: seniores tuos, et dicent tibi." These old monks had useful words for every one, according to his peculiar necessity. Sometimes they were familiar instructions. Thus, to the encouragement and assistance given him when a boy of twelve years of age, by Dom Berthereau, a Benedictine of St. Germain-des-Près, who noticed him taking his daily recreation at the same hour as he did himself, in the gardens of that abbey, Sylvester de Sacy used to ascribe the direction of his mind to the study of the Semitic languages, which so gloriously occupied the remainder of his life. At other times they assumed the form and tone of solemn spiritual authority. But who can describe the affecting conversations, the sublime dialogues that were held under the dim arched cloisters, or in the beautiful garden of the monastery, or in each cell, when young men thus interrogated the fathers, and the seniors spoke to them of God and of the soul, of the world's mutability, of time and chance, and the eternal years? "Quam pulchrum illud, quam dulce secretum," to use the words of a Roman, alluding to the walk of Spurinna with his friends. "Quantum ibi antiquitatis! quæ facta, quos viros audias! quibus præceptis imbuare!"* Those who heard the artless eloquence of the monk, discovered that the greatest happiness on earth is to meet, if it were only for once in one's life, a true man of God. Some conception of these conversations may perhaps be formed from the dialogues of Sulpicius Severus, or from observing the conferences between St. Francis and his humble followers, or from what is recorded of the evening to which the Church alludes in that Benedictine hymn of St. Sch at Lauds.

> "Quam tenet dulcis mora colloquent
> Ore concordes animoque versant
> Lucidum cœli decus, et beatæ
> Gaudia vitæ,"

But no written records can ever an adequate idea of what on thes sions passed. Those who heard the conversation were not likely to be or circumstantial in its praise. greatest praise after hearing a philo is silence," said Musonius,—therefo wisest poet, describing the hearers o ses, says, that when he ceased sp they all began not to cry out and voc but to consult together.*

"The flight of the woman into sert," is interpreted by Richard of S tor, the secrets of the spiritual life.† were these secrets? In the first they were the mysteries of faith, in to all the faithful; but moreover th plied the application of these my and the philosophical considerat their results, and it was in this e that the wisdom of the monks was pally employed. Speaking of the w which transmit it, a modern hi makes this just observation, "Mora is eternal; though the forms of c nicating it may vary, it remains uncl That it constitutes the most valual tion of our knowledge, no one but a rian, who has neither intellect to app nor taste to feel whatever transce material circle, will deny." Cowp the same conviction. "Pardon n says, "ye that give the midnight learned cares or scientific research, I revere your honourable names, a the world indebted to your discover let me stand excused if I esteem employed upon eternal things as fi

* Plinii Epist. iii. 1.

* Aul. Gel. v. 1.
† Super Apocalyps. Lib. iv. 3.

intelligent and better taught the use of profitable thought than ye, when highest in renown." This is the oldest philosophy; to this the human mind would in all ages have assented: so that were Plato to come back to the world, without doubt he would say, that the greatest and wisest man was he who led the most Christian life; and in face of the Institute itself, that the monk was, after all, the true philosopher. The pedants who eulogise Socrates and Cicero in order to cast into a deeper shade of ignominy the monastic orders, only prove themselves unworthy scholars to second such great men. It is one thing to have read their books as grammarians; it is another to have caught their spirit, as possessing minds large enough to take it in. Socrates would have deemed the Imitation as the most sublime of all human books; and Plato and Aristotle, whether they might be agreed on other points or not, would have subscribed to the sentence of a modern author, "that all definitions which have been given of philosophy at any period of its duration, the most extensive as the most profound apply to the scholastic."* This was an induction to which the Italian scholars, who are supposed to have revived the ancient learning, could come without assistance. "Were not Albertus Magnus," asks one of them, "Thomas, Ægidius, and Scot equal to Pythagoras, Zeno, Chrysippus, and Aristotle, in philosophy?"† We have before remarked, that the monks were not unconscious of the family likeness which could be traced in them to men of ancient times, and that they even accepted their titles; as when the monk Otherich, scholastic of the monastery of Magdeburg in the tenth century, whom the chronicle of that city terms an incomparable master of wisdom and eloquence and of the liberal arts, is styled by Cosmas of Prague "Philosophus." Theirs was an infinite love of infinite wisdom, which might be truly termed an angelic philosophy, differing essentially from all schemes of personal mysticism, as the old writers show from its genuine Catholic character. The catechumens, they observe, are led into the church by the eastern door, to indicate that the wisdom of God from the east, or revelation hath illumined them.‡ So the monk avowed that he had nothing but what he received. To conceive the possibility of acquiring or retaining this true philosophy of the highest order, we must observe the assiduity of the monks in the school where it was taught, which was the altar; for in a strictly philosophic sense their Doctor was God. Yes, He who taught their hearts had His chair in heaven; and so St. Thomas, writing to a friend who had asked him the best way of acquiring the treasure of wisdom, among other counsels, tells him to have purity of conscience.* Now the mode of recovering this purity was analogous to that of its first corruption, as the most ancient fathers of the Church observe, alluding to what they term the counter-poison—or to the Body of Him who is the Master of death and the source of our life.† "The practice of frequent communion, sensible in all ages of the Church, shows itself," as Gerbert remarks, "with a more striking character during the middle ages. In the midst of the gross manners of barbarous nations, it appeared in the interior of monasteries like a vision of the life of angels. The religious orders which have cultivated the soil of Europe have done much more—they have cultivated the waste lands of the human soul. The rule obliged the monks to approach often to the holy table; and the divine word, which alone was heard in the depth of their retreats, reminded them every day of the perfection which was required for this familiarity with the Saint of saints. This thought, perpetually present with them, excited them without ceasing to acquire the science of their own heart. They cultivated it with infinite pains, in order that they might be able to bring to the most august as well as to the most sweet of mysteries, the purest flower of human affections. The ascetical books of this period present an exquisite delicacy of sentiment, which, from the bosom of cloisters, spread itself by degrees into the world, and became applied to other objects, producing that mysticism of love and honour which has exercised such an influence upon the manners and the literature of Christian people. The asceticism of the middle ages has left an inimitable monument in the four books of the Imitation of Christ. From what source did the poor solitary religious man who composed them, derive this unfailing love; for he has written so well only because he has

* Ozanam, Essai sur la Philosophie de Dante.
† Poggii Bracciol. Præfat. in Hist. Florent. ap. Id. tom. xx.
‡ Landulph. Mediolanens. Hist. l. 12.

* Ap. Martene, Vet. Script. i. p. 1352.
† S. Greg. Nyss. Catechet.

loved much? He tells us himself, in each line of his chapters upon the Eucharist: it was from the communion of the altar."

Love, thankfulness—this is the cloister's soul, as that of the world is ingratitude. Louis of Blois speaks of a monk who, on his conversion, was less afflicted at the thought of having exposed himself to suffer eternal punishment than at that of having been ungrateful to God his Creator. "There is a twofold knowledge of truth," says the angelic doctor, "that by grace and that by nature; and that which is by grace is twofold—speculative only, and affective, producing the love of God."* Now this latter constituted the monastic wisdom; and not only the monks, but all who consorted with them, knew that this alone was wisdom. "No affection, even pious," says Peter of Blois, "is meritorious to salvation, unless it proceeds from the love of Christ. When you hear something read concerning our Lord, you may be moved to tears, in the same manner as you weep when you hear certain fabulous histories, as those concerning Arthur, and Ganganus, and Tristan; you may pity our Lord as you pity Arthur, but both tears are lost alike if you do not love God, if your tears do not flow from the fountains of the Saviour, from faith, hope, and charity."† "In order that we may truly philosophize," says Petrarch writing to John Colonna, "we must first love and worship Christ. Let us be all things, but so as to be Christians before all things. 'Sic philosophica, sic poetica, sic historias legamus ut semper ad aurem cordis evangelium Christi sonet.'"‡ One discerns in these words the brother of the Carthusian as, in those of Peter of Blois, the devoted companion of the monks. An intimate union with Christ was thus the chief characteristic of the monastic wisdom. While men of the world fled from him, and many, even faithful Christians, waited for him, the monks, according to the distinction of St. Avitus, may be said to have gone to meet him. All their science was directed to him. "Philosophy," says St. Bonaventura, is the medium by which the theologian fabricates for himself a mirror from creature, by which, as if by a ladder, he ascends to heaven."§ "We may distinguish six lights," he says again; "exterior, or that of mechanical art; inferior, or that of sensitive knowledge; interior, or that of philosophic knowledge (which is threefold, rational, comprising grammar and logic, natural, or physics, and moral); and superior, which is the light of grace and of the holy Scripture: but these lights have all their vesper hour; for all this science will be destroyed. Therefore, succeeds to them the day which has no vesper hour, namely, the illumination of glory. Now these six illuminations can be reduced to the days of creation, all having their origin in one light, and therefore, all are ordained to the holy Scripture, for the multiform wisdom of God, which is delivered clearly in Scripture, is contained in a hidden manner in all knowledge and in all nature, so that all knowledge serves theology."* The study of the holy Scriptures was incessantly pursued in the cloisters of the middle ages with a deep philosophic spirit. What profound and interesting questions, suggested by the book of Genesis and other parts of the sacred Writ, were proposed and solved by monks at the instigation of Charlemagne!† But at present we are in the cell, not the school. Let us attend therefore to the ascetic side of the monastic wisdom.

"——— Cur sapientes
Dum terris vivunt, spernunt terrena, nec aurum,
Regna, voluptates quærunt, quæ sola videntur
splendida?"‡

You perceive by this question of the ancient poet, that it is not babbling against monastic superstition which will explain the psychological phenomenon we are about to observe. To a certain extent Plato witnessed it when he compared Socrates to the figures of Silenus, outwardly hideous but admirable within; adding, "He cares not what riches or honours a man may possess, esteeming as nothing whatever seems happiness to the generality of men; and he passes his life indulging in irony, and, as it were, playing with men, while his interior is golden and divine, beautiful and wonderful; so that, in short, whatever Socrates says should be done ought to be done, *τοῦτο οὐ σειληνώδες*." So when we find under the cowl that intellectual and spiritual beauty which is more excellent and delightful than all the loveliness of material substances, as Dionysius the Carthusian observes;§ when we find men girt

* 9. lxiv. a. i.
† De Confessione.
‡ *Epist. Lib.* vi. 2.
§ Breviloquium.

* De Reductione Artium ad Theologiam.
† Wicboldi Quæstiones in Octateuchum ap. Martene, Vet. Script. tom. ix.
‡ Lucan, iv.
§ De Venustate Mundi.

r with the cord, to whom heaven
en the tone and thoughts of angels
ıifestly as the sky imparts to lakes
ıuntains its azure or its golden hues,
question, τοῦτο οὐ σεληνῶδες; may
ly be asked.

have already seen that this type was
r to the earliest ages of the church.
anger and alien is the gnostic all
ɔ long," says St. Clement of Alex-
; "though inhabiting the city he
ɔs the things which other men ad-
ɔ it, and lives there as in a desert,
ɔt the place may compel but choice
ow him to be just."* Such was the
calm, and meditative, who had
away from noises, whose mind, as
says, "was inwardly so wrapt, it
ɔ place to aught that asked admit-
from without."† "To be wise in-
ınd happy, and self-possest," says a
ɔ philosopher, "we must often be
we must mix as little as we can
hat is called society, and abstain
more than seems desirable even
he better few." "They who are
hened in the love of God are in
tion weakened to this world; they
ıint in the flesh from beholding the
f eternity. The world beholds him
wearied and faint from the impres-
ɔf an occult colloquy."‡ The truth
ɔe words of the Pope, St. Gregory
eat, was verified in the monks whose
ad taken view of Him by whom, as
says, "all other thoughts were
admittance."§ Do you complain
ır detachment from the world, and
ır lives so hidden as to have many
analogous with those that sleep in
pulchres? You should rather ad-
heir consistency and their zeal in
ng the Apostolic doctrine; for hear
t. Chrysostom comments upon the
of St. Paul, "The world is crucified
ıe and I am to the world." "Re-
here," says the holy doctor, "the
f this whole sentence. Not only is
rld dead to him, but he is dead to
ɔrld. In fact, he who is living,
ı there is no longer any social rela-
etween him and the dead, never-
is not altogether insensible to what
ɜ the latter. Possibly he may still
the beauty of that body which has
eprived of life; he may lament for
it and regret it; but a dead man feels no longer any sentiments for those who sleep with him in the silence of the tomb. Therefore, adds the Apostle, 'And I am dead to the world.' What a prodigious separation from things below is here expressed! How it indicates an entire devotion to heavenly things while living on the earth!"* The blessed John of the Cross, after citing the words of the Canticle, "For if I was neither seen nor heard of, you will say that I have lost myself; that walking in love I was lost and am found," proceeds in these words: "If then from henceforth you behold me no more in the meadow, and if you can no more find me, say that I have lost myself; for, being wholly inflamed by love, I have voluntarily lost myself; but afterwards I have been recovered. This refers to the reproach which people of the world are in habits of casting upon those who give themselves seriously to God. They accuse them of being too retired, too abstracted, of being good for nothing, because they abandon what is esteemed and sought after in the world: but the soul says to her censors, that she despises all that for the love of God; that she separates herself from them willingly; that she considers such a loss as her greatest gain; that it is her pleasure, her honour; and that from henceforth she only seeks for her divine spouse in the practice of the most perfect virtues. By the meadow she understands the world where seculars saunter and rejoice in feeding the flock of their passions, as it were, in a fertile and pleasant meadow: she says that she is no longer to be met with in that place; she desires that they count her for dead to all their sensual satisfactions, and that they publish it everywhere; and by being afterwards recovered she implies, that in this voluntary losing of herself she has gained everything." This is the self-mortification which, as Louis of Blois says, "is quickly followed by a living light which God sheds into our souls, and finally, by our union with God. Oh yes!" exclaims this holy abbot, "what stops us? the only thing which stops us is our tepidity, our want of courage. If we knew how to get rid of this; if we knew how to substitute for it a holy zeal for our salvation, to die to ourselves and to all perishable objects; if we applied all our care to prepare a proper habitation in our souls for God; it would be impossible that we

ɔmat. vii. 12.
g. 17.
. iv. in Job. § Par. 32.

* On Compunction, Lib. ii. cap. 2.

should not arrive at length at the very summit of perfection so as to possess and feel God within us."*

Thus again we are presented with proof of the consistency of the monastic character; and what can place it in a stronger light that this observation? that, notwithstanding the wide range of objects which its occupations implied, the mind was never so attached to any of them as to forget its main employment; that the monk who tilled the ground preserved learning, cultivated poetry, with all other arts, and thus, to use the ancient comparison, walked a little upon the shore to admire the beauty of the shells, never lost sight of the ship to which he belonged, or wandered so far from it as to be beyond reach of the pilot's call; but keeping that daily before his eyes, never entertained a base thought, or greatly desired any thing that could be gathered on the mortal strand; that, in fine, he was one who meditated on the eternal years! What are the eternal years? A great thought, replies the monk, with St. Augustin. That thought implies a a silence from all disturbance from without, and from all tumult of men; he must rest within who wishes to think upon those eternal years. The years in which we are, are not eternal. They are constantly changing, and never standing still. Years and days incessantly move and pass; and we cannot even lay hold of an hour or a moment; for while we utter the word it is already gone. We can hold nothing of these years; they are mutable. We must think upon the eternal years which stand and are always the same. We must think of them in silence. "Better is one day in thy courts," says David, "than a thousand." Men desire a thousand days, and wish to live long. Let them learn to despise a thousand days to wish for one day which has neither rising nor setting; one day, one eternal day, to which yesterday did not yield, and which is not pressed upon by to-morrow. Let that one day be our desire. What are a thousand days to us? Let us press forwards to one day; to one let us hasten.†

Methinks, after hearing such words, even a child, on seeing the hooded men pass along so silent and collected, would turn pale at their solemnity. And yet with all this gravity, the great peculiarity of the cloistral life was its sweetness; for the spirit of the place might boast in Dante's words and say—

> ——"Who'er frequents me once
> Parts seldom; so I charm him, and his heart
> Contented knows no void."*

What is the most natural and universal of our desires? To be happy, without doubt. But what reason have we to suppose that it was not this desire which drew men to the cloister? Is it nothing to gain these pious tears? this faculty of love? these mystic ecstasies? The Stagyrite affirms that a contemplative and theoretical man has in himself matter of delight without being obliged to have recourse to sensible and external things. Do you suppose that the monk formed an exception to this law? What must have been the enjoyment of Dionysius the Carthusian when writing his treatise on the beauty of the world, in which he considers the whole supernatural doctrine of the Catholic religion in the light of beauty, as being full of beauty to prepare souls for that beatitude which will consist in beholding deliciously the uncreated and super-infinite beauty of the divine essence, and in being in an ineffable manner transformed into its image, and fulfilled with the exuberant profusion of the goodness, and light, and beauty of God?† To be wise and happy are reciprocal terms. "If you had once tasted the sweetness of wisdom," says Peter of Blois, "all things in comparison with it would have become insipid to you: for it has an incomparable treasure of delights, and it imparts an overflowing grace of all good. But you cannot attend both to studies and to riches. God has been bountiful towards you in enabling you to pursue the scholastic warfare."‡

Again, the Pythgoræans said that "God, being the Author of all things to whom they should be referred, the most perfect life and happiness was therefore when extremities were no longer separated from their centre, but when in this one all were collected."§ Why should we then doubt the happiness of a state in which, as Dionysius the Carthusian says, "the grace of God withdraws the soul from the tumult of things to the joys of silence, that is, to the clearest splendour of supreme light, in which from all delusion of fleshly desires, and unquiet phantoms, and wandering

* *Epist.* ad Florentin.
† *St.* August. Tract. in Ps. 76.

* Purg. 19. † De Venustate Mundi, 19.
‡ Pet. Bless. Epist. 81.
§ Jamblich. Adhort. ad Phil. 4.

thoughts, it sweetly rests in love?"* How great is the praise to adhere to God, so as to live in Him, to be wise in Him, to be happy in Him, to enjoy such a good eternally, who can worthily conceive or express?† You see how the church realized the aspirations of the philosophers. "Would you not justly style most miserable," says Cicero, "him whom you beheld inflamed with desires, seeking all things madly with an insatiable cupidity, more ardent and thirsty in proportion as he drank more pleasures from all sides? What! that man elate with levity, and exulting in vain joy, and bearing himself presumptuously, is he not so much the more wretched as he seems to himself more happy? So then as these are miserable, those, on the contrary, are happy whom no fear disturbs, no lusts excite, no futile joys elevate, no languid pleasures liquefy. As the sea is understood to be calm when not the least breath of wind ruffles it, so the soul is at rest and pacified when there is no perturbation with which it can be moved."‡ Can you doubt whether this wisest perhaps of the philosophers would have placed happiness in the monastic peace? But that peace included more than he could have foreseen. St. Anselm speaks of monks as "those who are attracted by the sweetness of God to a life which is to enjoy perpetual beatitude."§ And St. Thomas says, "that the feeling a delight in God while the soul despises earthly things, and is not conscious of mortal sin, is a criterion to know that one has acquired grace."‖

The monks, therefore, had their positive enjoyments; and, even by the voice of ancient philosophy, are proclaimed happy. Richard of St. Victor, indeed, observes that the cloistral life would otherwise have been impossible. "For," saith he, "we cannot desire things above unless we despise earthly things; and we cannot despise earthly things unless we are attracted by desire of things above: for the heart cannot be without delight: it must incline to something." Hear how Œlred, abbot of Rievaux speaks of these enjoyments! "When man," he says, "withdraws himself from external tumults, and enters into the recesses of his own mind,—when he perceives nothing unquiet, nothing out of order, nothing of ill-will, nothing of remorse,—when he finds, that all things are cheerful, all harmonious, all peaceful and calm,—when, like the father of a well-regulated pacific family, he sees smiles on all his thoughts, words, and works,—there arises within himself an unspeakable security; from that security springs delight; and that delight rising into rapture, he praises God the more fervently in proportion as he sees traces of the divine image within his own breast."* These were the delights which the sages of the cloister possessed, and which proved to them a remedy for all the bitterness and weariness of life. "O Deus æterne!" they exclaim, alluding to the vain desires which might still assail them, "si tu mihi dulcescas et sapias, quam cito fugient et peribunt." The admirable secret of these raptures is indicated in the following words of Richard of St. Victor: "There are some who wish to receive the taste of divine sweetness, who yet are unwilling to show humanity to their neighbour."† But, says St. Thomas, "if any one should have all gifts, without charity he has not life." So the monk, by his ecstasies, was brought back to that charity which constituted the peculiar characteristic of his wisdom: "for," as St. Bonaventura says, "what distinguishes theological truth"—in which it consisted—"from all other, even from moral philosophy, is, that it teaches us to acquire charity."‡ "In fact it was a counsel of St. Francis," says one of his friars, "which he gives to us all, that if we are in contemplation, and even in an ecstasy, and some one should come desiring our assistance, we must immediately leave God for God, and run with haste to obey Him who has called us."§ This was strictly the monastic rule: it was the precept of all the great mystics of St. Victor. Hence the singular combination of erudition and the love of almsgiving which is found in the monks. The more they abstracted themselves, the more they seemed to love men. Helgalo, in his epitome of the life of Robert, after saying that Gerbert for prodigious learning was illustrious, adds, "et præcipue in eleeomosyna sancta."‖

But now, seeking repose after a flight so far beyond the vigour of our wing, unable to follow such a teacher long, I would fain hear somewhat of the mysterious histories treasured up in monasteries: for in every cloister there are doubtless some hooded men who in their brains have

* De Fonte Lucis.
† De Civ. Dei, xii. 1.
‡ Tuscul. v. 6. § Epist. 8.
‖ i. 2. Q. 112. 5.

* Spec. Char. † In Ps. xxv.
‡ Compend. Theolog. Verit. Præf.
§ Le Sacré Mont d'Olivet.
‖ Ap. Duchesne, iv. 63.

strange places, crammed with observation, the which they vent at times. Oh, I am ambitious to be a listener!

"Whoever wishes to know fully all the wondrous events connected with the holy monasteries of Spain," says Lucius Marineus, "should seek from the priests who inhabit them, and who know all mysteries."* So it was in other kingdoms. Let us profit then by our present opportunity: and we shall find more pleasure than in beholding ruins where no one is found who can tell the domestic history of the place. Thou didst say—I thus address my guide in thought—thou knewest

"A monk, whose spirit is a chronicle
Of strange, and secret, and forgotten things.
I pray thee summon him:—'tis said his house
Has old traditions of a mystic lore."

That sage instructor I can hear replying,—

"The monk of whom I spake is old;—so old,
He seems to have outlived a world's decay:
Huge trees seem younger: his hair and beard
Are whiter than the tempest-sifted snow.
——But from his eye looks forth
A life of unconsumed thought, which pierces
The present, and the past, and the to-come."

Then let me add,—

"I would talk with this old monk;
Though he who questions him would have to sail
Where the stream of ocean rages around
The foaming isles."

Yes, reader: in the monasteries were men of a singular and attractive character,—saints, scholars, hermits, travellers, who bore on their countenances the seal of those who have seen every thing on this side of eternity:—men, like that aged Echenes, the oldest of the Phæcians, καὶ μύθοισι κέκαστο, who knew many histories; who could relate many miraculous instances of the patience of God in bearing with great sinners, as well as divulge somewhat of the secrets of Heaven's vengeance, in traditions terrible to hear, such as now perhaps are chiefly heard within the cells of Roman cloisters: for Rome still possesses that attraction which in the middle ages made each monastery thronged with visitants, each of whom could a tale unfold that was well worthy of being rescued from oblivion. Monks, on hearing them thus publish the acts of Almighty grace, did but gather up the fragments lest they should be lost: for they understood that, as a mystic command: "the fragments," says an ascetic, "are the words of doctors, the examples of good men, which ought frequently to be considered by studious brethren, and collected in books or on tablets, as if in baskets, for the use of readers."* These personal narratives they treasured up in memory wherewith to edify their future guest: and such a charm did they impart to their discourse, seasoned with reflections of their own, that each stranger admitted to their cell would say repeatedly, in the words of Telemachus to Mentor, "Speak on,"—

αἰνῶς γὰρ μύθοισιν ἔπεσσί τε σοῖσιν ἀκούων
Τέρπομαι——.†

Or rather in those of Adam to the angel,—

"For while I sit with thee, I seem in heav'n."

"Three years ago," says Cæsar of Heisterbach, "Lord Henry, our abbot, who was then vice-abbot, had to visit Clairvaux, in Frisia. On his journey he happened to lodge in the castle of a certain knight named Suederi, who devoutly received him according to his custom. He then related some of the wonderful things which had occurred in our order; and Gerlac, the son of that knight's brother, was present,—in whose heart the seed found such good ground, that from that hour, as Gerlac himself assured me, he began to fluctuate about his conversion, which took place soon after."‡

"Miracles and mysteries and sacraments belong to the beauty of the world," says Dionysius the Carthusian: "not in its first state, that of innocence; but in its second state, that of repairing grace."§ In the middle ages, indeed, as at all times, there were men incapable of appreciating them, through the influence of their habitual self-abandonment to the innumerable little vulgar details of life; like the author of the Journal d'un Bourgeois de Paris, in the time of Charles VI., who thinks the Maid of Orleans far less worthy of attention than the price of vegetables in the Paris market. Rigord, speaking of some miracles wrought at the preaching of Foulques de Neuilly, says, "Quæ prætermittimus propter hominum nimiam incredulitatem."‖ With what acute and

* *De Reb. Hispaniæ, Lib. v.*

* Thomas à Kempis, Sermonum iii.
† iv. ‡ Lib. i. c. 18.
§ De Venustate Mundi, xii.
‖ Ad an. 1197.

phic eyes miracles were regarded cloister, may be learned from the idium of St. Bonaventura.* Never- in general, the monks of the middle s if feeling themselves above all n, write boldly in recording all which seemed to them supported icient testimony; and some in times have lamented that the later tine historians, Mabillon and Mar- ould have been so far influenced r of scandalising the public around as to adopt a different style in the same traditions, which are but and faintly sketched in their pages. r, as we before remarked, so far shing to work or divulge miracles, gious orders, in ages of faith, rather to conceal them. The Carthusians, icular, shrunk from the power of them, on the ground that they confer, but only indicated, holi- d that they even sometimes dimin- it, since it is of imperfect faith to iem ;† and, therefore, St. Hugo, of Lincoln, refused to turn aside distance to see a miraculous host, that the things which holy faith es are much more certain than which are shown by the visible

plain why the miracles of St. Hugo t written down, the historian of his ys, "the Carthusians wish to shine, miracles, but with merits."§ "Far lmirable," says the Abbot Rubertus, g of Altmann, a bishop of Passau, he sanctity of this man than the ous power which he exercised. may wonder that he gave sight to nd, and made the lame walk; I her wonder at the grace which was ard secret principle of such opera- I will wonder at his humility, at his , at his piety, at his charity, at his , at his solicitude, at his prudence, nganimity, at his fortitude. But his miracles: well, be it so. Still always esteem it more admirable expelled from the heart avarice, nd luxury, than from the eyes and f others to have removed blindness pitude."‖

Martene, in the preface to his sixth volume of the great collection of ancient writers, says that not only the Benedictines, but also the Cistercians and Præmonstratensians, were unwilling that miracles should be known to take place in their abbeys, fearing to lose their peace and quiet by the crowds that would visit them in consequence. "In the monastery of Eberbac," says Cæsar of Heisterbach, "there was a poor convertite, simple and good, but decrepit. By his touch he used to cure divers infirmities; so that crowds of rich men and poor came to beg his blessing. The abbot, seeing that the quiet of the brethren was disturbed by such a confluence, and the house involved in great expense, forbad him to touch any one in future. This was told to me," adds Cæsar, "two years ago, by the monks, when I was at Eberbac. On my going to the holy man, and asking him to pray for me, he replied, 'Daily I pray for you, and for the whole world.'"*

Mysticism in the cloisters of the middle ages is one of the subjects on which Goërres treats. The subject is immense. It was in the convent of Dysibodusberg that St. Hildegard past eight years. The convent of Unterlinden, in Colmar, was a great school of practical mysticism in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Catherine of Gebsweiler, Hedwig of Gundelsheim, Adelheid of Rheinfelden, Herburg of Herkenheim, Margaret of Breisac, Gertrude of Colmar, Agnes of Blozenheim, and many other sisters, enjoyed wondrous gifts and visions there. So also the convent of Thöss, in Thurgau, in Switzerland, where dwelt Elizabeth Steiglin, the spiritual daughter of Suso, the hospital of Dissenhofen, and St. Catherine's convent of Hohenwyll, in Thurgau, the convent of Schönensteinbach, in Alsass, the convent of Adelhausen at Freiburg, in Breisgau, were houses peculiarly favoured in this respect. So also, among the abbeys for men, of the Cistercian house of Waldsassen, in the diocese of Regensburg, many wondrous things are related.

"Great men may jest with saints," says Shakspeare; "'tis wit in them." Such companions are not with us now? so let us obey the friendly sign, and sit down with reverence, and listen. Many instances occur in monasteries—would the blessed father say—of the interposition of Heaven which are deemed miraculous, though some can be otherwise explained.

i. c. 29.
Sutorus, de Vita Carthus. Lib. ii. t. iii.

andi, Chronic. Cartus. iii. 11.
i. 8.
Pez. Script. Rer. Aust. i.

* Illust. Mir. v. 6

"I have heard it said that there are scornful English writers who pretend that St. Dunstan's own escape was the result of his contrivance, when the floor gave way; but, without taking notice of the malice and impiety of such a suggestion, they should be told that similar accidents are related in many histories, attended with escapes of the same kind. Thus in 1183, when the floor of the room in Erfurth fell in, precipitating all the nobles, King Henry and the archbishop of Mayence were left standing in the recess of the window."* Undoubtedly, in ages of faith, men, after such escapes, were grateful, ascribing them to divine interposition. We could relate many instances. When St. Maiolus was remaining in the monastery of St. Denis one night, and was reading according to his custom, and had chosen the book on the celestial hierarchy, oppressed with sleep, the candle fell from his hand upon the book; the flame consumed the wick and the wax, but it left the page uninjured.† Father Innocent Ansaldi has a letter from the cautious and sensible Marquis Maffei, in which he speaks of certain cures effected by prayer and the intercession of saints, as having fallen under his own observation, in a manner to convince him of their truth.

The monastic diaries contain many instances. Thus in the annals of Corby, in Saxony, we read, "This year," 1406, "Gunther Coënhus, a vicar in Einbee, almost in the agony, was brought to us in a chariot, and by the patronage of St. Vitus, after a few days, he returned home sound and joyful."‡ "A certain abbot of our order," says Cæsar of Heisterbach, "being astonished at the miraculous cures wrought by one of his monks, whose vestments healed the persons who touched them, asked him once secretly if he could imagine the cause? To whom he answered, 'Truly, I know not. I do nothing more than the others.' 'Were you not disturbed when that soldier lately set fire to our grange?' asked the abbot. 'No,' said the monk, 'for I commit all to God.' Then the abbot knew the cause of such virtue in him."§ It would be long to discourse on this subject. But let us hear instances of more uncommon grace.

There was in the twelfth century a monk of Cluny, named Benedict, who after being a secular priest, became a monk and a model of the contemplative life. His spare form, his venerable but neglected hairs, his eyes half closed, his mouth ever pronouncing sacred words, indicated that the man was not on earth, but in heaven. Day and night he meditated on the holy Scriptures; and he would always use a Psalter that had a gloss, in order that he might lose nothing of its sense. He spent a great part of the night in prayer and watching. He had for his cell a little oratory in a lofty and distant turret, which was consecrated in honour of St. Michael the archangel. It is said that he had visions of angels, and that one night in particular he beheld the whole monastery full of angels clothed in white,*

> "For spirits in what shape they choose,
> Dilated or condens'd, bright or obscure,
> Can execute their airy purpose,
> And works of love or enmity fulfil."

Randiscius, a monk, dying in the monastery of Mount-Cassino, being in the article of death, as the brethren repeated round him the prayers for the commendation of the soul, cried out suddenly, "Silence, silence. Do you not hear the lauds in the sky? Do you not see the youths that sing, whose countenances and robes are white as the snow? Silence, for God's sake, I implore you, and let me listen to that sweetest song;" and with these words his spirit departed.†

Who has not heard of the divine visions imparted to the angel of the school? But one should hear friars of his order relate the details. Touron will satisfy us. It was while praying in the chapel of St. Nicholas, in the church of St. Dominick, at Naples, that he was seen in an ecstasy by Dominick de Caserte, who heard the voice from the crucifix, "Bene de me scripsisti, Thoma, quam ergo mercedem accipies?" to which he answered, "Non aliam, Domine, nisi te ipsum." After this he renounced writing and teaching, and prepared for death. On Passion Sunday, while saying mass in that church in presence of many friars and several officers of the king of Naples, he was again visited with ecstasy. After coming to himself he would reveal nothing, but only said, "Talia mihi sunt revelata, quod ea quæ scripsi et docui, modica mihi videantur." After this he was wholly occupied with eternity; and

* Chronic. Montis Sereni, ap. Menckenii Script. Rer. Ger. ii. † Bibliothèque Cluniac.
‡ Ap. Leibnitz, Script. B. ii.
§ Lib. x. c. 6.

* Bibliothec. Clun. 599.
† Chronic. S. Monast. Cas. iii. c. 51.

he said, foretelling his death, "Sicut doctrinæ sic cito finis erit et vitæ." When he had expired in the abbey of Fossa Nuova, a marvellous light shone over that house. Albert the Great, being at Cologne, was apprized of his death the same day and hour. But these things are widely known. Hear some of the purely domestic secrets of monasteries. "Lambert, a monk of St. Hubert, in the Ardennes, was proud on account of his noble birth. On the feast of Sts. Peter and Paul, being about to read nocturnal vigils, he intended to pass before the abbot without making any reverence. Suddenly he saw in the arms of that holy man our Lord, surrounded with a blaze of glory. Trembling, he could scarcely stand to read. On returning he made a most humble reverence to the abbot, and burst into tears, to the surprise of all present."*

In the Bibliotheca Cluniacensis we read that Hildebrand, deacon of the Roman Church, who was afterwards Pope St. Gregory VII., while in the monastery of Cluny, in the time of St. Hugo, thought he beheld our Saviour sitting by the side of that holy abbot as he sat in the chapter room. Here the veracity of the narrator is as unquestionable as that of the witness.

How many have walked under these cloisters who were in life and death more truly than Calabria's abbot, Joachim, endowed with soul prophetic! St. Benedict was found on one occasion, not sighing and weeping at his prayers, but groaning bitterly, from foreseeing that all his monastery on Mount-Cassino, which he had built for the brethren, and all the things which he had prepared for their use, would, by the judgment of God, be delivered up to the Gentiles; though he knew it was granted to him that they should escape with life: all which was fulfilled by the hand of the Langobards, when they came by night and destroyed the monastery.†

Sophronius mentions a similar instance. "In a monastery of Scythopolis," he says, "we met Anastasius, who told us, that one night, as he rose to give the signal for the brethren to assemble, he heard George, an old monk, weeping, who, on asking him the cause of his sorrow, replied, that he had had a vision, in which it seemed to him as if he beheld Jesus Christ upon a throne, rejecting the prayers of many suppliants, and inexorable, though his blessed mother interceded. On the following day there was an earthquake, which overthrew the maritime cities of Phœnicia."*

Wadding mentions, that brother Thomasuccius, a minor friar, uttered many prophecies in rhythm, in the Italian tongue, in which he predicted the ruin of several Italian cities; all which proved true. "Many things I have heard of him," says St. Antoninus the archbishop, "from those who had seen him and known his conversation. Ugolino Trincius, the tyrant of Fulgino, had in vain resolved to put to death this man of God, who had reproved him for his cruelty. Suddenly, fear and reverence succeeding to his fury, he wished to learn from him, whether the years of his own life would be many. To whom the friar replied, 'You will live till the town bell shall fall to the ground, and calves fly over the turret.' The tyrant was overjoyed at such an answer; but in 1377, when the Florentines excited the people of Fulgino to revolt, the citizens rushed to arms at the ringing of the bell, which fell down from the tower, on which the enemy placed their standard, on which two calves were emblazoned. Then rushing into the palace, they threw Trincius out of the window, who thus miserably perished."† In 1289, when the blessed friar, Petrus Pectinarius, was on his death bed, a little before expiring, he predicted the future calamities of three cities, saying, "Woe to Pistoia! woe to Florence! woe to Sienna!" The first by various wars was brought to ruin; Florence became torn by disorders, and its armies were twice defeated, at Allipassum and at Monte Cattino; and, finally, Sienna was visited with diverse calamities and intestine wars. The tomb of this holy friar is in the convent of his order in the latter city.‡

In the island of Iona you would hear things truly admirable of the saints who had dwelt in the famous monastery there. One time, on a day of raging tempest and intolerable agitation of waters, St. Columbkill, sitting in that abbey, said to the brethren, "Prepare for receiving a guest soon." But they replied, "Who can pass the straits in such a storm as this?" But the saint said again, "A holy and elect man will come to us before vespers, and the Almighty will grant a calm in the storm." Lo! the same evening a vessel

* Hist. Andagenensis Monast. ap. Martene, Vet. Script. iv. 924.
† Chronic. Casinens. c. xvii.

* Pratum Spirituale, 50.
† Annal. Min. tom. ix.

arrived, in which was St. Chamnech, who was honourably and hospitably received.*

"While stopping at the pool of God, near the mouth of the river, a Scottish poet came to the saint, and when, after some conversation, he had departed, the brethren said to the saint, 'Why, when Coronanus was going away, did you not ask him to sing some song, according to his art?' To whom the saint replied, 'Why do you now utter vain words? How could I ask a song of joy from that wretched man who is about to perish by the hands of his enemies?' After a short time, a person arrived from the other side, saying, that the poet who had just left us had been slain."†

St. Columbkill foresaw the time of his own death. Ascending the hill above the abbey, he blessed the place, and prophesied that it would flourish long in honour. Then descending, and returning to the monastery, he sat in his cell writing out the Psalter. When he had come to that verse of the thirty-third Psalm, "Inquirentes autem Dominum non deficient omni bono," "Here," he says, "I stop; but what follows, let Baitheneus write." Well did he stop at that verse to whom were about to open goods that were not to fail for ever. Then he entered the church to assist at the first vespers of Sunday; after which he returned to the hospice, and sat upon his bed of rock, which to-day is the stone upon his grave. Then he spoke to the brethren for the last time. "Hæc vobis, O filioli, novissima commendo verba, ut inter vos mutuam et non fictam habeatis charitatem cum pace." Then relapsing to silence till about midnight, when the bell sounded, hastily rising, he hurried to the church before any one had entered it, and prostrated himself before the altar. Diormitrus, following, saw the whole church illuminated by a great light, which suddenly went out as he reached the door. Entering in darkness, he called out, "Where are you, father?" nor could he find him, though he felt every where about, till the other brethren came in with their lights, when they saw him there praying. Then raising him up, Diormitrus placed his head in his bosom, while the monks, holding their lights, began to lament around him. As we heard from some who were present, the saint, opening his eyes, looked round upon them with a smiling countenance, as if he saw the holy angels coming for him. Diormitrus then raised his right hand, that the holy might bless the brethren. He mov hand a little, and then, after the holy diction thus signified, yielded up the That same hour the whole island of was seen encompassed with a brig through all the space of air above it pole. The saint had told the brethre none should assist at his funeral but selves; and his words were fulfilled during three days and nights after his sit a great tempest, with furious rain dered access to the island impossible after his burial it ceased immediately the sea again was calm.* This nar is deeply interesting; but there we fact, few monasteries which had not tradition of predicted death. Dom Can a holy monk, being in good health abbey of Vendome, foretold that he s die within a week. He continued to at the edition he was about to publ the Instructions of St. Gertrude, whi finished on the very day of his death, verified his prediction.†

Cæsar of Heisterbach relates wha lows: "Cuno, the great lord of the of Malburg, a man powerful and rich world, became a monk three years b his death, and in that short space att to great sanctity. His monastery h beautiful mare, which was kept for bree so fine was the race. A certain noble Henry de Isenburg, wishing to get it, o any price, but not succeeding, he h stolen, and then refused to give it up. said Cuno, who had been his intimate f while he was in the world, was sent to it, when Henry refused. After all hi treaties, seeing him obstinate, he summ him to the judgment of God, and nam certain day. Henry despised the summ but Cuno prepared himself to die on day, and falling sick, told the abbot th the sixth feria he was to leave the w The monks never imagined that his sick was serious, but he actually did expir the day he predicted, which was the vig St. James. Hearing of his death, Henry feared for his skin, and with haste came to the abbey barefoot, wit own hand leading the charger which he so proudly retained, and which he now to the sepulchre of the dead monk, and did penance.‡

* Adamnani Scoti de S. Columb. apud Canisii *Lectiones* Antiquæ, tom. i.

† *Id.*

* Adamnani Scoti de S. Columb. apud C Lectiones Antiquæ, tom. i.

† Bibliothèque Hist. de la Cong. de S. M 57.

‡ Mir. Lib. xi. c. 17.

Valter of Bruges," says Wadding, ter of the province of Tours, "was bishop of Poitiers, which dignity he irice refuse, till required by the general s order, Bonagratia, to accept it; a illustrious in all virtue, and profound eology. Zealous of the rights of his h, he defended them against Bernard nth, archbishop of Bordeaux, who, on elected sovereign pontiff as Clement indful of the old contention, and suc- ing to his passion, obliged him to leave ee and retire to his cloister. With c mind he bore the opprobrium, but s death-bed he appealed to God, who eth the innocent, and held a parch- -scroll in his hand, on which he wrote ie cited the pontiff who had oppressed o the tribunal of God within a certain

The scroll no one could extricate his grasp, and he was buried holding A year after, the pontiff passing that to compose the dispute between the of France and England, ordered the to open the sepulchre. The body was perfect, and the scroll was still in the

The pontiff then desired them to im that scroll, and said that he would i it. He took it, read it, and gave it but he turned pale, and well he might. the time specified in that summons, gave him seven years, he was obliged y, and depart hence.*

this sounds very solemn at the twilight sitting in an old wainscotted chamber, an abbey which stands in the midst rest, having two or three hooded men ur side. Paintings there were, too, in monasteries well calculated to aid the of such histories. Those who have the picture by Murillo, which was out of a Spanish abbey, representing onaventura writing after his death, ac- g to a legend, which supposes that he ermitted to return to life for three in order to finish a book he had not eted, will be able to appreciate the ssions which narratives of this kind inspire. He is seated at a table, and e act of waiting. He has evidently i death; its paleness is over him; but is such a peaceful benignity in his such an unearthly expression, that the ler is fascinated and struck with awe. t the grave is fitter to take the living give up the dead," would, however, be nonk's reply to those who desired to such traditions. "Why do you ask me these things?" he would say, in the style of Ulysses; "I know not whether they be true or false—κακὸν δ' ἀνεμώλια βάζειν. If you wish to believe them, only look at the picture, and then judge whether imagination alone could have suggested such a countenance." Nevertheless, after much entreaty, a gentle guest might draw somewhat more from the sage instructor, which he in turn might repeat to other listeners, that he would be sure to have in secular house, once Hallowmass come, and a fire in the hall. Hear then what is related in the annals of Corby, in Saxony, at the date of 1095: "Brother Becelinus, keeper of the library, entering it about mid-day on the 9th of the calends of October, saw a man in our habit, sitting at a table, reading the Psalms of David. He shuddered, but it told him to fear nothing. It resembled exactly our Ansgarius, as he is painted in the convent."*

The chronicler of Mount-Cassino relates another instance. "The Abbot Gerard," he says, "being very old, and on the anniversary of the Abbot Oderisius, singing the office of the dead for his soul in the chapel of St. Sebastian, after the first vigil, when he had repeated the Antiphon, 'Anima mea Deo vivit,' the Abbot Oderisius suddenly appeared to him behind the altar of the same church, and beckoned to him that he should approach; and when Gerard saw him, he fell on his face and began to weep inconsolably; and when the office was finished he returned to his chamber, weeping and groaning; and being asked by the brethren why he wept, he told them what he had seen, and said he knew that he was about to die; and, in fact, shortly after he fell sick, and departed the way of all flesh; and he was buried in the chapter-room at the feet of the Abbot Desiderius.†

Still the monk would not encourage such inquiries. Some words of this kind might escape his lips, but he would find an excuse to interrupt them. Then would he gaze long in silence on the lovely moon, and then opening his casement, into the night would look forth. This looking forth into the night from cloisters has left many traces in the monastic chronicles. It was from opening the window of his cell one night, as an explorer of the heavens, "horarum explorator," after singing his psalms, that the Neapolitan hermit, who lived on the high steep rock near the public way, beheld the

* Annal Min. tom. v. 1279.

* Annales Corbienses, ap. Leibnitz, Script. Bruns. Illust. 11.

† Chronic. Cas. Lib. iv. cap. 77.

fearful escort which attended the soul of Pandulph from Capua, where he had just expired.* It was owing to the same practice that the monks of Mount-Cassino witnessed those innumerable falling stars which, like hail, appeared in the western sky from the fourth watch of the night till day-break, on the fourth feria after the octave of Easter, in the year 1095, at the time when that amazing host of crusaders was proceeding from the west to rescue the holy sepulchre.† Orderic Vitalis expressly says, "that of this spectacle Gislebert, bishop of Lisieux, was a spectator, in consequence of his custom every night, when an old man, to contemplate the stars for a long time."‡ Indeed, men of science, however hostile to us, attach value to these observations of the monks, and think that their writings furnish proof of the periodical return of falling stars, in different ages, about the 12th of November, when St. Gregory of Tours speaks of having remarked them.§ But let us persuade our good monk to return and continue the conversation. The Sorbonne, by its decisions in the year 1518 and 1724, recognised the belief that the dead do sometimes appear to men.|| Peter the Venerable relates, that a certain Seignior Gui, slain in a combat, appeared all armed to the curate who had heard his confession, and prayed him to tell his brother Anselm to restore an ox which he, Gui, had taken from a peasant, and to repair some injuries which he had committed in a certain village, on which he had imposed unjust charges, which sins he had neglected to declare in his last confession.¶ For such deeds men in those ages knew that when they died, to sulphurous and tormenting flames they would have to render up themselves. Visions of the saints, on their departing, were not uncommon. St. John of the Cross, immediately after his death, appeared to a Carmelite nun, and by his touch healed her of an infirmity which had long afflicted her. At the same moment he delivered a person of the town from the double death, and appeared soon after to two monks of the order, and also to his brother, Francis d'Yepes.**

Hear again the annals of Corby, in Saxony: "In 966, William, archbishop of Mayence, in the night in which he died appeared in a vision to Luitholf, our a
In 1443, Mathias Quintel, a priest in
after death, was seen by many in the
and woods: he hurt no one, but ex
all to do penance.* Narrations of thi
on the lips of monks derived, it must
membered, a charm from the context
discourse: for they chiefly alluded to
in solemn and impressive moments, a
nected with other things of more
"when by moonlight sweetly and sadl
did talk of death." And if any one
wonder how such talk could yield a t
sweetness, let him read Cæsar of H
bach's eleventh book, or the historica
logue of Martinus, abbot of the
monastery at Vienna, in which he des
as an eye witness, the deaths of mo
that cloister; and he will admit the
of the poet's epithet. "I have heard
ever, enough of this," says the yout
converses with this very Abbot M
"and I want to hear something st
still." The old man, finding him in
vein, proceeds then to relate a dre
vision which had assailed himself wh
was a boy, hastening under the mo
school in winter while it was still
according to the custom of some plac
account of the shortness of the days,
makes such early walks necessary to sch
This youth, by his questions, seems al
to be well fortified against such terrors
he asks, "Why did you not make th
of the holy cross? and then it would
disappeared, and you could have gone
school without molestation."† Less
versant with such themes, we perhaps
wish, however, to have a little inform
on the subject; for, though we heard
remarks upon it in the Eighth Book
traditions respecting it are so gener
monasteries, that one ought not to lose
an opportunity as the present for satis
the lurking curiosity to which we m
still liable. In the collection of illus
and memorable histories by Cæsar of
terbach, Apollonius is represented sa
that, on the question of demonology
would prefer hearing the testimony of m
to that of seculars.‡ And Marsilius Fic
writing to Soderinus, thus philosophiz
the fact, which really renders them the
authority on the subject: "Men con
plative, despising human things, apply
says, "either to religion and sanctity,

* Chron. Mont. Cas. Lib. ii. 83.
† Lib. iv. 11. ‡ Lib. ix.
§ Libri Hist. des Sciences Mathemat. en Italie, ll. 235.
|| Dom Calmet sur les Apparitions, tom. i. p. 237. ¶ Bibliothec. Cluniacens. 1283.
** P. Dosithée, viii.

* Annales Corb.
† Senat. Dialog. Hist. Martini Abb. Scot. ap. Pez. Script. Rer. Aust. ii.
‡ Lib. v. c. iv.

science. Yet both fall into gulphs: for the saints, flying the vanities and deceits of mortals, fall into the temptation of demons; for they struggle, not against flesh and blood, says Paul the Apostle, sed adversus maleficos quosdam spiritus aëris caliginosi tyrannos. But what shall I say of the philosophers! While avoiding the business of Jove, and no less pleasure, they fall into the tedium and black bile of Saturn; to which mighty evil Democritus, Plato, Aristotle, and all the most ingenious men, are condemned obnoxious; so that they seem to suffer the punishment of that stealer of celestial fire, Prometheus, the contemplator upon Mount Caucasus. Therefore, if these men, who seem of all others to have best escaped human calamities, fall into such misery, surely no one can hope to avoid evils in this mortal life. But there is this difference: that while the one proceed from bad to worse, the others, by persevering, reap the promises of God: for they who sow in tears reap in joy."*

No one, in fact, needs to be told how this theme pervades the monastic philosophy, as appears both from the paintings and the books of monks. These holy men, suffering from such assaults, have often addressed that Prince of the Air in words as sublime as those of Æschylus.

"That enemy from enemy should suffer
Extreme indignity, is nothing strange.
Let him then work his horrible pleasure on me;
Wreathe his black-curling flames, tempest the air
With vollied thunders and wild-warring winds,
Rend from its roots the firm earth's solid base,
Heave from the roaring main its boisterous waves
And dash them to the stars: me let him hurl,
Caught in the fiery tempest, to the gloom
Of deepest Tartarus: not all his pow'r
Can quench th' etherial breath of life in me."†

Do you ask, whence such combats in the very sanctuaries of peace? The ascetic replies, "that sinners, as a secure possession, are not tempted by the evil one; but that he tempts and vexes the faithful and devout." St. Thomas treats at great length on the temptation of men by demons, and states all the objections that can be alleged against it, refuting them, and proving how God permits it to be so.‡ In the book of Job we see what power was given to Satan; and in the holy Scriptures generally the texts are so numerous and clear, that no one who lays claims to any Christian faith can accuse the monks of superstition, in admitting and confirming by their own alleged experience the belief to which they lead. The human enemies of monks, however, imitate the very power whose existence they deny, in omitting all mention of the virtues to which these trials led: for when Satan was asked whence he came, he was silent respecting the constancy which he had found in holy Job. A modern historian, in order to illustrate what he terms the credulity of the German mind during the middle ages, cites some sublime legends from the work of Cæsarius of Heisterbach. I shall repeat one of these with a different object: for I conceive that it conveys a proof of the profound views and acute discernment of the monks, in teaching the real nature of those demoniac temptations to which men are subject, both in the cloister and in the world. "A priest," says the monk, "was one day in Lent hearing confessions in his church. While one by one they advanced and receded, a stout youth, who had taken his station with the rest, advanced the last of all, knelt down, and confessed so many and such monstrous crimes that the hair of the holy man stood on end. Rising from his seat, he exclaimed, 'Hast thou lived a thousand years to commit all these?' The other replied, 'I have lived more.' 'Who and what art thou?' demanded the confessor. 'A demon who fell with Lucifer,' was the reply. 'Why shouldst thou confess,' demanded the priest. 'As I stood here, looking on,' continued the strange penitent, 'I perceived that some, who came to thee sinners, left thee justified. Diligently have I listened to their statements, and to thy replies promising pardon and bliss eternal. Hoping to obtain the same happiness, I too have approached thy chair.' The priest, soon recovering, from his dismay, said coolly, 'If thou wilt follow my directions, and do penance for thy sins as sincerely as the rest, thou mayest obtain the same pardon.' The demon promised to perform any reasonable penance that should be tolerable. The priest assured him that it would be a very moderate one indeed,—far less than any which had been imposed on those who had preceded him: it would be simply this,—'Fall three times on thy face before Heaven, and say, 'Lord God, my Creator, I have sinned against thee; pardon thou me.' 'Impossible!' replied the devil, starting up; 'never can I stoop to such degradation. Enjoin me any thing else, and I will readily obey thee.' The priest bade him depart; and he vanished."

But demonology appears under another

* Epist. Lib. xi. † Prometh. Vinct.
‡ Q. 114. ii.

form in the literature of the middle ages; and we must inquire how it came to pass that some monks should have been accused of being in alliance with the very powers which they were enlisted to combat. Having already seen how evil insinuated itself into monasteries, we have no occasion for entering upon any further explanation with respect to the abuses to which it led. Doubtless, as far at least as guilt was concerned, there were wizards under the cowl. Wibald, abbot of New Corby, writes to Walter, a monk of that abbey, interdicting him from saying mass, forbidding him to converse with laics, or to leave the walls of the monastery, until, by his obedience and humility, it may be known what should be done. His offence was magic and sacrilege: for he used to say mass incessantly, with the diabolic intention of injuring his superiors; and he used charms and incantations. "O hominem omni lacrymarum imbre deflendum!" cries the abbot, "qui de fide perfidiam facit, de pietate sacrilegium, de religione idololatriam."* In the annals of Corby, in Saxony, we read, "This year, 1298, Gotschalk Marker, a painter, while painting the devil, was so terrified by a spectre that he soon after died." Who knows whether this was not another instance to verify what Cardan says, when, after speaking of the terrible apparitions to Cassius and Brutus, he adds, "I do not believe these to be ancient fables, or that other examples could not be found; for daily they occur; and I have known no impious man who wanted punishment of this sort?"†

In 1325, Leopold, duke of Austria, asked a necromancer if he could show him the devil. ("I only repeat what is in old books," says the sage monk.) He replied that he could, but that it would endanger his body. A stipulation was made, and he was led into a secret room, and there shown a man seated. At the sight Leopold exclaimed, "Satis est!" and immediately dropped dead.‡ Fulbert of Chartres, in a sermon, relates the history of the man sold to the demon and delivered, which is represented in sculpture on the walls of Nôtre Dame, at Paris.§ Dom Calmet may be consulted‖ respecting traditions of this kind, to which we alluded sufficiently on a former occasion. Of course, in general, such accusations against monks were utterly groundless, and the result either of malevolence or of superstition: to which last, it is a remarkable fact, that the enemies of monks were peculiarly, in all ages, prone. It was an observation made by Agobard, that the superstitious people who paid what they called Canonicum, which was a tribute to the sorcerers who pretended to have power over the air, were precisely the very men who refused to pay tithes, or to give alms to the poor.* The charge of magic does not seem to have been advanced against the illustrious monk of Aurillac, Gerbert, till half a century after his death; and Hock supposes that it was the schismatical Cardinal Benno who first brought it forward, when he separated himself from Gregory VII. and the Holy See. The first trace of it is found in the works of Sigebert, in 1113, and of Hugo of Flavigni, in 1100, who both give a false version of his leaving the monastery, and of his subsequent actions. Then followed Orderic Vitalis and William of Malmesbury, who improved further on the legend.† Bzovius gives the following apology for him by an old poet:—

"Ne mirare, Magum fatui quod inertia vulgi
Me (viri minime gnara) fuisse putat.
Archimedis studium quod eram Sophiæque sequutus
Tum, cum magna fuit gloria, scire nihil,
Credebant magicum esse rudes. Sed busta loquuntur
Quam pius, integer, et religiosus eram."

Others also published his vindication.‡ But still, among the credulous and ignorant, voices were found to perpetuate such calumnies, urging that—

"The sage, in truth, by dreadful abstinence,
And conquering penance of the mutinous flesh,
Deep contemplation, and unwearied study,
In years outstretch'd beyond the date of man,
May have obtain'd to sovereignty and science
Over those strong and secret things and thoughts
Which others fear and know not."

"I am not ignorant," says the abbot Trithemius, "of the rumours which have been spread respecting my studies, and how often it has been said that I am addicted to necromantic vanities. I have, therefore, deemed it necessary for me to meet these calumnies, and leave a short defence of myself to posterity: for I am a faithful Christian,

* Ap. Martene, Vet. Script. ii. 350.
† De Utilitate ex Advers. i. 4.
‡ Erphurdianus, Antiquitatum Variloquus, ap. Menckenii Script. Rer. Germ. ii.
§ *De Nativ.* B. Virg. Serm.
‖ *Traité sur les* Apparit. i. 39.

* Agobard, De Grandine.
† Gerbert und sein Jahrhund. 161.
‡ Sylvester II. Cæsius Aquitanus a Magia et aliis Calumniis Vindicatus, Rome, 1629. fol. attached to the Vita et Passio S. Adalberti Ursini

ed in the Catholic faith, consenting
ings of faith according to the Roman
. I am a priest and a monk, a
of Jesus Christ. I have never had
ce with evil arts. I have never had
iety with demons. One God in
of Persons I adore, fear, and wor-
the participation of whose glory I
attain after this life. If the things
known or done seem wonderful, they
the works of demons, but of nature,
ndustry, but of philosophic specula-
Now hear why I have been so distin-
. At the time when Maximilian,
the Romans, held that great assem-
Worms, there came to me to the
of Spanheim a Frenchman named
s,—a man, profound in all kinds of
, and no less venerable for sanctity
h. He had conversed some time
t monk and hermit, Pelagius, in the
of Majorca; and, after his death,
heir of all his books. From him
earned many hidden things in phi-
on the Christian faith, on the
f good and evil spirits, and on the
s of nature, and other things which
ommon in the schools of men at
. This learned Libanius, seeing
osition and love of study, said that
ht me worthy of receiving all that
earned, first from Pelagius, and then
n Picus, count of Mirandula, during
ars. So, beginning from the majesty
, he disputed on many points of wis-
occult philosophy, and interpreted
ings which were before unknown to
which I learned to distinguish be-
tural magic, which teaches how to
rous things by natural means, which
ch has never condemned; and that
effected by the co-operation of
it spirits, whether necromancy in
s of the dead, or piromancy by in-
of demons, or acromancy, hydro-
geomancy, chiromancy, auruspices,
auspices, pedomancy, orincomancy,
, eromancy, or maleficy,—all which
emons are condemned by the holy
Church, and forbidden to all Chris-
ough geomancy and chiromancy
in toto, but may be tolerated in
on, for exercise and recreation. But
agic has been studied in all ages
ien, as by Albertus Magnus. Magic
sian word, and signifies wisdom.
icians are wise men. So far I am
n,—that is, a lover of wisdom, di-
an, and natural. This is all my
ut for the other condemned by the
Church, I execrate, I abhor, I despise it, with its authors. At the instigation of a certain prince, (an unknown hand adds in the margin, Philip, Palatine of the Rhine,) I began to write that vast, arduous work, Steganographia, to be finished in eight books, of which I have only written two, being doubtful whether I shall proceed further, and fearing lest it may cause some to suspect me of evil arts. Perhaps it will be expedient for me that these wonderful things which I have invented should die and be buried with me, lest when I am dead, by those not understanding it, I should be accused of temerity or of superstition."*

But the monk's familiar conversation was not always on such solemn or wild-melancholy subjects. "Come hither, youth; and I will tell you what happened to me in my younger days, beginning from my boyhood." Such are the first words of the historical dialogue written by Martin, abbot of the Scotch monastery, at Vienna. "Truly," cries the other, "I will listen to you gladly."† There is nothing to alarm any one in such a commencement, nor would the sequel prove it a deception.

Rainauld, a monk of Ouches, says Orderic Vitalis, had lived in that abbey from the age of five, during fifty-two years, and under four abbots. He was remarkable for the gift of memory, which enabled him to relate exactly all that he had seen and heard. He often used to charm his companions by the agreeable recitals which he used to make, drawn either from the sacred books, or from the conversations of the learned.‡ "This year," (1252) says the annalist of Corby, "Hermann de Bodenhusen, a canon of Hilleshem, had long conversations often with our Abbot Tideric upon antiquities, in which he was very learned."§

You will wonder not, reader, that the monks of the middle ages should have had much to relate, if you consider through what vicissitudes many of them had come to this peace; for here were some "who," as Dante says, "of all spirits had reviewed the state, from the world's lowest gap unto this height." Assuredly, without fear of disappointment, one might have conversed with a St. Louis, son of King James of Arragon, after he had renounced the promise of a crown, become a Franciscan friar, and retired into a convent in Germany, to be the farther removed from

* Nepiachus, ap. Eccard. Corp. Hist. Med. Ævi, ii.
† Ap. Pez. Script. Rer. Aust. ii.
‡ Lib. iii.
§ Ap. Leibnitz, ii. Script. Brun

the honours due to his birth;* or with a St. William in the desert,—πάλαι πολέμων εὖ εἰδώς. Independently of their former position in the world, the immense journeys and pilgrimages of monks must have supplied them with innumerable themes. What a high pleasure would it have been to talk with Ingulf, abbot of Croyland, in the time of King William, who had been first a monk of Fontanelles, though an Englishman, then secretary to the king, then a pilgrim to Jerusalem; finally, during twenty-four years, abbot of Croyland! or with any of the generals and superiors of the mendicant orders, who were such great travellers! with John the Teutonic, who had visited England, Ireland, Scotland, France, Italy, and Hungary! or with a Humbert de Romans, another general of the Dominicans in the thirteenth century, who had held general chapters at Barcelona, Bologna, and London!† Their studies, too, and their conversation with older monks, must have supplied them with many forgotten histories which lived in the eternal tablets, which they would deliver in such apt and gracious words, that aged ears might play truant at their tales, and younger hearings be quite ravished,—so sweet and voluble would be their discourse. Each abbey had curious, and often valuable histories attached to it, which were handed down from age to age. In Italy there existed ancient traditions of Attila, collected in works which Malespini had seen in the thirteenth century, in the abbey of Florence.

The work of Cæsar of Heisterbach will convey a good idea in general of the style of narratives that one heard in the monasteries of the middle ages. This monk had been educated at Cologne, and professed as a Cistercian, in 1199, in the monastery of St. Peter, at Heisterbach, which is near the bank of the Rhine, opposite to Bonn. Let us hear one of his simple tales, which have, ere now, charmed many a listener under the abbey roof. It is a ditty, we might be disposed to think,

> "Not of these days, but long ago 'twas told
> By a cavern wind unto a forest old."

"Some five years ago," he says, "near the abbey of Floreffia, in the diocese of Liege, lived a young nobleman, who, on his father's dying, inherited vast riches. The youth, becoming a knight, devoted himself to tournaments and actors, by which he was soon reduced to poverty, so that he sold all his estates. Near him dwelt a rich and honest knight, to whom he sold or mortgaged his lands; and when all his money was gone, he resolved to travel, preferring to beg among strangers than remain where he was known. He had a steward, who in name only was a Christian, being a wretch given to the demon. He, seeing his lord sad, said to him, 'Master, do you not wish to recover your riches?' 'Yes, truly,' replied the knight, 'provided I could do it without offending God.' 'Fear nothing, then,' said the other; 'only follow me.' So that same night he led him into a wood to a marshy spot, and there he began to talk as if with some one else. 'Who do you address?' asked the young man. 'Silence,' he replied; 'it does not concern you.' He resumed the conversation; and when the other again asked him, he said that he spoke with the demon. The youth began to tremble; and who would not have trembled at the sound of such cursed words, in such a place, and at such an hour? The youth could distinguish the voice replying, 'Then he must renounce the Most High.' So the steward told him to renounce God. He refused. 'What! do you fear to pronounce a mere word?' asked the steward. 'What is it but sound? Only say, I renounce.' The miserable youth repeated it after him. Then he could hear the voice say, 'He must also renounce the mother.' 'Never,' replied the youth; 'that is what I can never do.' 'What!' said the steward, 'do you shrink when you have done what is much greater? The Creator is something more than the creature, I opine.' 'No,' answered the youth; 'rather will I beg all the days of my life.' Nothing more was said, the work was left imperfect, and both proceeded to return. On their way back, they passed by a church, the door of which stood half open. The youth leaped from his horse, gave the bridle to the steward, and said, 'Wait here till I come to you.' He entered, prostrated himself before the altar, and invoked the prayers of the Mother of mercy. He wept, he groaned, he filled the whole church with his lamentations. Now the hour was about day-break, and, lo! the knight to whom he had made over his property came by that way, and seeing the church door open, and hearing the lamentations within, he concluded that mass was saying. So he entered, and saw the young knight weeping, and recognised him instantly. Thinking that he only wept for

* *Annal. Min.* v. 1295.
† *Touron, Hist. des Hom. Illust.* 3.

mities, he steped behind a pillar, ited to see the issue. Now there r the altar an image of the Virgin holding the child Jesus in her nd the youth invoked her, and it to him as if in heaven she joined yers with his, asking her Son to him, and as if He, at length, con- through love for his mother. The ien rising went out of the church. er knight followed him, and com- as if not knowing where he had ked him why his eyes were so wet lled? to whom the other replied, ras the wind which had affected 'Nay, I know the cause,' said the 'but be comforted. I have one ughter, and if you will mary her, nake you my heir.' The feelings :her may be conceived. The knight :o his wife what had passed, and rriage was soon after celebrated. 'e all at present living, but the ıan is to be the heir."*

of St. Victor relates a narrative vild, but from the character of the it acquires a peculiar interest. :ertain brother of approved testi- he says, "related to me what had d him by his own abbot, who on sion going to visit certain monks, ı the journey took up his lodging ıight in a certain hostel, where he the fact which had occurred there ys before. A strange pilgrim, going sake of prayer to St. James, was there to hospitality. That night, he dawn, as is the custom with s, he rose, and leaving the village, into a wood which was adjacent. ıeing separated from his compa- ving to the darkness, he began to :rom the way, and after proceeding e time, met a man of venerable ıd countenance, who, in answer to rrogations, informed him that he James, and that he was come to m on the way to praise his devout ns. He then proceeded to speak ward prepared for him, and of the ı of this life, and with such force not only quite took away the fear from the pilgrim, but even per- him that it would be wise and ous to put an end to his life by ı hands. The unhappy pilgrim, l by this demon, attempted to de- mself; but being discovered by his companions, he was brought back to the hostel, where, on suspicion of having assas- sinated him, the host was arrested and accused. The man, however, who was thought dead, recovered, and he then con- fessed the whole history, adding, that it appeared to him as if the wicked angel who had deceived him, while carrying him away to torment, was met by the real St. James, who obliged him to let go his hold, and that he was then permitted to have a vision of the other world, which he could not describe by any words."*

The spirit from whose lip these wild narratives proceed might win us easily to listen still; but having in memory the scowl of certain persons born near the dull- making cataract of Nilus, let us ask the good father for legends less poetical, that none may incur blame for repeating his discourse.

Well, then, we may take back this re- port, that never does the poor old monk indulge in telling histories without an espe- cial view to inculcate some great practical lesson, and, above all, charity. Let these next tales bear witness. "Two citizens of Cologne," says Cæsar of Heisterbach, "con- fessed in Lent that they were guilty of lying and perjury. 'We cannot buy or sell any thing,' said they, 'without lying, swearing, and often perjury.' 'These,' said the priest 'are grievous sins, prohibited by our Lord.' 'Then we cannot observe his precept in trade,' said they. 'Follow my advice,' replied the priest. 'Try it for one year.' They agreed to do so. Now Satan, ever opposed to human salvation, con- trived that they should sell nothing: so at the end of the year they returned to the priest, and said, 'Our obedience has cost us dear. We cannot carry on business without oaths.' 'Fear not,' said the priest. 'It is a temptation. Resolve never to offend God this way, whatever may be the consequence.' They promised it. Won- drous thing! The temptation ceased, and from that hour men flocked to their shops more than to any other, and they soon prospered."† Now hear how he teaches us by a true tale to commiserate the poor.

"In the year 1192 it happened on a certain day that Rocherus, a man of high dignity in the church at Magdeburg, was playing at chess, when a servant-boy en- tered, and whispered to the butler, who stood near, that a poor sick woman had

* Id. Lib. ii. c. 12.

* Eruditiones Theologicæ De Sacramentis, Lib. ii. par. xvi. c. 2. † Id. Lib. iii. c.

sent a messenger to ask for a little wine. Rocherus, overhearing him, ordered that the wine should be given immediately: and on the servant answering that he had no wine excepting what was in a vessel that had not yet been opened, he ordered him to open it. The servant went out, as if intending to comply, but in reality he sent away the messenger empty. Scarcely two hours had elapsed, when the church bells tolled for a death. Rocherus sent to inquire the name of the person, and the messenger brought word that it was the woman who had so lately sent for wine. Then he inquired minutely, and discovered that it had not been given. Greatly troubled, he summoned the servant to appear, and with vehement indignation commanded him to empty the entire hogshead upon the ground, declaring that he would never make use of that, of which a part had been refused to one of the poor of Christ. Then he dismissed the man, and forbade him ever after to enter his presence."

Nor was the cloister left without domestic traditions appertaining to families in the world, but each monk brought to it some history of this kind from his home, which had often the charm of an exquisite tenderness. How many sweet tales could Henry Suso, the Dominican, relate of his own mother, to whose pious memory he was so attached, that renouncing the illustrious name of his father, Dumon, who was a worldling, he chose to be called Suso, after her, during the thirty-seven years of his evangelizing Germany, from the year 1328, when he entered the convent of Constance, till his death at Ulm in 1365.*

* Touron, ii. 13.

"I should like to know, were your parents devout?" asks the youth in the historical dialogue of Martinus, the Austrian abbot; to whom the old monk replies, "I ought not to speak of that; yet one thing I will relate of my father. Once on a Good Friday he came back from the church very ill, so ill that my mother and I, and all the family, began to despair of his recovery; and when we lamented over him, he said to us, 'Weep not, for I asked the Lord that He would deign this day by some infirmity to make me participator of his passion, and I am grateful that my prayer has been heard.'"*

But these effusions of intimacy must cease at the tolling of the bell. Indeed even Homer himself might read us a lesson in this respect; for Ulysses stops suddenly in the most solemn part of his narrative, and says it is time for retiring to sleep, and that he must depart on the morrow.† I know not whether my reader, like Alcinous, would wish to protract the conversation, saying,

νὺξ δ' ἤδε μάλα μακρὴ ἀθέσφατος· οὐδέ πω ὥρη εὖδειν ἐν μεγάρῳ· σὺ δέ μοι λέγε θέσκελα ἔργα,‡

but I am sure that the guest of the middle ages, whether young or old, so far from disdaining even these familiar narratives, would apply to them the words of the ascetic with whom he had begun this conversation,—"Non sunt frigida verba, nisi non amanti: nec surda organa, nisi cor obturanti. Scit amans et flagrans anima, et toties intra se concalescit cor ejus, quoties ex amore æternæ pacis compungitur."

* Dialog. Hist. ap. Pez. Script. Rer. Aust. ii.
† Od. xi. ‡ xi.

CHAPTER XVII.

WE came within these cloisters, let it be remembered, reader, in search of further proof that there were multitudes in the middle ages who loved peace, and who, through that love, happy. Thus far, methinks, our obtions justify our first report, although, t, they have been chiefly general: but I would impart to them a direction especial, and interrogate the monks, rom their answers we may learn as as if we had long dwelt amongst , what fruits of peace were yielded by ıonastic institution.

t, first, what say these strangers in uest-chamber, like ourselves, some of ı can but ill disguise their jealously? ı a sweet life to be in a monastery spending one's youth in battles," says "Every thing here," he continues, lks to the imagination. The loud tolell, the solemn organ, the chaunt of s, resounding under these long vaulted "* He speaks maliciously, but so s observations are just. Another of lar school, describing the Carthusian ıtery near Valentia, called Porta Celi, tes, however, more discernment of ıe advantages of monastic seclusion, says, "Every thing there nourishes ace of the soul. Though one may ıeld the monastic life in aversion, be impossible not to feel an in- in these silent solitaries, who, at do not neglect the benefits which ı has spread round their dwelling, ho, austere for themselves only, peaceıborious, do not even merit the charge ıg useless. In their cemetery, shaded m trees, and embalmed with roses, lea of death seems stripped of its ı." This is still the testimony of one ɔmes from a hostile camp; but if we t any young unprejudiced observer, all find that he can discover at a glance the leading characteristic of monastic life. Thus a recent traveller, describing the union among the monks in the convent of St. John the Baptist, near Jerusalem, says, "You see different countenances, some more gay, others more reserved, in fine, the varieties which must exist in all assemblies of men; but here you find in all that peace of heart, and that innocent joy, which result from a tranquil conscience, and a life removed from the cares of this world."*

But now, in fine, what say the monks themselves? Unquestionably they will yield a cheerful assent to the first speaker, and plead guilty of leading a sweet life. St. Bernard is almost ravished with the beauty and pleasures of his monastery. "Good God," saith he, describing it, "what an aggregation of pleasures hast thou provided for the poor! Deus bone! quanta pauperibus procuras solatia!" "In this porch of paradise," he says elsewhere, "the voice of a divine whisper is heard, a most holy and most secret counsel, which is hidden from the wise and prudent, and revealed to little ones."† Bernard the abbot of another monastery, writing to the saint, bears the same testimony after visiting him. "Man, when he was in honour, did not understand, which sentence is verified in wretched me," he says to him; "for I did not sufficiently understand, when I was in Clairvaux, that I was in a place of pleasure, between trees of paradise; and, therefore, I counted for nothing the desirable land."‡ St. Peter Damian says, that the monastery of Cluny "is a garden of delights, producing all the graces of which roses and lilies are the symbol." What else is the Cluniac monastery, but a field of the Lord, full of things celestial, where they are in profusion?§ A certain canon regular, writing to the monks of St. Barbara in Normandy, to describe the

* Capefigue.

* Delaroière, Voyage en Orient.
† De Conversione, c. 14.
‡ S. Bern. Epist. 344. § Epist. v.

manners of the Præmonstratensian monks, after enumerating many excellences, adds, "With them existed that one principal and singular good of concord and unanimity, every one supporting the other in charity."* All the great and acute observers of monastic life in ages of faith corroborate these testimonies. To Mount-Cassino Charlemagne, who so loved its holy family, addresses this epistle,—

"Hinc celer egrediens facili mea carta volatu
Per silvas, colles, valles quoque perpete cursu,
Alma Deo cari Benedicti tecta requie.
Est nam certa quies fessis venientibus illuc.
Hic olus hospitibus, piscis, hic panis abundat,
Pax pia, mens humilis, pulchra et concordia fratrum,
Laus, amor, et cultus Christi simul omnibus horis.
Dic Patri et Sociis cunctis, salvete, valete,
Colla mei Pauli gaudendo amplecto benigne
Dicito multoties, salve, Pater Optime, salve."†

St. Peter Damian says of these monks, "Blessed are they who live with you, blessed are they who die amongst you in your holy works;"‡ and Isidore, who translated the tract of St. Nilus on the Christian philosophy, says, in his Preface, to the monk Ambrose of Florence, "Last year, while saying at that mount, or rather paradise of Cassino,§ Rothrod, archbishop of Rouen, being invited by the monks of La Charité to seek rest with them in time of war, after replying that he cannot be absent from his flock, continues thus: 'To converse with you, we count beatitude and the image of another paradise. Nothing more renders bitter our present troubles than the memory of that peace which we enjoyed within your cloister, conversing with you as with angels. If we cannot bring about peace, at least we must beseech God for the things of peace. Implore him, brethren, to reduce to peace the tumult of the present discord.'"‖

The anonymous monk of Ratisbon says, "that he returned thanks to God for the charity and peace which he enjoyed while residing in the monastery of Fulda; 'Magnum quippe mihi tunc videbatur, in eodum monasterio pacifico incessu posse deambulare;'¶ that monastery, under the Abbot Eigil, was described by his disciple as enjoying profound internal peace." The brethren, in happy tranquillity, have one heart and one mind in God.*

Neckham, abbot of Cirencester in 1217, speaking of his juvenile years in the abbey of St. Alban, bears testimony to it in these lines:

"———Claustrum
Martyris Albani, sit tibi tuta quies!
Hic locus ætatis nostræ primordia novit,
Annos felices, lætitiæque dies!
Hic locus ingenuis pueriles imbuit annos
Artibus, et nostræ laudis origo fuit.
Hic locus insignes magnosque creavit alumnos
Felix eximio martyre, gente, situ,
Militat hic Christo, noctuque dieque labori
Indulget sancto religiosa cohors."†

Some time after Peter of Blois had visited Croyland, the abbot wrote to him to request that he would undertake to write a continuation of their annals, promising to send him the materials. The archdeacon, in reply, takes occasion to extol the happiness of that community. "While with you lately," he says, "I was refreshed with so many delights, enriched with so many presents, edified by so many devout exercises, that being called away on the king's service, I was troubled in spirit, and afflicted to such a degree, that as long as I live I shall have your countenances, and the persons of each of you, as it were, painted before me. Calling to mind the urbanity with which you received me, which seems indigenous in the place itself, I was so affected with a womanish tenderness, that before I reached the firm land, seven or more times did I pull my reins, and look back from the midst of the marsh to gaze again on your most holy monastery, and bless it from my heart, and grieve for myself, like Adam when exiled from paradise."‡ Orderic Vitalis, concluding his history, testifies the peace and happiness he has reaped in his monastery. "It is time to finish this book," he says: "in fact, I have passed sixty-seven years of my life in the worship of my Lord Jesus Christ; and while I have seen the great men of the world overthrown by terrible misfortunes, and the most distressing evils, I am, thanks to God, strong in the security which my submission gives to me, and in the joy which I owe to my poverty. Lo, there is Stephen, king of England, kept mourning in prison, and Louis, king of France, a prey to torments of various kinds,

* Ap. Martene, i. 780.
† Chronic. S. Monast. Casinens. c. xv.
‡ Hist. Casinens. Sæc. vi.
§ Ap. Martene Vet. Script. tom. ix.
‖ Pet. Bles. Epist. clv.
¶ *Ap. Mabillon*, Vet. Analect. iv.

* Præf. in iv. Sæc. Benedict. 6.
† De Laude Divinæ Sapientiæ.
‡ Pet. Bles. Continuatio ad Hist. Ingulphi in Rer. Aug. Script. tom. i.

itions against the Goths and Gas-
/hat shall I add? Almighty God,
King, I render thee thanks for
isposed of my years according to
pleasure of thy will. Baptized
gham, on the Severn, on the Satur-
aster, by the curate Orderic, whose
is given to me, I was sent, in the
r of my age to Shrewsbury school,
offered my first services in the
of Saints Peter and Paul. There,
five years instructed in Latin by
trious priest Siegward, I was made
with the Psalms and Hymns, and
cessary studies. But thou didst
h that I should remain in the
parents and relations, lest mun-
ctions should cause an obstacle to
rvance of thy law. Therefore,
io didst send Abraham from his
didst inspire my father Odelir
design of offering me to thee
Bathed in tears, he committed
ie monk Rainauld, and sent me
exile for thy sake, since which
ave never seen him more. Young
k child, I had no wish to oppose
he told me, that if I became a
should have after my death para-
h the just. Thus did I abandon
try, my parents, and my friends,
wished me farewell with tears in
es, recommending me with affec-
prayers to thee, O my God, O
Adonai! I was ten years old
passed the seas, and arrived in
ly, unknowing and unknown. As
n Egypt, I heard a language that
itood not. Nevertheless, assisted
race, I met with from strangers
gentleness and friendship that I
iire. The venerable Mainer, abbot
onastery of Ouches, admitted me
onastic state in the eleventh year
ge. He substituted the name of
my English name, which seemed
s to the Normans, borrowing this
m one of the companions of St.
whose festival was that day cele-
Thanks to thy favour, I have re-
n this convent fifty-six years, loved
oured by all my brethren and
ntrymen far beyond my deserts.
vered as my fathers and masters,
they were thy vicars, the six ab-
ainier, Serlon, Roger, Guerin,
and Ranulf. They have governed
ely the monastery of Ouches:
watched, as if they had to render
nt for me and for the others:
they have used their ability within and
without; and under thy eyes, and with
thy assistance, they have procured us what
was necessary; and since thirty-four years
I have fulfilled faithfully the holy ministry
of priesthood in all the joy of my heart.
Thus hast thou made me to live, O Lord
God: thus gratuitously hast thou lavished
thy gifts upon me. For all thy benefits,
O tender Father, I yield thee thanks, I
praise and bless thee with all my heart,
and with tears in my eyes I implore thy
mercy for my innumerable sins?"*

Finally, extending their observations beyond themselves and their own community, the monks express a profound conviction of the immense advantages, in regard to peace in general, which resulted from the monastic state. Many abbeys were called "the gate of heaven," and rightly, if we receive the evidence of those who knew what was the life within them; for as a modern philosopher says, "Certainly it is heaven upon earth to have a man's mind move in charity, rest in providence, and turn upon the poles of truth." "O how happy is the life of monks," cries Alcuin, addressing the brethren of Salzburg; "life, pleasing to God, lovely to the angels, honourable to men."† "For a man of good manners," says Brother Francis Antonio Guevara, "the tranquillity of a monastery constitutes another paradise. Certes, if one reflects well, there is no peace under heaven, equal to that of being in company with good men, praying to God with them."‡ It was there one saw clearly verified the song of the church. "For the testament of the Lord, and the laws of their fathers, did the saints of God persist in the love of fraternity, because there was always in them one spirit and one faith."

This love of fraternity, this expansion of heart towards all men, did not exclude the enjoyment of friendship in its more common acceptation, for in the cloister graces did not counteract each other. "Nor is such love," says the Abbot Suger, "repugnant to charity, since He who commands us to love our enemies does not forbid us to love our friends."§ Peter of Blois remarks, that St. Paul, when he came to Troad, says he had no rest for his spirit till he had found Titus his brother; and again, when he came into Macedonia,

* Lib. xiii.
† Epist. 20, ap. Canis. Lect. Antiq. II.
‡ Epitres, 11.
§ In. Vit. Ludov. vi. ap. Duchesne,

that his flesh had no rest till He, who consoles the humble, consoled him in the coming of Titus.* Gerbert, writing to his old Abbot Raimund, thanking him for his long friendship, adds, "What else is true friendship but an eminent gift of the Divinity: quid est aliud vera amicitia nisi Divinitatis præcipuum munus?"† Hence Sigebert, abbot of Gemblour, says, "that immense thanks should be returned to God for providing such delight for men as is furnished by epistolary correspondence."‡ "Leave me then," the monk would say, with a modern author, "the memory of all my friends, even of the ungrateful. They must remind me of some kind feeling; and perhaps of theirs; and for that very reason they deserve another." But this phrase indicates the experience of the world in its present state of civilization; for the same writer says, "A friend is a creature now extinct: we read of its petrified bones in distant regions." Within the cloister, where, "true to themselves, monks could not be false to any man;" and in the Catholic society, which faith had animated, we meet with no complaints of this kind. To discover them we must go back to the days of paganism, when Cicero said that scarcely three or four pair of friends could be found in all the past ages. "But let no one wonder," adds Peter of Blois, "that there were few friends among the heathens; for they knew not Him who is love, whose charity is diffused through our hearts by the Holy Spirit which is given to us. But since the voice of the turtle has been heard in our land, the voice of Him announcing peace, announcing the truth of friendship, and saying, 'This is my commandment, that ye love one another;' many thousands of men have contracted true friendships, loving each other more truly, certainly, prudently, and with more force than Pylades and Orestes. How many thousands have had but one heart and one mind, and how many have laid down their lives for their friends and brethren in Christ."§

"It is gratifying to find," says a modern historian "that the best human affections can subsist in the cloister: perhaps there they exist in their greatest intensity; for there the rivalry of the passions is not to be found—none of the jealousies, or misconceptions, or caprices, which beset men amidst the busy scenes of the world."* Where facts seem to contradict this judgment, St. Bernard supplies the explanation, saying, "Neque hoc facit stupor, sed amor; submittitur sensus, non amittitur; nec deest dolor, sed superatur, sed contemnitur."† But let us now behold this creature living, which in the world men affirm has been so long extinct; for it is not in a fossil state that friends among monks were found, but in all the freshness of a new creation—

> "Reaping immortal fruits of joy and love
> Uninterrupted joy, unrivall'd love,
> In blissful solitude."

What deep affection subsisted between St. Francis and that Bernard Quintavalle whom he first sent to preach, and whom he so lovingly invited to be present at his death? "Dear to him also," he used to say, "were the simplicity and purity of brother Leon, the good nature of brother Angelo of Rietti, who had been a knight in the world; the gracious look, natural science, and devout conversation of brother Mace; the contemplative elevation of brother Gilles; the spirit of prayer of brother Ruffinus; the patience of brother Junipere; the laborious activity of brother John of Landes; the charity of brother Roger, and the solicitude of brother Lucide."‡ Many followed their friends to the cloister or the desert, and assumed the habit at their suggestion. Erluin, abbot of Gemblou, in the middle of the tenth century was attached, by divine dispensation, in bonds of closest friendship with one of the most noble men of the age, Guibert; insomuch that "unum vellent et unum nollent in Domino." Nevertheless, he believed that much was wanting to him when he alone had withdrawn his feet from the vanity of the world, because the other part of his soul, the pious Guibert, was still held fast in the mire of the profane world. Desiring, therefore, that his friend Guibert should truly and perpetually rejoice in the Lord, he burnt with all the ardour of his mind to win him to the Lord, and he directed all the grace of friendship to effect the salvation of his soul: nor did he rest until he had drawn him from out of the mundane lake of misery, and had placed upon him the rock of ecclesiastical conversation; and had directed his feet in

* De Amicitia Christiana, 21.
† Gerberti Epist. 29.
‡ Ap. Martene, Vet. Script. tom. i. 936.
§ De Amicit. Christ. c. 11.

* Europe in Mid. Ages, Encyclopæd. ii. 174.
† Serm. 61. in Cant.
‡ Diego de Navarre les Chroniques des Frères Min. Liv. II. c. 51.

s of justice; and had put a new
' divine praise in his mouth. Ever
ds he was his strenuous instructor
ɔcate in all times of difficulty."*
rated was the friendship of those
ıs hermits of Venda, Albericus de
.cco and Stephen de Tremignone,
red together to the desert of Camal-
ere leading a most holy eremetical
ng thirty-two years, they passed to
peace, with only forty-six days in-
g between each other's death, in

ı Eckehard III. died, who had
an in the abbey of St. Gall for
ɜars, Wickard threw himself on the
ly, and, through sorrow, gave up
st.† When Peter the Venerable
e grief of the monks of Cluny was
ıant that no common mode of ex-
sorrow sufficed to them. They
ıis face, and drank the water with
hey had washed his body; and
leavoured to carry off some of it to
as a memorial of the man he
brotherly.§
intense affection of monks for their
s, or brethren, may be witnessed
:hose old paintings which repre-
.th or funerals within the cloister,
the tears of the community; as
Angelico de Fiesoli, of the death
Dominic; or that of the death of
ɜ by Murillo; or that by Pedro de
, in the Louvre, of an old monk
:o his burial, scenes of surpassing
ɜss! still witnessed within religious
as I can testify, after assisting at
quies of the venerable Marguerite
au in her convent of the Mother
in Paris; at whose requiem seve-
ough sorrow, fainting, fell like
o the ground; while sighs, with
tions and loud moans, with hands
smote, made such an accompani-
the sweet voices who sung around
t the sound thrills me yet.
affectionate friends were seen in
ey of Mount-Cassino, when St.
ıd his brethren departed from it
ɜd into France! An analogous
curred in the abbey of St. Victor,
, which is thus described. It being
that regular canons should be
n the abbey of St. Geneviève, when

ll. de Gestis Abb. Gemblacens. ap. Da-
ɜileg. vi.
ıl. Camald. Lib. xl.
ɔlog. S. Galli, 21 Martii.
nic. Cluniacens.

Suger was conducting the reform of that house, that holy abbot, with some religious men, went to the abbey of St. Victor to demand assistance. "We forgot nothing," says Suger, writing an account to the pope, "to persuade the venerable abbot of that monastery that it was the will of God he should succour the church of St. Geneviève. We conjured him, both in private and before the whole community, with all imaginable earnestness, but without effect; because, being prudent and wise, he feared to weaken his own house in helping another; but when he saw that we asked even for his prior, a man of rare merit, to be the new abbot of St. Geneviève, he was still more troubled; for then he began to weep, and to sob with such force, that he moved our pity. 'You wish then to take my life,' said he, 'at my age, loaded with years and infirmities; I cannot do without my prior: no, I can never consent to it.' This was his answer during the entire day; but at length, as night came on, and we still pressed him as we had done, without intermission, from the morning, and interposed the authority of your holiness, he consented; and, preferring the general good of the church to his own, promised us his prior and twelve of the canons, all men of great merit."*

If we desire to single out some eminent example of one who cherished friendship in the cowl, we may distinguish the illustrious monk of Aurillac, Gerbert, whose correspondence with the abbots and brethren of different monasteries is more concerned with the interests of deep private affection than even the peaceful occupations of a learned life. Writing to Constantine the scholastic, he says, "Vis amicitiæ pene impossibilia redigit ad possibilia. For how should I have undertaken to explain the reasons of numbers unless by your exhortation, O my sweet consolation in labour, Constantine!"† Writing to the abbot of Aurillac and the brethren: "In common, indeed, to you all," he says, "I return my thanks, but especially to Father Raimund; to whom, after God, if there be any degree of science in me, I am above all men indebted. And now farewell, holy college; farewell, my acquaintances, and those joined with me in affinity; and if there should be any remaining whom I have not known sufficiently, or only by their appearance; whom I have neglected,

* Hist. de Suger, liv. vi.
† Epist. 161.

not through any pride, but from being torn, and, if I may so speak, altogether changed by the ferocity of the barbarians. What I learned when a boy I lost when a young man; and what I desired when a young man I despise in my old age. Such are the fruits I have reaped! O pleasure! Such are the joys which the honours of this world bring forth! Trust, therefore, my experience. In proportion as glory exalts princes externally, does the interior torment prey upon them." His object in thus writing to these ancient friends is to implore their prayers.* With the most fervent affection did he love his director in Aurillac, the Abbot Gerald, his instructor Raimund, the monks Airard, Bernhard, and the others. In every passage of his life, in his contests at Bobbio, at Rheims, on the funeral of King Lothaire, in the power of his betrayers, after his own election, and at the court of the emperor, he still ever thinks of them, greets them, sends them presents, and recommends himself to their prayers. With what warmth does he defend the interests of his friend Constantine in Fleury! How solicitous does he continue to show himself for the monk Rainaud in Bobbio; consoling, advising, and assisting him! With restless zeal he serves his Adalbero; until, on his death-bed, he is his companion, his servant, his counsellor, his champion! Extending his friendships beyond the cloister to the house of Otho, in misfortune as in prosperity, he evinces the same love. Over the third Otho he watches as a father over his child; and the severest blow of all he ever felt, which he receives as the signal for his own departure from the troubled scene, is Otho's death. The loss of the young emperor, who died at Paterno in 1002, was a wound from which he never recovered. He had seen pass three generations of great rulers, whom he had personally loved; having followed to the grave the last Charles, and the last of the Othos, with whom his friendships died. His letters, his public acts cease at this period. He expired on the 12th of May, 1003, and was buried under the portico of the church of St. John Laterun. Pope Sergius IV., the third of his successors, wrote his epitaph, beginning,

"Iste locus mundi Sylvestri membra sepulti
Venturo Domino conferet ad sonitum:"

and ending with

"Quisquis ad hunc tumulum devexa lumina verfis,
Omnipotens Domine, dic, miserere sui!"*

Thus fervently did men learn to love their friends in the sanctified retirement of the cloister: and if they continued to practise these lessons so zealously when removed from it to the dizzy and distracted scene of common life, what must have been their friendships within the monastery, while inhabiting the house of peace together! "When we were youths we began to love each other in Christ," says Peter the Venerable to St. Bernard; "and now that we are old, shall we doubt of our love, so sacred, of such long-standing? Far be it from us."†

The monk of Mount-Cassino, who composed the history of the Normans, speaking of the Abbot Desiderius, says, "I wish that I may die in the time of this holy abbot, and that he may live after I am dead, and that he at the last day of my life, may give me the absolution of my sins."‡ "Ask Severus, if you desire to know any thing of his monastic life," says Paschasius to Adeodatus in that curious dialogue, which contains the history of the Abbot Wala. When Severus replies, "Brethren, brethren, what shall I say, or where shall I find words, since nothing remains to me of him, unless the power of tears and sorrow, for it was good for me, when with him I was carrying the yoke of my youth, as if solitary before him, and was silent rather than now, when I have permission to speak of him. O good Lord Jesus, how indefatigable didst thou make him in all offices of love! how strenuous, how efficacious, how devout."

Richard, a monk of St. Remi, having removed to Canterbury, in which monastery he was living at the time of the martyrdom of St. Thomas, Petrus Cellensis, his former abbot, writes to him in these terms, "Behold, my dearest Richard, I would rush to embrace you on hearing of this change of your habit, though it can hardly change your mind for the better; for what attribute of decorum, what of maturity, what of piety, what of charity, what of all religion, was wanting to you when you were before me, and in the eyes of our congregation, a mirror of goodness and a model of imitation? Had you remained with us, you would have been a comfort to me against all troubles, nor do I think that

* Epist. 35.

* Hock. † S. Bern. Epist. 389.
‡ L'Ystoire de li Normant, Lib. iii. c. 49.

God would have deserted me as long as I possessed such a pledge of his mercy; but what has happened, has happened. This absence of the body must only be a stimulus to greater friendship, and dictate more continuance of prayer."* A monk of St. Victor writes to his friend as follows: "Hearing, my beloved, that you are living well, and in health, that you prosper in all things, that you please God and men in your manners, and that you are glad to hear accounts of me as your relative, I rejoiced with great joy, and though dead to the world in regard to its affections in this respect, I confess I am not wholly free; yet this is the gift not of the world, but rather of charity, which as it renders sometimes your pious breast solicitous about me as your relation, so also it affects me with cares for you as my relation. From which as I am now in part delivered, thanks be to God, it only remains that I should exonerate myself by sending a letter in return. So then at Paris, having put my hand to the Lord's plough in the house of God, and of blessed Victor, under the canonical rule of St. Augustin, as a pupil, I have decreed to militate for Christ, to serve whom is to reign, to be restrained by whose bridle is perfect liberty, where I live, yet not I but Christ who dwelleth in me; where the world to me is crucified, as am I to the world; not seeking there the things which are mine, but those which are Christ's; and this is my glory, to will and to be able to please God. Do you desire to hear greater and sublimer things of me? Lo I consult my memory, and I know nothing; I can find nothing; but what shall I say? more, and as if greater things I promised, and so I am reduced to nothing; and nothing know; or is it perchance, that thus to have descended, is rather to have ascended, as it is written, "qui se humiliat exaltabitur;" for he is truly humble who had rather be reputed vile, than pronounced humble? but enough of this. It remains that I reveal to you my secret and ardent desire. If by your means I could procure any particle of the relics of the glorious martyr of Christ, St. Thomas; for that would be to me a treasure more precious than gold and topaze, that would be a companion and a consoler in my pilgrimage, a sweet guardian against the temptations of the insidious enemy. If you should be able, hasten to send it to me in a sealed vase, and by some trusty messenger. Farewell."* Monastic superiors had as many friends as subjects. When Thomas, the venerable abbot of Croyland, became blind, which calamity he bore with cheerfulness and humility, the monks so loved him that they prevailed on him to retain his pastoral dignity till his death, and he governed them in that state five years.†

When Ambrose of Camaldoli, in 1431, was to remove from his monastery in Florence, by order of Pope Eugene, on being made prior general of the order, which office required him to visit distant provinces, he describes his departure thus: "So I Ambrose, then sub-prior, and Sylvester, my sweetest companion, with whom I had passed thirty years in that monastery, were obliged to set out. We left the monastery on the 11th of October, while the brethren were singing vespers, lest any thing of disturbance should arise from their tears and lamentations."‡

Indications of the most tender love and amiable sympathy for all members of their respective houses, abound in the writings of the monks. Hugo of St. Victor, supplies an instance. "I am invited out," he says, "and I am enjoined under obedience, to become a guest with strangers. I ride forth and arrive at their house. I sit down at table. White bread and good wine, fish, and cheese, and eggs are produced. Then I begin to think of my brethren who are in the convent, and it is grievous to me to be treated differently from them, and to think that I should be feasting splendidly while they are only dryly supporting nature. My conscience smites me if I have fish instead of beans, and cheese instead of onions or millet."§

For seculars too, as we remarked in the instance of Gerbert, they manifest friendship with no less fervour and familiarity. Guevara, the Franciscan, writes to a Spanish nobleman in these terms: "Illustrious Seigneur, if you think that I am not your friend, you err; for your friends and mine know that Don Fernando, of Cordova, Clavaire de Calatrava, and brother Antonio de Guevara, are two bodies with one will, united by an indissoluble bond of friendship." The mourning of monks on the death of friends has left many traces in their writings. The grief of St.

* Pet. Cellens. Epist. Lib. v. 14.

* Vetera Monumenta Monast. S. Victoris ap. Martene, Vet. Script. tom. vi.
† Hist. Croyl.
‡ Annal. Camaldulens. Lib. lxii.
§ De Anima, Lib. iii. c. 36.

Bernard on losing his brother Gerard, dictated one of the most affecting epistles that was ever written, from which St. Bernardine, of Sienna, borrowed certain passages when lamenting the death of his own friend, the blessed Vincent of Sienna.* The internal combat between joy and sorrow, which the monks endured on occasion of recalling the memory of friends, is beautifully expressed by St. Hilary, when preaching the funeral sermon of his friend St. Honoré. "Talem reminisci dulce est, tali carere supplicium." It was the custom at Clairvaux, for the monks not to leave the interior of the monastery after the last sacraments had been administered to any brother, until after his burial or recovery.† The sorrows of friendship, perhaps, were never expressed in more affecting words than in those of St. Peter the Venerable, when he heard of the death of many of his monks, and addressed the survivors in the following epistle, in which he styles himself, not so much their abbot as their servant.

"I have heard," he says, "my dearly beloved, that the hand of the Lord hath touched you, that many and precious members of our body have been cut off by the sword of divine judgment, that the living fall upon the dead, that youths and old men are carried off in equal numbers; that little boys precede to the grave men of a hundred years of age. We who are left suffer intense affliction, from being deprived of so many useful holy brothers; all have matter for sorrow; but I more especially; for who else has such cause for lamentation and tears? What father is there of so iron a nature, as not to be filled with anguish at the death, I do not say of so many chosen, but of one only son? and what father could ever be so great a debtor to his sons, as I am to you? for what father has ever found in his carnal sons such obedience, such sincere love, such prompt obsequiousness as I have in you? Who has ever had such sweet experience of affection as I have received from you? If I had to pass the Alps of Italy or Spain, you always went with me in mind and affection. If, as often happened, I visited Rome, you adhered inseparably to me. If I had to cross the seas, you sailed along with me in heart, in devotion, and in prayers. If I was sick, you became infirm with me in grief and compassion of mind. Without you I could never labour or make head against dangers: how could I therefore see such dear friends torn from me without feeling the most profound grief of heart? The former ages seem to have returned, and the angel of the Lord appears to have stretched forth his hand over our Jerusalem, I trust in the mercy of Almighty God, not to destroy, but to correct it. Ah, it is I who have sinned, and who have done iniquity; but as for these sheep, what have they done? But I ought not to aggravate your sorrow, nor indulge any longer in these lamentations. Let us change our tears into prayers, both for those who are departed, and for ourselves, who may so shortly follow them. Above all things, let us beware of the detestable opinion that the Most High doth not care for us, since, as the apostle says, 'whether we live or die, we are the Lord's.' Nothing in human events, as you well know, occurs through chance; fortune confounds not the death and life of men, and though the abyss of the judgments of God be hidden to us, we cannot doubt but that it is in all things just. Not a sparrow falls to the ground without your heavenly Father, and do we suppose that any servant of God can finish his mortal life without that same heavenly Father? the hairs of our head are all numbered, and our steps are reckoned; and how much more is our death or life known to Him? I beseech Jesus Christ, the Creator of all men, and your Redeemer, the Author of our transitory and eternal life, to receive to eternal life these members of his flock that have been taken from us, and those who may be about to be summoned. Raise up your hearts, dearest brethren, in devout prayers, stand between the living and the dead, and with a contrite and humble heart invoke the mercy of Almighty God. I would rather speak than write to you; but I am compelled to continue my journey to the Pope: I trust soon to return, and again by God's favour, to behold those whom my soul loveth."*

Thus then was the grace of friendship imparted to the peaceful inhabitants of cloisters. Thus did they love each other; but this was not all, for it is certain that they also loved the place itself which sheltered them; and the contentment of heart which such love indicates, is so remarkable that it will be well to produce passages in proof. Who now is content with the place of his own residence, and willing to remain

* Annal. Min. tom. xi.
† Voyage Lit. de Deux Bénéd.

* Epist. Lib. iv. 39.

for ever? "We that are born in the ws of this pilgrimage," to use the s of St. Gregory, alluding to men in a ar state of society, "have come to that of weariness, that we know not what ght to desire; for the more the mind ates itself from the food of sweetness, ich the more is the disease increased, herefore it has no appetite for internal hts, because it has long ceased to them, so that we are oppressed with ness, and with the lingering pestilence mine, and because we do not wish to within the prepared sweetness, wretch- en, we love our hunger. This is the ence between the delights of the body hose of the heart, that when the for- are not possessed, they are ardently ed, but when greedily enjoyed they to loathing, and are soon despised; eas on the contrary, spiritual delights, not possessed, are held in loathing, hen possessed are the object of desire; so much the more are they thirsted in proportion as they are more pos- d. With the former, the appetite es, and the experience disgusts; with tter, the appetite is vile, and the ex- nce delights; with the one, appetite ates satiety, and satiety disgust; with ther, appetite leads to fulness, and ss produces appetite; for spiritual hts increase desire in the mind while fill it, because the more their taste is ived, the more they are known and ed."* Hence the experience of the le ages leads the ascetic to conclude, "the more studiously any one keeps n his cell, so much the more doth it e him; but that the seldomer he s it, the more he dislikes it."† Of ding it, however, as the monastic writ- prove, it was seldom a question in the le ages; or if an instance did occur, is generally followed by a voluntary n of the fugitive to the monastery, pring to be received on condition of rming some humiliating penance for est of his life; as in the case of the t of St. John-des-Vignes at Soissons e thirteenth century, whose nine last were thus spent, proving how dearly lued the peace which pride had tempt- m to forsake.‡ Monastic severity on occasions consisted in refusing to ve back the fugitive.

. Greg. Hom. 36. in Evang.
hom. à Kemp. de Discip. Claust. 7.
ist. de Soissons, ii. 162.

Who is this already risen, the hour before the heavenly harnessed team begins his golden progress in the east, standing so thoughtful at an open window, inhaling the freshness and the beauty, which seem to fill his eyes with tears of gratitude! It is the monk, who says with the Carthusian, "the cell is a place of refuge, a seat of quietness, a port of tranquillity; the cell is a place of useful discipline, conducing not a little even to human objects; for where the impediments of the world are excluded, where the darkness of sin is dissipated, where the passions are bridled, where hostile tumults are appeased, a great facility is afforded to learning. The cell is therefore an excellent place for composing books. In what place are celestial truths so profoundly discussed, so subtilly investigated as in the solitary silent chamber? The cell is besides a place for inflaming the affections, and for exciting holy desires; for there devout thoughts and divine meditations are more frequent."* "The meditations of a solitary student," says a great French physician, "have a secret charm which makes him forget the vulgar joys of the exterior world. He loves to take refuge from it, and find himself face to face with nature."†

"Pax est in cella, foris autem plurima bella,"

was the line ever on the tongue of brother Pacifico of the Franciscan convent of Sienna, to whom I used to be led often by my father when a boy, says a holy priest of that city.

In the middle ages there were princes and noble philosophers in the world who loved to imagine themselves in the same asylum. Writing to Andrew Corneo of Urbino, John Picus of Mirandula says, "I prefer my little cell, my books, and my peace of mind, to royal courts, to their occupations and honours."‡ Ulysses, though in the island of Calypso, and in the beauteous grotto, grieves that he cannot see his father-land. What a lovely scene was spread before him! what harmony in the groves! what odours from the meadow! yet he sat alone, weeping, gazing on the sea, making the rocks re-echo with his groans.§ To the monk, his monastery, though in a foreign land, was his country, so far as enabling him to enjoy the peace

* Pet. Sutorus de Vita Carthusiana, lit. ii. t. ii. 1.
† D'Alibert, Physiologie des Passions, i. 38.
‡ Joan. Pic. Mir. Epist. Lib. i. 36.

which reigned within it and the felicity of existence. Benedictine monks indeed used to derive their names from the spot in which their monastery stood, not from that in which they had been born.* With what affection do they speak of the abbey which has sheltered them!

"Toto corde meo te Centula mater amavi.
Traditus à puero, mea sub te colla ligavi.
Richarius foveat me, sub quo sanctificavi,
Ut Christo placeam, me cui sacrificavi."

Such are the lines with which the monk of St. Riquier concludes his chronicle of that house. The monk of Croyland is diffuse in praises of his own monastery.

"Dulce patri fratrem fore, quo cœtu vacat omnis
Fraterna invidia; decus hoc Croylandia sola
Se sua concordia semper voto celebrasse
Vindicet ut proprium, discedant jurgia, rixæ.
Hic nihil hospitii poscant, sunt omnia plena
Hospitibus gratis; libet id narrare quod ipsi
Vidimus, ut virtus crescat laudata; quid illa
Alliciens hominum mentes devotio sancta
Efficit in templo, quantum prostratio parva,
Mens humilis, rectus oculos, pes sobrius, et vox
Continuæ laudis, juvat his nimis associari
Collegiis, quorum pia vita repercutit ipsa
Culmina cœlorum; ne sancta precamina votis
Frustrentur precibus fratris, ego nunc mea vestris
Omnia commendo, valeant qui vestra valere
Exoptant, etiam vos in Christo valeatis."

"Me sola Hirsaugia gaudet," is the expression of Trithemius in writing its chronicle. "Though separated from your church now twenty-four years," says Ansellus writing to his friend at Paris, "yet in mind I am ever present there with you, and I call to memory continually the places in which I was nurtured, and those with whom I was educated; yea, in my dreams I often seem to assist at your solemnities and processions, and at your ferial matins and offices, and to sing with you."† The diaries and chronicles of the monks contain indirect, but no less convincing, proof of their attachment to the monasteries in which they lived. In 1337 Theodoric, abbot of Corby in Saxony, wrote letters to require the superiors of every house to keep a chronicle of the events relating to it, on the ground that such documents would be of advantage to future ages.‡ Sometimes, indeed, the monks preferred giving a brief, simple record of chief public events, as that of the monastery of Cava.* Frequently they produced works of great historical importance, as the house chronicle of St. Gall, begun by Rapert, from the time of St. Gall, and continued by Eckehard IV., Burkard, Konrad von Pfeffers, and Küchimeister, till 1328, when the narrative closes. Collections of this kind are very curious, from their containing, besides original information, extracts from earlier records; thus in the annals of the abbey of Clonmacnois, written in the eleventh century, are fragments of Irish writers and poets of the sixth and seventh centuries, of whom no other vestige now remains. "As navigators love to relate the dangers of their voyages in youth, so monks, after escaping from worldly passions, were fond of casting over the sea of the world a melancholy look, which was not wholly without a charm."† "The matter of this work," says John, abbot of Victoria or Vitring, in his chronicle of Carinthia, "is concerning the emperors, kings, and pontiffs, of Austria, Styria, and Carinthia, with diverse incidents intermixed, including an interval of one hundred and twenty years, exhibiting to the reader the shortness of human life, the fragility of nature, the instability of fortune, and the treacherous and transitory variety of mundane glory."‡ The monks of Einsiedelin, Albert de Bonstetter, and Hartmann, in their chronicles, have both, like some other monastic historians, contrived to group the principal events of Europe round the incidents immediately connected with their own abbey, so that the monastery forms a common centre to all important facts, the recital of which might otherwise have been complicated and obscure. But, in general, like the historians who preceded Herodotus, monks confine their observations to local limits, and content themselves with recording, in a concise and artless, but clear and not ungraceful style, the events in each district, or the legends relating to the houses which they especially loved. These diaries, which might be styled monastic evenings at home, which descend even to such details that one might regard them as a kind of farm-yard journal, that bring back many boyish recollections, indicate those habits of quiet and delicious observation with regard to the occurrences of each day in rural life, than which nothing can

* Sicilia Sacra, i. 172.
† Gallia Christiana, i. 427.
‡ Martene, Vet. Script. ii. 621.

* Chronic. Cavense, Rer. It. Script. vii. ab an. 569 ad 1318.
† Paulin Paris, Dissertations sur les Chroniques de S. Denis.
‡ Ap. Pez. Script. Rer. Aust. i.

iequivocally indicate peace of heart, ment, and fondness for the very in which they were living. Thus he chronicles, published by Dom ords when the cistern of the abbey en; another, how the Danube over- inundating the cloisters and even ary; another, that violets were l at Christmas and the Epiphany.* ead a page of the annals of Corby ny.

s year, 897, our Godescalchus had rable dog, whose prudence (if it be o to speak) all admired. He was y brother Baddo an ingenious monk.), on the mountain of Belenberg, s a wild boar taken, probably stray- Sollingen, with an iron collar, on as inscribed, 998, A. C. D. D. whence uded that it was put on by Adol- ount of Dassel, who was a great In 1155 all things were well com- the monastery, God giving His bles- . 1159, a rustic who never took any d but milk, died at the age of 131. and 1161, we had tranquil times, ncord and religion, God being pro- o us in all things within and with- bbey. In 1200 there was a parrot of acity in our monastery. 1307 was and fortunate year in all things, God. In 1324, a stork, building on our palace of the Cæsars, filled ary with vipers and serpents; for les of these reptiles fell from the y multiplied to the injury of men le. The nest, therefore, was de- Cæsar of Heisterbach, however, ay, would not have advised that for he says, "At Cîteaux, the se of our order, there are many hich the brethren permit to build l the abbey, because they freed the m reptiles. The storks and the lived in peace, and the storks, on ay for the winter, seemed, by their round the monks who were work- e fields, to ask a blessing, which n to them."† The diaries make mention of the sagacity which l other animals seemed to attain e protection of the monks. When, of the Bishop Heidenreich, the y of Kulmsee, founded by Bishop , and destroyed by the pagan s on their invasion of Kulmerland, re-built, one day, as the abbot, and some knights of the Teutonic order, were inspecting the work, they espied a tame raven, which belonged to Stettin, one of the monks, sitting sorrowful by itself, and the abbot said, "What are you thinking of, raven?" and the raven answered in Latin, "The eternal years and your death."* In 1507, in the convent of Muri, there was a lamb like that which St. Francis had, which, at the sound of the bell, used to go to the choir, and stay there during the whole of the divine office. When the sign for matins used to be given, it used to run round and beat with its forehead against the door of each cell, and so perambulate the whole dormitory, beating till it had raised every one up, and on entering the choir, if it missed any one, it would return to the dormitory and bleat."† In 1336, say the annals of Corby, Daniel Bobenhus brought from Belenberg an otter, which our novices had for a long time in the refectory.

We before alluded to the meteorological observations of the monks. Here again they come before us as connected with important events to the communities which were so dear to them. Thus we read that it was in the beginning of a dreadful night of storm and rain that John, a monk of Ouches, a poet and a saint, who had lived forty-eight years in that house, expired.‡ Orderic Vitalis, enumerating the calamities of the year 1134, describes the heavy snow which began on the Holy Innocents, the inundations succeeding the consuming heat of the succeeding June, the numbers of bathers who perished in the lakes, the storm and whirlwind on the eve of St. Laurence, after nones, and the lightning which proved fatal to so many persons,—in September the destruction of Mans and Chartres, Alençon, Nogent-au-Perche, Verneuil, and other towns, by fire, the awful breaking in of the sea in Flanders, and, finally, the death of many illustrious princes and seigneurs. On the twenty-eighth of October, 1135, while the church, he says, "was celebrating the festival of St. Simon and St. Jude, and that monks were singing devoutly the office of matins, there arose, about the fourth watch of the night, a violent wind, which continued unabated till nones, resounding with a terrific uproar, uncovering the roofs of houses, and ravaging the woods, and prostrating a multitude of trees."§ Guibert,

ez. Script. Rer. Aust. i.
Mirac. Lib. x. c. 58.

* Voight, Geschichte Preussens, ii. 477.
† Wadding, Annal. Minorum, xv.
‡ Orderic. Vit. Lib. v. § Lib.

abbot of Nogent, does not disdain to notice such events. "The thunder," he says, "one morning fell over this monastery, entered the church, and destroyed part of the chasuble, which was deemed one of the most precious in the treasury. That chasuble had been sought for by name by the king of the English, an illegitimate man, and enemy of the church, named Rufus, whom God afterwards slew by means of a hunter. This king being unwilling to draw from his own treasury, destined a monk to be executor of this intention, and sent him to the abbot, saying, that he should give fifteen marks of silver; but the abbot refusing, the booty was taken by violence from the monastery, and soon after was redeemed for fifteen marks by the same abbot. Thus, by a sacrilege and by sacrilegious persons, the chasuble was first procured and then compounded for, so that the whole was under malediction."* Let us hear the chronicle of Mount-Cassino. "On the fifteenth of February, while the brethren were in the church singing the office of the first hour, suddenly the thunder fell, and the hebdomadal priest, Mauno, and a novice were struck dead, and the rest were thrown prostrate on the earth. The picture of the Abbot Richerius was split in two, and many parts of the church injured. Therefore the venerable father, in council with the brethren, decreed, that, to appease the wrath of God, every month, on the first Friday, the community should abstain on bread and water, and proceed barefoot to mass, at which the prayer against thunder should be said, as also the appropriate Psalms. I myself, says Leo of Ostia, remember, while at school in the monastery, that one night, during the second nocturn, the thunder fell six times in the church, and struck the tower. The monastery being built at the very top of the mountain, was exposed to frequent calamities from lightning, as well as to the vehement blast of the winds from every side, so that when Abbot Desiderius rebuilt the church, it was necessary to lay a deep foundation, excavating the rocky crest of the mountain with fire and iron. So frequently did these dangers occur, that every Sunday in the year it was the custom at Mount-Cassino to make a public supplication between tierce and high mass. When I was a youth, says the Abbot Angelus de Nuce in his notes to the chronicle, I remember the thunder having often caused strange phenomena. Once it stripped one person of his hair; another it rendered for the moment insane; another it weakened in his limbs; and another escaped safe. Prodigia demum ex fulgoribus et fulminibus futurosque eventus venari non est christianæ religionis."* One observation recorded acquires a fresh interest from its similarity to what was seen at Migné in recent times. "In 1414, on the eighteenth of March, a minor friar preaching on the Eucharist in the square of the town of Guadalfagiara in Castille, during a public supplication, there appeared in the sky, over his head, a cross, white as the snow, which was seen both by Christians and Jews. Four or five days after, one hundred and twenty-two Jews, embraced, in consequence, the Catholic faith. Through all Spain this was celebrated, and King John of Castille, and King Ferdinand of Arragon, sent figures of the cross in letters to St. Vincent Ferrer, asking his opinion, which is given by Diagus in his history of the Dominicans of the province of Arragon."†

The dangers to which monks were sometimes exposed in their isolated convents, and the strangeness often of the manner of their deliverance, form also a very interesting part of these peaceful memoirs. Thus, in the annals of the Capuchins, we read, that some Turkish pirates, in 1575, made a descent on the Italian coast in the province of St. Nicholas near the convent of Monopolitani, which stood near the shore. Thither they went, when, lo! the matin bell was sounded at the usual hour. The pirate supposing it an alarm, was for retreating hastily, but an apostate in his crew told him what it meant; so they proceeded, entered the church, and heard the brethren singing the divine praises. We must suffer them to praise God, said the pirate; let us go elsewhere first, and on our return we can take them prisoners when they will have finished worshipping God. So departing secretly, they went to a secular house in the neighbourhood, and took captive all its inhabitants. On their return to the Capuchin church, finding the friars still at their devotions, they said, these men who praise God, and crucify themselves thus for others' wickedness, must be spared. They passed on to their ships, and the friars escaped the danger.‡ On a September night, in the year 1474,

* De Vita Sua, Lib. i. c. 21.

* Chronic. Casinensis, Lib. iii. c. 22.
† Wad. Annal. Minorum, ix.
‡ Annal. Capucinorum, ad an. 1575.

r the gates of the city had been closed, e Turkish pirates made an invasion on Franciscan convent, without the walls Mazara, in Sicily, intending to pillage and carry off the monks prisoners. ıt night the sacristan, moved by an rnal impulse, rose before the regular r, and tolled the bell for matins, at ch sound the pirates thought that snares e laid for them, and fled to their ships.* like manner the chronicle of Mount-sino records, that certain robbers set by night to make a descent upon that ıastery, but that, by an interposition 'rovidence, they were made to wander ıight long round and round it without ıg able to find the place.

uch, then, in general, are the motives observations of the monks, which, I ɔeive, without danger of contradiction, may adduce as indicating their attach-ıt to the houses of peace which they ıbited; in connection with the interest 'hich the least events acquired such an ortance in their eyes, as to be judged :hy of transmission to posterity. But are not left to come to a conclusion ı such inferences; for the monks ex-ısly record how dearly they loved their abbeys, and how deeply they grieved n they were torn from them.

/hen John, abbot of Croyland, in the n of Richard II., was obliged to travel Vestminster to defend the cause of his :y in Parliament, the monk who relates ıistory says, "that he was torn away ı the quiet of contemplation to exercise duty amidst the laborious affairs of world."† Speaking of Richard, abbot ıe same house in the time of King ıard III., the historian says, "Nor ıt we to consign to oblivion the man- and merits of this father, and the ɔnce of his mind, by which, as we , he gained the reward of eternal ɔiness; for he was much more inclined is own disposition to the study and ng of books than to engaging in the ıtes and troubles of secular affairs." hat patience was tried in leaving the ıstery, not in remaining in it. "If it ɛe his majesty to let me retire to my ɔnt," says the Franciscan Guevara, romise you, on the faith of a Christian, o stop one hour longer at the court; he court is no more fitting for me I am for the court."

Bede was deemed most happy from never having left his abbey of Wearmouth; though without having seen Rome, it was he who first gave that name to the amphi-theatre of Vespasian, by which it has ever since been designated. Many of his contemporary monks were as content as himself to remain in their monasteries. When Lullus, the bishop, sent presents of clothes to the Abbot Gutberct, the disciple of Bede, that holy man replied, "Gratefully I have received your gifts, to honour the blessed memory of our master Bede. It seems, indeed, most just, that the whole nation of the English, in all their provinces and every where, should return thanks to God for having raised up among them such a wonderful man, of whom I can bear testimony, having been nourished at his feet. This garment of various colours which you have sent me to preserve my body from cold, I have consecrated to the Almighty God, and have placed it with great joy as an ornament to cover the altar which is in his church, because I have lived in this monastery under his protection for the space of forty-three years." Mabillon cites a passage from the chronicle of a monastery, describing the peaceful life of a lay brother, who for fifty years had never left that house. "He never wished to go out to stay at any of the exterior cells: he used to lie in the church, taking care of the lights, cleaning the pavement, washing the walls, and labouring with all his power in the discharge of holy services: he used to sing the Psalter in order every day, and after matins he never indulged in the rest of a quiet bed." At length he made a blessed end, after a short illness.* "This year, 853," say the annals of Corby, "our Bunicus, called to be a bishop, preferred serving God in his cell, rather than rule over others, to the danger of his soul."† When Pope Nicholas wished to make Matthew Rheginus, a minor friar, archbishop of Rosana in Calabria, he sent to him Cardinal Formano, who came into his cell and disclosed the object of his mission. The friar, without answering him, ran out of his cell, and called the brethren to come to his assistance. He wept and cried out, "Come hither, help your miserable brother. Alas! wretched me; I have spent a long life in religion, I have lived poor and obedient, I have never violated the rule of blessed Father Francis, I have preached

Sicilia Sacra, ii. 871.
Hist. Croylandensis Rer. Aug. Script. i.

* In VI. Secul. § 12.
† Ap. Leibnitz, Script. Brunsv. iii.

the word of God to the people; in my little cell I have enjoyed a rich poverty, comtemplating divine secrets, and now I am called to episcopacy, to business, to honour, which I never desired. O immaculate religion, O sacred influence of the cloister, O sweet silence of the cell, O beloved brethren, O companions of my consolations, am I to leave you, and to be deprived of your most sweet conversation? No. But I must have your assistance; defend, deliver me, lest Firmano should carry me off."*

In the abbey of Abdinghoff at Paderborn lived the recluse St. Paterne, who having predicted that the city would be consumed by fire, and seeing his prophecy accomplished, preferred perishing in the flames to leaving the cell which he had chosen, as Sigebert and Marianus Scotus relate. Nor can I omit mention of a poor Clare, once a marchioness at the court of France, whom I met hastening back to her convent, from which she had been sent to beg alms, and who told me with a smile, that her motive in adopting such a rapid mode of conveyance was anxiety to die in her own cell; for having passed her eightieth year, she regarded a slight indisposition as announcing that she was near her end. The same desire was expressed by St. Bernard; for towards the close of his life, in a letter to Peter the Venerable, he writes thus, "I have determined to leave the monastery no more, excepting once a year, for the assembly of the Cistercian abbots. Here, supported by your prayers and consoled by your benedictions, during the few days which I have further to militate, I shall wait until my change cometh. My strength is broken, and I have a legitimate excuse to move about no longer as I used. I shall sit and keep silence, if by chance I shall experience what of the fulness of internal sweetness the holy prophet uttered, saying, 'Bonum est exspectare Dominum in silentio.' In silence and in hope will be my strength."† It was in reply to this letter that Peter the Venerable says, "What I never remember to have done, unless through reverence for the sacred books, when I had read the writing I kissed it." What shall I add to these instances? There was found stability in monks, even when their places seemed to know them no more: the walls might perish; their hearts were immoveable. When the monks of Ouche were proposing to remove, after the destruction and pillage of their abbey, Orderic Vitalis relates that the Prior Ascelin resolved to remain and end his days there in the fear of the Lord. "As for you," he said to the brethren, "I dare not persuade you to abandon your resolution to fly from this desolated spot. Depart with the benediction of God, travel to foreign countries with the bones of our good father; but as for me, I will not abandon the territory of Ouche. I will serve my Creator in the place where He has loaded me with so many good things. I know that the bodies of many saints repose here. An angelic vision pointed out this spot to our holy father, that he might combat here for the edification of much people. A vast number of the faithful have offered up on this spot to the Almighty King, the agreeable sacrifice of a holy life, the recompense of which they have now received, crowned in the Elysian asylums. I will remain here, persevering in the track of those who have preceded us; I will preserve this savage spot in the name of the Lord, until a more prosperous time shall smile upon us, through the grace of the Lord of lords." Ascelin remained here till his old age and death, when he confided the place to his nephew, who was a clerk; but the young man grew weary of the solitude, and passed into France. Thus, all men having withdrawn, Ouche became again a desert.

An historian of Ireland says, that the annals of the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth centuries mention numbers of devout and learned monks living among the ruins of their monasteries, which had been ravaged by the Danes, as if unable to leave places so dear to them.

When Dom Martene visited the abbey of Bourras in the diocese of Auxerre, he found it in ruins; but one monk still lived amongst them, a model of holiness and poverty.* In 1640, John Hartry, a Cistercian monk, on returning from Spain, fixed his residence among the ruins of the dissolved abbey of the Holy Cross in Tipperary, where he compiled a work upon that ancient monastery, and a history of the Cistercian order in Ireland. When the last revolution overthrew monasteries in Europe, similar instances of attachment and stability was often witnessed. A traveller through Germany may still arrive at vast desecrated monasteries, in which

* Italia Sacra, ix. 366.
† Epist. ccxxviii.

* Voyage Lit. 51.

some poor old constant monk is lingering solitary in an obscure distant chamber of the immense building, at whose death the state, like a greedy vulture, is to rush upon the remainder of the spoil. The count of Stolberg mentions, on occasion of his visit, in 1791, to the beautiful Carthusian monastery on the banks of the Rhine, near Mayence, which had been lately suppressed, that when the monks received the command to leave the cloister, command emanating from the primate of Germany, at which Stolberg, though then still a Protestant, seems to cover his face with both hands, one aged father died of horror on hearing the resolution.*

This attachment of monks to their own monastery and order was very different from the narrow and contracted affection of men in the world, who are so self-endeared that nothing pleases but what is in some degree or other personal. There were different orders to suit the divisions of graces, of ministrations, and of works which were inspired by the same spirit under the same Lord. Of diverse voices is sweet music made; and so in the Church different orders rendered sweet harmony; "for all were so arranged that none could see and not admire them." "The Church, like a garden of pleasure, was adorned with many coloured-flowers, represented by the variety of her sacred orders and rites,"† which were in perfect agreement with unity of faith and manners. Each order, each monastery could supply something of interest to the curious student of ecclesiastical antiquity. "The difference of monastic orders," says a Carthusian, "arises from the difference of dispositions in men; for what pleases one would not be grateful to another; what would benefit one would injure another. Some like solitude, others society; one loves contemplation, another action; and it was for this reason that the holy fathers instituted so many different modes of life, as conducive to salvation."‡ Therefore, Pope Clement IV. replied to a knight who asked which order he ought to embrace, "They all tend to the same end, which is the salvation of souls. Whether you embrace this rule or that, you will take the narrow way and enter by the little gate into the land of milk and honey. Examine, then, carefully which order is most suitable to your genius, and adhere to it, so as not to withdraw your love from others;" for "some," says St. Bonaventura, "tend to God by quiet, others by labour; some in this manner, others in that; and often what is esteemed the least is the best. Therefore," he adds, "do not judge any one to be more imperfect than yourself, because he does not perform all the things which you do."*

"Monks on a journey," as St. Bonaventura says, were carefully to avoid exalting the merit and excellence of their own order, dwelling on the detail of its advantages, so as to praise it to the disparagement of other institutes: they were to esteem it without making any invidious comparisons; for it is wickedness to praise one's self while depreciating others."† "Never boast of the dignity of your order," says another cloistral guide, "or the beauty of the locality, lest you should be deceiving yourselves."‡ "Heaven forbid that any one should believe God to be local," says a monk of Cluny, writing for the instruction of an abbot of a monastery at Spires, "so as to suppose that He cannot perform in the territory of Spires what He does in France. Only let his mercy be with you, that He who proves the reins and the heart may see that there his precepts are observed with the same simplicity and with no less regard to his will."§ As St. Bernard says, "Each one was to hold fast the good which he held without judging another holding other things; that whoso had received to be good might not envy those who were better; that he who seemed to himself to do better might not despise what was good in another; and that they who could live more strictly might not despise those who could not."‖

With what veneration does St. Bernard write to Guigo, prior, and to his brethren, the Carthusians, declaring that he hardly presumes to interrupt their quiet by his writings, lest he should trouble Moses on the mount, or Elias in the desert, or Samuel in the temple.¶ The letters of the Cluniac monks to the Carthusians, requesting to be associated in the society of their prayers, show what a fraternal bond could unite different orders.**

Writing to Pope Eugene, Peter the Venerable, abbot of Cluny, says, "Many

* Reise in Deutschland, 35.
† Card. Bona de Divina Psal. 439.
‡ Pet. Sutorus, De Vit. Carthus. Lib. i. c. xi.

* Stim. Amoris, P. iii. c. 9.
† Speeul. Novitiorum, c. 32.
‡ Thom. à Kemp. Dialog. Novitiorum, 3.
§ Antiq. Consuet. Cluniac. Epist. Nuncup.
‖ De Præcepto et Dispensatione.
¶ Epist. xi. ** Mabill. Vet. Analecta.

know how much I have always loved and venerated the institutions of the Carthusian order. I know it well; for if my mind do not deceive me, I acknowledge that for the last thirty years I loved that order above all others, and I thought that their life was preferable to that of all the other institutions of the Latins."* "Do you think we are angry," says St. Bernard, writing to the abbot and brethren of Flay, in the diocese of Beauvais, "if any one who leaves our monastery, is received into yours? I wish that you could save without us, all that are committed to us. If any one of ours should fly away to your house for the sake of greater perfection, and through a desire of stricter life, so far from being angry at your assisting him, we entreat you to do this; nor shall we regard ourselves offended; but on the contrary, as much beholden to you for such assistance."†

It was the custom of the two monasteries of Mount-Cassino and of St. Vincent, for the brethren to visit each other during Lent, in order to draw closer the bonds of love."‡ "This year, 906," say the annals of Corby in Saxony, "our Chrysostom went to golden Corby, in France, and was most humanely received there by the whole congregation." Monks of one order did not seek to win over those of another to their own. "Some one wishes from the Cluniac Institute to pass to the Cistercian poverty. If he consults me," continues St. Bernard, "I do not advise him to do so. Why so? First, because of the scandal of those whom he leaves: secondly, because it is not safe to leave certain things for doubtful: thirdly, because I suspect levity in such wishes."§ Again, elsewhere, he writes thus: "Who hath ever heard me disputing or secretly whispering, against the order of Cluny? When have I ever seen one of that order, but with joy, received him, but with honour, spoken to him, but with reverence, exhorted him, but with humility? I have said, and I repeat it, that mode of life is holy, instituted by the fathers, pre-ordained by the Holy Ghost, and not moderately adapted to the saving of souls. I remember having been sometimes received to hospitality in monasteries of that order. May our Lord recompence to his servant the humanity which they evinced beyond what was necessary to me in sickness, and the honour beyond my deserts, which they thus lavished upon me. I have commended myself to their prayers; I was present at the collations; often had I discourse with them publicly in their chapters, and privately in their chambers. Whom have I ever attempted to alienate from that order, or to invite over to ourselves? Have I not rather repressed many who wished to come to us? Why should we disagree? Are the continent and the married to condemn each other, because they converse in the church according to their respective laws? Are monks to blame clerks, or are monks of different orders to speak derogatively of each other? How shall there then be peace in the Church, in which there must be variety, for it is impossible that one man should hold all orders, or one order all men: I am not so stupid, as not to recognise the tunic of Joseph, not of him who delivered Egypt, but of him who saved the world. The Church is clothed with variety, but all is peace. Each receiving his peculiar gift, ministers accordingly; one in this manner, another in that; whether Cluniacs, or Cistercians, or regular clerks, or faithful laics; each order, each tongue, each sex, each age, each condition, in all places, and in all times, has its peculiar office, and exercises it in peace.* What then? I am a Cistercian; do I therefore condemn the Cluniacs? God forbid; but love them, but I magnify them. Why then, you will say, did I not embrace the order? because, each one has his particular calling, and all things are not expedient; and different medicines are required for different diseases. I praise and love all orders, wherever there is a pious and just life in the Church. Unum opere teneo, cæteros caritate.† In fine," he says, "let it be remembered, that whatever may be our observance, those who live orderly, and yet speak proudly, make themselves citizens of Babylon, and sons of darkness and of hell, where is no order, but eternal horror dwelleth."‡

About the year 1140, a certain canon regular writes in these terms to a prior. "Facta est contentio inter discipulos quis eorum videretur esse major. This root of dissension was taken away by Christ, saying 'qui voluerit major esse inter vos erit vester servus.' Who after this will dare to say, ego melior sum? If any one ask me who is best? If I am a canon, I answer

* Epist. Lib. vi. 12. † Epist. lxviii.
‡ Chronic. S. Monast. Casinens. 35.
§ De Præcepto et Dispensatione, xvi.

* Apologia ad Guillelmum, c. iii.
† c. iv. ‡ c. v.

the monks are best: if I am a monk, my reply is, the canons are best. This is the rule of a Christian."*

With what love and reverence does Martin of Fulda, the Benedictine, speak of St. Francis, and of the rise of the Mendicant orders!† "It cannot be believed," says the chronicler of Monte Sereno, "that any one of these two new orders of the preachers and minors can be holier than Augustin or Benedict. But, far be it from me to say this in their disparagement. I only lament that men who wish to renounce the world think the primitive orders no longer sufficient."‡

"There are more canonized saints in the order of St. Benedict," observes an Austrian abbot, "than in any other: yet this I say," he adds, "not to derogate from other orders; for every order is good, provided it deserves to be called an order; since where is no order, there is confusion."§ "It is not glorious to the blessed that men should dispute concerning holy men, or blaspheme them with intemperance for any particular order," says Mabillon. "Such contests were unknown to the ancient monks. We wish to make a work that will benefit all who profess the monastic life. Nor does it matter whether you be instructed by the example of a Basilian or of a Benedictine. All Christians live in common. The saints lived in common: their example is proposed in common, that all may derive advantage. Charity claims nothing private for itself. We shall, however, endeavour carefully to distinguish our saints from the monks of another institute,—'non ad faciendam pompam, sed ad illustrandam historiæ veritatem.'" The Benedictines had no jealousy against the modern orders. Balthasar à Dermbach, abbot of Fulda, desired that his body might be buried in the church of the Jesuits, where he had erected a tomb for himself; and John Frederic, who succeeded him, adorned and restored the Jesuits' church.‖

Observe how Trithemius the Benedictine praises the men of the Franciscan, Dominican, Augustinian, and Carmelite orders,¶ on the origin and excellence of the last of which, he wrote a book expressly,* and how the Carthusians praise every other order as well as their own!† The Cistercians alone were thought by some to regard the Franciscans with less favourable eyes;‡ but no facts are produced to justify the opinion. Nor were the new orders remiss in returning such love. At the death of a Benedictine abbot, Dominicans, Franciscans, and Capuchins, used to be seen entering his church, to kiss the body, as when Dom Didier de la Cour died at St. Venne.§ With what reverence and affection does Touron the Dominican speak of the Benedictines, and of Mount-Cassino, in his life of St. Thomas of Aquin! Arnold Bostius, a Carmelite, wrote a book in praise of the great men of the Carthusian order.‖ Ribadeneira says, that St. Dominic bore a wonderful great respect to all other religious orders, and to every particular person of them; and of the Seraph of Asisi he might tell the same: for love and wisdom made them similar. "Once baptized," says the Franciscan Antonio Guevara, "there is no order in the whole Church of God in which a good man cannot be saved, and in which a bad man will not be condemned: so that, whether we take the habit of St. Benedict or of the Augustinians, of St. Dominic or of St. Francis, of the Carthusians or of Trinitarians, or of any other, it matters little, since they are all holy habits, instituted by holy men."¶

Pope Clement IV., in 1266, in the letter already quoted to a certain noble knight, who desired to know to which of the two orders he should yield himself in preference, replied, "Adhere to the one, and still love the other: for a friar of the order of preachers, who does not love the Minors, is execrable; and a Minor friar, who either hates or despises the order of preachers, is execrable and damnable."** So the great historian of the Minors, in his epistle to the reader, desires to extol the merits of both equally. "The society of the Minors," he says, "has many and spacious things; but neither are great ornaments wanting to other orders of the Church.—'Pulchra sunt omnia tabernacula Jacob, et tentoria sacra Israel, ut valles nemorosæ, ut horti

* Ap. Martene, Vet. Script. i. 767.
† Chronic. ap. Eccardii Corp. Hist. Med. Ævi, i.
‡ Chron. Montis Sereni, ap. Menckenii Script. Rer. Ger. ii.
§ Dialog. Hist. Martini Abb. c. 7. ap. Pez. Script. Rer. Aust. ii.
‖ Schannat. Hist. Fuldens. p. iii.
¶ In Chronic. Hirsaug.

* Trithem. Nepiachus.
† Anonym. Carthus. de Religion. Origine, ap. Martene, Vet. Script. vi.
‡ Annal. Minor. iv.
§ Voyage Lit. de Deux Bénédict, 108.
‖ De Viris Illust. S. Cartus. Ord.
¶ Epist. Lib. ii.
** Annal. Minor. tom. iv.

juxta fluvios irrigui, ut tabernacula quæ fixit Dominus, quasi cedros prope aquas.' The illustrious Baronius," he continues, "magnifies the Dominicans, but seems disposed to depreciate the Franciscans. Let the sacred family of the preachers live, flourish, and be exalted; whose learning, discipline, and dignity, are beyond all praise. But, in order to commend it worthily, is it necessary to vituperate the Minors?"* True to these instructions, the great poet of the ages of faith, in his paradise, represents St. Bonaventura the Franciscan proclaiming the praises of St. Dominic, and St. Thomas Aquinas the Dominican celebrating those of St. Francis; each blaming the irregularities, not of the other's order, but of that to which he himself belonged.†

It would not be difficult to produce admirable instances of this fraternal affection, which long continued between these two great families. When some grandees of Andalusia, and even officers of the King Philip II., took occasion to injure the Franciscans, it was a Dominican of Granada, Ferdinand du Château, superior of the convent of Our Lady at Atocha, and of great authority at court, who, without being solicited, undertook their defence, and exerted himself to such effect that the prosecution was stopped.‡ What bonds of affection existed between St. Vincent Ferrier, the Dominican, and St. Bernardine of Sienna, the Franciscan!§ With what admirable charity and kindness did the Camaldulese fathers treat the Capuchins, when they stood so much in need of support!‖ And again, what generosity did Dominic Ferdinand Navarette, the Dominican, archbishop of St. Domingo, evince towards the Jesuits!¶ "Religiosas omnes familias veneror, et in Domino Jesu complector," says the Jesuit Drexelius.**

Where traces of a contrary spirit appeared in the middle ages, the language of holy monks in reprobation is so instructive, that the occasions seem to have served more to the utility than to the injury of the Church. Let us hear Peter the Venerable, abbot of Cluny, addressing St. Bernard, abbot of Cîteaux. "If he who loveth not remaineth in death, in what death remaineth he who hateth, who detracteth! Why do I say this? Because I perceive that there are some of our and of your sheep who carry on a mutual war, and are fallen from charity, though men of the family of the same Lord, soldiers of the same King, and all equally Christians and monks. Ah, be it far from the hearts of monks to give place to the prince of this world, the king of the children of pride! But why do they oppose each other, and detract, and why devour they one another? Let the matter of the contention be produced at once; and, if there be a just quarrel, let it be terminated by just arbitration. What does a brother demand of a brother,—a monk of Cluny of a monk of Cîteaux,—or conversely? If the question be of cities, camps, towns, farms, or any landed possessions, little or great,—if it be of gold or silver, or of any quantity of money, propose it openly. There are here judges, not of iniquity, but of equity, and all prepared to remove the cause of contention. But it cannot be so with those who are enriched with the poverty of Christ. What then can be the subject of dispute?—for I will never desist until I discover it. It is perhaps concerning some different custom or exercise of monastic order? But, my beloved, if this be the cause of so great an evil, saving the respect I owe to you, it is very irrational, very puerile and foolish: for if a variety of customs ought to separate the servants of Christ from charity, what peace, or concord, or unity, or remnant of the law of Christ, will be left,—not to monks alone, but to any Christians,—to all of whom the apostle said, 'Alter alterius onera portate, et sic adamplebitis legem Christi?' Dearly beloved, is not the whole world covered with the churches of Christ; and does not the number of churches under one faith, and serving God in the same love, exceed all computation? And yet the variety of usages is as great as the multiplicity of places; while all retain charity. The enemy of men, finding that he can no longer injure by the instrument of heresy, adopts a different method. Seeing that he can at present no longer pervert faith,—which, by the Spirit of God, now fills the whole world,—he directs all his efforts to destroy charity: for since he cannot persuade Christian men to become infidels, he endeavours to prevent them from loving one another. Now the Arian, Sabellian, Novatian, Donatian, Pelagian, and Mani-

* Wadding, Annales Minorum, Epist. ad Vet.
† C. xii.
‡ Touron, Hist. des Hom. Illust. de l'Ord. de S. Dom. iv. 32.
§ Id. iii. 17.
‖ Annal. Capucinorum, ad an. 1542.
¶ Touron, v. 38.
** De Jejunio, liv. i. c. 3.

ean sects have perished and been dissi-
ted by the Spirit of God, and have left
us a pure day free from all darkness;
d, therefore, he only hopes to succeed in
tacking us on the side of charity. And
us he causes us to contend about colours,
d instigates the black monk to disdain
e white, and conversely; though for each
ess there is sufficient reason; and though
ch things are of no importance, according
our Rule, which prescribes that the
onks should not dispute about the colour
coarseness of their habits, but wear
stments of whatever colour or quality is
ual in their province, or what is most
sily found, or the cheapest. You per-
ive how foolish then it is to dispute about
lour. It is damnable to hate a brother
r the colour of his habit. At length to
ou, my beloved, to whom this letter is
nt, I return to address myself. The cause
f my writing was charity. It remains that
ou, whom highest Providence hath raised
p as a strong pillar to support the edifice
f the monastic order,—that you, whom
e hath given, as it were, a shining star,
ot only to monks, but to the whole Latin
hurch of our time, should exert your
tmost diligence to prevent any dissension
etween the great congregations of our
ame and order. I have always studied
o commend the holy monks of your con-
regation to our own, and to incorporate,
s it were, our own with them, in the union
f a perfect charity. This I have not
eglected in public, in private, and in our
reat assemblies. Do you also labour in
his common field; and, with that sublime
nd flaming eloquence imparted to your
ps by the Spirit of God, expel from their
earts that puerile emulation, from their
ngue that whispering; and make them
substitute for these the desires of frater-
al love: so that to whom there is one
ord, one faith, one baptism,—to those
no are contained in one Church, to whom
mains one eternal and blessed life,—
ere may be also, according to the Scrip-
re, one heart, and one soul."* Again,
writes to him on the same subject: "I
ve known some," he says, "whom not
ne the common bond of faith unites,
t also the same monastic rule, yet who
e separated from that sincere unity of
arts in which they seem congregated by
certain unintelligible, occult, and execra-
e alienation of mind, a pride which even
common lay Christians has been over-

* S. Pet. Ven. Abb. Clun. Epist. Lib. iv. 17.

thrown. What can be the cause? It cannot be an interest of money or property; nor should it be diversity of customs,—for between all Christians is there not also diversity of customs? And if a layman with those who hated peace was pacific, what will be a monk to a monk? 'Si oculus tuus fuerit simplex, totum corpus tuum lucidum erit.' Behold, O brother, thy whole body with a simple eye,—that is, all things with a pure intention,—that is, with charity. You have a simple eye, who require a year of noviceship before admitting to the cloister; you have a simple eye, who receive those who come before the lapse of a year. You have a simple eye, who are content with the raiment which the rule advises; you have a simple eye, who permit it to be augmented in consideration of weakness or climate. You have a simple eye, who only thrice will receive back fugitives returning to you; you have a simple eye, who will receive them back as often as they leave the monastery and return to it. You have a simple eye, who observe the fasts appointed without exception; you have a simple eye, who permit some of these to be omitted. You have a simple eye, who observe manual labour according to the rule; you have a simple eye, who, from not living in the country, substitute other employment for it. You have a simple eye, who, in every guest arriving or departing, adore Christ prostrate on the earth, and wash the feet of all; you have a simple eye, who do not prostrate yourself before all guests, or wash the feet of all, when the number would be too great. You have a simple eye, who wish the abbot's table to be always that for the guests and strangers; you have a simple eye, who prefer the abbot's table to be that for the monks, and not that at which all guests are received. You have a simple eye, who labour to restore the injuries and ruins of the monastic order in all places, and restore things to the pristine fervour; you have a simple eye, who so moderate the rule that the weak may not be discouraged, and ordain all things thus that souls may be saved. Thus Benedict wrote the rule; and Maur changed many things in it, both with a simple eye and the same intention: for in this manner there is no difference, no dissonance; but by charity all things become one; for the rule of the holy Father Benedict depends upon that sublime and universal rule of charity, which are all the Law and the

May there be peace then, O Jerusalem, in thy strength, that there may follow abundance in thy towers!"*

These eloquent complaints lay bare a nerve which is tremblingly susceptible at the present day; but during the middle ages, no passages conduced more to edification, because no one saw in them any thing but an allusion to an evil that was of a local and temporary nature.

Peter of Blois, writing to the abbot of Evesham, takes for granted that there can be no such tendency to discord existing in his time: for he says to him, "It is the part of envy to consider as an injury the praise of another; but your approved religion will not regard it as an offence against you, that I have seemed to commend the Cistercian or Carthusian orders above others. In commending them I have not detracted from you. I approve of them, and I praise you. I have not erected their titles in prejudice of your fame. Christ is not divided, whether we wear a white or a black habit; but, in every order, whoever does the will of God is accepted of him. Variety is not absurd with the Spouse of Christ, when she is described as clothed with varieties—'Ipsa varietas uniformitatis causa est:' for in a harp, from a diversity of chords, there is made a uniform modulation to harmony. Moreover, according to the Apostle, there are divisions of graces, and ministrations, and works, while there is but one God who works all things in all. You may see the beauty of the Spouse in the variety of acts, professions, manners, opinions, and orders. Therefore, she is described in the sacred pages as resembling a cedar, as a cypress, as a palm, as a plantation of roses, as an olive, as a platanus, as cinnamon and balsam, as myrrh, as incense and ammoniac, as turpentine, and as frankincense. This variety is indicated by Isaia, saying, 'Behold, I will place thy stones in order: I will found thee on sapphires, and jasper, and graven stones.' But all are one body: for all works, studies, and counsels, are referred to one; for the end of the law is Christ unto justice, to every one who believeth. Holy is the order of Cluniacs, holy the Cistercian; and in both hath the Lord placed the ministry of reconciliation, and the way of safety."†

It would be unjust to leave this ground without remarking that this exquisite charity, this comprehensive benevolence, so characteristic of the ages of faith, was manifested, not alone by monks of different communities towards each other, but also in general by the secular clergy towards the monks, and towards each of the religious orders collectively. The monks, indeed, invariably, from the beginning, showed them an example in this respect. "Do I dare to say any thing against clerks who live in cities?" asks St. Jerome. "Far be it from me to utter any sinister word respecting those who, succeeding to the apostolic degree, make with sacred lips the body of Christ, by whom also we are made Christians,—who, having the keys of the kingdom of heaven, in a certain manner judge before the day of judgment."*

"There are men," says John of Salisbury, "who observe long and strict fasts, who come to the nocturnal vigils, who lead a pure life, who keep the guard of silence on their lips, and make daily satisfaction for their daily faults, and who bear patiently all insults and injuries;—who must not admire such men, as of singular merit, as truly apostolic, and imitators of Christ? They wear not a monastic habit, but I dare not call them seculars, since there is nothing secular to be found in them."†

Such was the monastic language towards the secular clergy,—always pacific, always affectionate and reverential: but, unhappily, the conduct of the latter was not in all countries so uniformly characterized by the same spirit.

It must be acknowledged, as St. Bonaventura remarks, that the cause of difference in this respect is to be traced to very profound roots, which cannot perhaps at any time be wholly removed. "We must not be surprised," he says, "when we see persons well engaged in active life murmuring against their brother who is devoted to the contemplative; for we read in the Gospel that so did Martha against Mary: but that Mary murmured against Martha, because she would not imitate her actions, we find no where."‡

In Vigilantius there was found in an early age an organ to express a jealous feeling towards the monks; but, had he not also entertained heretical opinions, we may be sure that St. Jerome would not have replied to him so harshly as he did. "You say," answered the holy doctor, "that

* S. Bern. Ep. ccxxix.
† Pet. Bles. Epist. xcvii.

* Epist. v. † De Nugis Cur. vii. 23.
‡ S. Bonavent. Meditat. Vit. Christi, cap. lv.

men were to shut themselves up in teries who could celebrate in the ıes? who could gain secular men? were foolish with you, who could be

But you say, Why do you go to the ? Truly that I may not hear you ːe you."* When the fame of St. ict and of his brethren had spread ;h the country round the monastery unt-Cassino, Florentius, the priest eighbouring church, began to grow ɜ and indignant.† Thus there was ıvious eye upon the monks, even there was no clashing of temporal in- ; or rivalry of profession, and while ɾere saying, with St. Bernard, "It is ks to serve the altar, and to live of tar; to us, our profession and the ıle of the ancient monks prescribe ːe live by the labour of our hands, ot of the sanctuary of God."‡

en it became a question of monks called to assist the secular clergy in ːare of souls, this opposition became ː. "Some come anxiously and ask says Ives de Chartres, "whether ɜ can be appointed to parishes and he care of souls? to whom I answer, n the primitive Church, no rector of was constituted who was not taken ı life in community, because no one more rightly be placed as a guardian ınother's life than he who had first nade a guardian of his own: which

place could be better proved than ɾ those in whom a life according to ɜeemed to flourish, and who dis- the malice of others in propor- ɑs they had first disliked their

Therefore, we conclude that such ıs are not to be listened to, who at regulars should not have cure of on the ground of their having re- ed the world; since, precisely on ery account, they are so much the to be chosen, because they have de- its pomps and pleasures,—'Non mundi contactus est animas a vitiis ːe, et ad virtutum celsitudinem pro- .'"§ Let us hear the advice which ɾancis, whose eyes were ever fixed on ıpreme peace, gave to his friars on subject. "We are sent, dearest ːen," he says to them, "to assist the for the salvation of souls; that what nd less in them may be supplied by Every one will receive his reward, not according to authority, but according to his labour. What, above all, pleases God, is the gain of souls; and this we shall better accomplish by keeping peace with the clergy, than by being at discord. But if they impede our object, vengeance is God's, and He will repay in proper time. Therefore be subject to prelates; and, as far as is in you, let no evil zeal arise. If you be the children of peace, you will gain both clergy and people; and this will be more acceptable to God than if you gained the people alone, and scandalised the clergy. Conceal their faults, supply their multiplied defects; and so doing, you will be more humble."*

The opposition, however, was not disarmed by such gentleness. A parish-priest came to the synod of Cologne, in 1239, saying, "Behold, friars of the order of Preachers have come here to our injury, and put their scythe in another man's harvest, hearing the confessions of our parishioners." Conrad, the legate, after hearing his complaint, demanded "what is the number of your parishioners?" and he replied 9000. Then the legate, signing himself with the cross, said, "Who art thou, miserable man, that alone canst suffice to the care of so many souls? Knowest thou not that thou wilt have to answer for all these, in the tremendous judgment, before the tribunal of Christ? and dost thou complain of those who desire gratuitously to relieve thee of part of the burden? This complaint proves that thou art unworthy of the care of souls; and, therefore, I deprive thee henceforth of all pastoral benefice."†

Men of this description were not to be daunted by an appeal to future judgment. Reckless were they of consequences so distant, if they could but guard their monopoly, and pass their own inventions off to prove it just. Unhappily, the disinterestedness of the monks, and their desire to keep aloof from all political or worldly disputes, free from partial aim, formed another source of complaint which in the universities became loud and menacing. The disagreement between the secular and monastic doctors, at Paris, began in the time of St. Thomas, whose moderation and gentleness were invincible, while the violence of his opponent Guillaume de Saint-Amour, was blamed even by his own party; for in that age there could be no gross violation of the law of charity by those whose

pist. xxxviii. † Chronic. Casinensis, 8. Bern. Epist. 397.
on. Carnot. Ep. ccxiii.

* Wadding, an. 1219. † Ad an. 1239.

office was to teach it, without a sense of shame. The secular doctors having suspended all lectures till they had justice for the scholars slain by the watch in the Lent of 1253, were indignant at the monastic doctors for continuing to teach within their convents; as they did also in 1229, during the minority of St. Louis and the regency of his mother, when the secular doctors had suspended all exercises of the school. The university having obtained justice, imposed an oath in future on all members to suspend teaching in similar cases. The Dominican and Franciscan doctors, not choosing that their exercises should be at the mercy of every commotion, declined taking it, and in consequence were by another decree excluded from the body of the university, and deprived of their chairs. Pope Innocent IV., to whom the regulars appealed, ordered them to be restored. The secular doctors did not evince religious simplicity: they demanded protection from the bishops of France. Alexander IV. by his bull, "quasi lignum vitæ," confirmed however the former sentence, and exhorted the seculars to peace and charity; but Guillaume de Saint-Amour, continued to oppose the re-establishment of the regulars, aided by Odon of Douay, Nicolas de Bar-sur-Aube and Chrétien, canon of Beauvais, who were in consequence of their proceedings excommunicated by the pope. The conduct of St. Thomas during these trials, was worthy of one who represented the religious orders. While he was preaching in the church of St. James on Palm Sunday, Guillot, a scholar of Picardy, interrupted him with insolence, commanding him to be silent till he read a notice from his masters. The saint remained silent while he read a long libel which had been written against the monks by Guillaume de Saint-Amour. When he had finished, St. Thomas resumed his discourse, and without saying a word to justify himself or his brethren, continued to preach. Soon afterwards, Guillaume published his libel "on the perils of the last times," in which he compared the monks to false prophets. St. Louis, justly indignant, sent the book to Rome. St. Thomas was ordered to answer it, though the author pretended to write in behalf and by order of the bishops. Fleury himself remarks that he was not sincere in protesting that he meant nothing against any order approved by the church, and it is certain also that at the very time many bishops were receiving the friars with open arms. Of the reply of St. Thomas, entitled, "Contra impugnantes Religionem,"* which forms a most complete defence of the religious orders, Henry of Ghent, his contemporary, says, "Frater Thomas de Aquino opusculo subtilissimo errorem Guillielmi refutavit." The book was then condemned and burnt in the pope's presence. The author retired to his village of Saint-Amour, in Burgundy, where he lived to an advanced age. At his death, he is said to have confessed that he had been actuated by envy at the learning of the Mendicant orders; and to prove that he repented from his heart, he left his body to be buried with the friar Preachers. Similarly, Laurentius Anglicus, after persecuting the friars, when he came to die at Paris, left them all his books, and, wonderfully penitent, desired to be buried in their convent.†

But to return to a more pleasing theme, the pacific and charitable spirit evinced towards the regular by the secular clergy. Mabillon, observing that Britain and Germany owed the light of faith to monks, adds, that he says this without any intention to disparage the secular clergy, however little they may be disposed to acknowledge the debt. "Sed quid juvat," he continues, "monachos deprimere ut clericos extollas? Utrosque operarios messis Dominica recipit et locupletat."‡ It is delightful to find that these were the views after all, which in general actuated the latter during ages of faith. "The English secular clergy themselves," says Orderic Vitalis, "rejoice respectfully, and with benignity, at the preference which their countrymen evince for monks, from remembering that originally they owed to them the conversion of their nation."§

Bourdoise, a celebrated parish-priest in the reign of Louis XIII. expressed the sentiments of the French clergy in these remarkable words, which in the hearts of the people at least, will at all times find an echo. "It is an injustice when curates, who have not sufficient priests in their parish, prevent the people from applying to monks. It does not edify them when they hear curates complaining of monks, as if there were not enough of work for both curates and monks. As for me, if I may be allowed to say what I think, in my conscience, I believe that without monks, that is, if there had not been

* Opuscula, xix.

† Touron, Vie de S. Thomas, Wadding, An. Min. iv. ad an. 1257.

‡ Præf. in 11 Sæc. Ben. 2. § Lib. xii.

ts, we should at present be without faith without religion, or at least an hundred s worse than we are. I hope I may give displeasure to curates, but God : that they do not deceive themselves. curate have any portion of the spirit of onsure, if he do not want monks in his h, he will at least take care to live in ɜ and good understanding with them. prove extremely of what a holy person- Penitentiary of Loretto, said formerly, he saw only one remedy to re-establish piety in the church, and that was to tablish parishes; and to do that effica- ly, if he could advise the pope, he that he would desire him to take monks the most holy monasteries, and make priests of parishes."* To such a ure, however, the admirable clergy of ce would never have objected. An his- n of Soissons remarks, that the building chapel in the street of the Minims, h was to be served by monks of St. -des-Vignes, met with no obstacle from :urate of St. Remy, who might have :ted to this encroachment on his rights."† ıt let us hear the secular clergy of the le ages. Speaking of the monks gene- , "The life of monks," says Peter of , "of whom there are diverse kinds, ıe tunic of Joseph is of many colours, the spouse of Christ is clothed with :y, I venerate with all the affection of eart, and I embrace their feet with the of most devout humility; for I know above all seculars, whether clerks or they adhere more closely to the foot- of the apostles;" and again, he says, y in the bowels of Christ every holy I love, I magnify, I venerate and . For a long time I used to have 's with me some man of your order, a ss of my conversation, and a guardian of my body and soul; but above all, ɜd one, dear to God and men, who from : rich made himself poor for Christ. s friendship, I glory; preferring it to y relations with the court and in the e. Doubtless he is the friend of God. ɜy and milk are on his tongue, and his enance is composed to a joyful serenity, a certain expression of angelic peace. memory I place as a seal upon my ."‡ The humility with which the ar contrasted their state with that of the ar clergy, is often most strikingly ex- ed. Thus writing to a friend who had become a Cistercian monk, and praising the wisdom of his choice, the archdeacon says, "you have ascended the mountain of sacrifice, but I am still remaining in the valley, 'Heu mihi, quia incolatus meus a Deo prolongatus est!'"* and in his sermon to the people in the vulgar tongue, which he afterwards, by desire of his brother translated into Latin, speaking of the necessity of their reading the holy Scriptures, to make their lives correspond with them, he says, "to us seculars, who are not only in the world but of the world, who of the cup of Babylon are often drunken to loathing and sickness, to us, I say, is most useful and fruitful that application of mind, consisting in the perusal of the Scriptures, which leads to a fear of the Judge who is to judge the world by fire."† It would be easy to multiply testimonies of this kind; but in fact the cases of exception were so rare, if we take into account the whole tract of faithful ages, that I deem it needless to proceed. It is certain that the religious orders in general, so far from being an offence and a source of discord to the secular clergy, only supplied them with a constant occasion to exercise that pacific, charitable, and reverential spirit, which characterised their own profession. But it will be said, perhaps, that the privileges and exemptions of the monks indicate that their relation with the episcopacy was at least of an ambiguous character. The fact is undoubtedly, as Martene observes on occasion of his visit to the abbey of St. Maximin, at Treves, that the exemptions of monasteries are almost as ancient as monasteries themselves, the most learned and holy bishops having always deemed it necessary to provide against the enterprises of some prelates who might come after them.‡ There were in all but three classes of monasteries, those of the jurisdiction and diocese of the ordinary, those in the diocese, but exempt from his jurisdiction; and those which possessed a separate territory of their own, though not so as to constitute a diocese. The abbots of St. Martin of Tours, of St. Denis, of Lobbes, in Hainault, and some others, were bishops within the walls. The monastery of Mount-Cassino constituted a real episcopacy and a diocese in itself.§

During the first ages the monasteries in Ireland were both abbeys and bishoprics; each superior was abbot and bishop of the surrounding district; and it was not till

entences Chrét. de Bourdoise, xxix. xl.
Hist. de Soissons, ii. 199.
'et. Bles. cont. Depravatorem.

* Pet. Bles. Epist. iv.
† Id. Serm. lxv. ‡ Voyage lit. 286.
§ Excurs. Hist. in Chronic. S. Monast. Casin.

later times that the episcopal jurisdiction was separated from the abbeys. Now, though as we before remarked, abuses crept in here which monks themselves desired to remove, there can be no doubt but that the interests of peace often required these exemptions, "we know," says Peter of Blois, "that these exemptions for the most part were granted by the Roman pontiffs for the sake of securing the quiet of the monasteries, and in consequence of the tyranny of some bishops."* The historian of Rheims observes, that the monks obtained many of these privileges as a protection against the ruinous expenses in which they would have been otherwise involved, by the grandeur and military character of some prelates, who had not the spirit of their order.† "Some bishops," as St. Anselm says in an epistle to Pope Urban, "rejoiced not so much to nourish monasteries with paternal piety, and to instruct them with episcopal care, as to oppress them with a certain austere domination and self-will."‡

The abbot Faustus, of Lerins, in the fifth century, in a discourse to some prelates who had originally been monks, condemns the forgetfulness of those who think no more of the cloister which had nourished and consoled them. "What is more grievous than to forget suddenly the fraternal society and consolation! The birds themselves love their nests; wild beasts love the places in which they were nourished; they love their dens and pastures, and though by their natural liberty they leave their own, they soon return again to them."§ "Piligrinus, archbishop of Cologne, persecuted with singular hate," says Trithemius, "on what grounds I know not, the Irish monks of our order, faithfully serving the Lord in the monastery of St. Martin, in Cologne. Shortly before his death, in 1036, he said to Elias, their abbot, on my return I will expel you Irish monks. However, he never did return alive, for he died on that journey, a good man in other respects, and from childhood regularly educated under the monastic discipline, in the abbey of Burckard."‖ In general, the contention between bishops and abbeys became most considerable after the year 1215. To observe the pacific and dignified spirit of the monks on these occasions, let us hear Peter the Venerable, addressing a bishop.

"Since the breach of charity is such a weight before God, I ought not to dissemble; as to be moved for justice is no breach of charity, but an action of equity. I have resolved not to conceal my mind to you, but to reveal what instigates me, as if to a friend without disguise. It has been related to us, that you, I say it saving fraternal peace, say things disparaging of the monastic order, and seize the most trifling occasion to lacerate it, declaiming in public assemblies, extenuating its good, and aggravating with rhetorical language, light excesses, such as must belong to men who are not angels. It is said that in your synod, before the clergy and people, you prayed that God might destroy the pride of Cluny, and you charged them to pray the Lord to this effect. And I wish that the merciful Saviour may destroy in us, and in all who are his, not alone the walls of pride, but all those of Satan's crew to the ground, that he may construct in their place the spiritual Jerusalem. But if this was to be said, it was not to be in a way of derision; if there was to be admonition, there was to be no preaching; if there was to be prayer, there was to be no declamation. For be it so; we are proud, we are sinners: nevertheless, the sins of the brethren were not to be proclaimed in the church: the faults of monks were not to be adduced in example before the people, lest the people should be drawn to imitate proud monks, especially those of Cluny, lest they should be taught to believe that the pride which they heard was notable in monks, was less damnable in themselves. Your wisdom ought to have preached this to the chapter at Cluny, and not before the people of Tarawan. This ought to have been brought without the knowledge of the people, to the ears of the brethren, not to the ears of the people, without the knowledge of the brethren, in order that exhortation might correct, and not declamation defame them; for the brethren of Cluny, so widely scattered over the earth, cannot hear the bishop disputing about their pride, though they might have heard him, if he had spoken concerning it in their chapter, at which he has been present twice or thrice, when he exhilarated their pride by promise of his friendship. Not so did the Bishop Augustin proclaim the sins of the brethren, whether true or false, before the people; for he says, 'ubi oritur peccatum, ibi moriatur; nec ad plures ejus correctio quam notitia extendatur.' But where is this pride? What bishop have the monks of Cluny resisted? Whom do they not obey? To whom do they not show reverence? I know not. I know not. God knows; if I knew I would not

* Pet. Bles. Epist. 68. ad Alex. 111.
† Anquetil, Hist. de Rheims, ii. 279.
‡ S. Anselmi Epist. ii. 33.
§ [illegible]ius. ‖ Chron. Hirsaug.

suffer it; if I knew I would correct it: but since by the grace of God we have almost all the priests of the Latin church for our friends, we pray that we may have you also among them propitious to us. Wherefore have you acted thus with us? If for a just cause, well; if not, see you to it. I spare you lest I should seem to provoke him whom I would address as a friend. In conclusion, I beseech you to observe what, as I above remarked, your benignity promised to us, that it may be far from your holy lips to promise what you will not afterwards fulfil."*

St. Bernard too has to defend a certain abbot from similar attacks; and his apology for him is remarkable; for he says, "if it be a crime to be accepted of God and men, take him away and crucify him. For that this is true of him cannot be denied, as heaven and earth can witness. If it be a crime to be hospitable, benign, sober, chaste, humble; let him be condemned, for, in this respect, of a truth he cannot be excused, the sanctity of his life, and his acquired glory, yielding sufficient proof."†

Such then was the pacific and impressive tone of the monks on these melancholy occasions. However, protection was necessary; and as a modern historian observes, the only way of escape from tyranny was by placing monasteries under the immediate jurisdiction of the pope. The monastery of Fulda, he thinks, was the first which was thus exempted from the jurisdiction of the ordinary; and as he observes, "this transfer was the act of a bishop, the great St. Boniface." In the sequel, the example was followed frequently enough, but even when it was not, the bishops, sensible that the appellant jurisdiction of the pope would be invoked when there was occasion, were constrained to be moderate. "However hostile," he adds, "we may feel in the abstract, to some pretensions of the papal see, we are constrained to acknowledge that they were often exerted for good; and that its interference was loudly demanded, not merely by policy but by necessity."‡ These exemptions, in fact, were so many proofs of the solicitude of the bishops to protect monasteries. St. Germain, who exempted the abbot of St. Germain-des-Près from the jurisdiction of the ordinary, was himself a bishop.§ Drauscius, in the time of Ebroin, mayor of the palace, who granted privileges to the convent of St. Geneviève and St. Peter, at Soissons, was himself the bishop of that diocese; and in the charter conveying them, so humbly expressed, saying of himself, nostræ vilitatis extremitatem, he says, at the end, "if any one should attempt aught against this writing, let him be held for the enemy of the poor, and of the servants of God."*

Sometimes, it is true, the object of these exemptions was defeated; and, instead of securing peace, they occasioned trouble. "Many monasteries, therefore," as Peter of Blois says, "which were celebrated for sanctity, either never wished to have these immunities, or rejected them when they had obtained them."† Clairvaux, that flower of Cîteaux, chose to be subject to the ordinary. But the love with which bishops regarded the religious orders, forms too beautiful a page in the history of peace, and of its institutions, for us to leave it here, obscured by the violence or the meanness of a few unworthy men. "Omnis persona mihi placitura est quæ vita clareat et doctrina." Such was the language of Ives de Chartres,‡ and of all the great and holy bishops of the middle ages, whose constant desire was to imitate, as the church sings at the procession on Palm Sunday, the good and clement king, "cui bona cuncta placent."

"There was not a single bishop of Soissons," says the historian of that city, "at all eminent for piety or merit, who did not prove himself the friend and benefactor of abbeys and convents."§ An historian of the universal Church must make the same remark; for we should search in vain through all Christian history, to find an example of a good prelate, who, besides evincing a personal affection and reverence for the religious orders, did not recognise and proclaim loudly, like the illustrious confessor of the Rhine in our days, Clement Augustus de Droste-Vischering, archbishop of Cologne, that monasteries are absolutely necessary to each diocese, for various important and indispensable ends of pastoral care, which can never be accomplished without them.‖ The ancient bishops, like St. Fulgentius, even built monasteries in which they might live with monks when their other duties were fulfilled, so anxious were they to perfect themselves in that discipline which they were bound to maintain amongst the

* Petri Ven. Abb. Clun. ix. Epist. Lib. iv. 8.
† Ep. ccxxxi.
‡ Europe in Mid. Ages, Cyclop. ii. 162.
§ Saint Victor, Tableau de Paris, i. 210.

* Martin, Hist. de Soissons, i. 259.
† Pet. Bles. Epist. lxviii.
‡ Epist. xcviii.
§ Martin, Hist. de Soissons.
‖ Treatise on the Religious Liberty of Catholics, Münster, 1838.

clergy.* When monasteries were destroyed by wars, and the monks dispersed, it used to be holy bishops who rebuilt them and collected again the separated brethren. Thus, St. Amblardus, archbishop of Lyons, when he found that the Norman ravages were probably at an end, rebuilt in a sumptuous style the abbey of Aisnay; and Burchard, of the same see, solicited King Rodolph of Burgundy to rebuild the abbey of St. Maurice, in the Vallais.† Charles de Roucy, the venerable bishop of Soissons, in 1582, counted it a great happiness in his last years, that he could favour the foundation of a new religious house in that city, in which Minims were to be received for the first time.‡ Such were the works with which the holiest bishops desired to close their administration, and when any prelate had unhappily deserted the track of the good Shepherd, a return to a sense of his own duty was always found synonymous with a revival of zeal to favour monasteries, of which an old historian relates a singular example. "Bishop Reginard of Liege," he says, "experienced what the Lord said by the prophet, 'Venies usque ad Babylonem, et ibi liberaberis;' for he came to the confusion of great sin: and then a look from on high, like that which melted Peter, made him tremble and weep. He resolved to rebuild the church of the monastery of St. Laurence; so early on the third of February his men came upon the roof and began to pull it down with a great noise; for it had been decided the evening before in the bishop's house, that to the Abbot Stephen still taking rest that sound should be the first announcement of his intention."§ When Hugues II., bishop of Grenoble, was calumniated as having vexed some Cluniac monks, he sent the letter of accusation to Peter the Venerable; and the abbot of Cluny replied, that other grounds for detraction must be sought for, besides such supposed hostility, which he could himself disprove. Thus, to suppose a bishop capable of nourishing hostility to monks was then counted an infamous detraction When a certain prelate elect, wishing to decline the episcopacy, alleged his devotion to a cloistral life, Fulbert, bishop of Chartres, replied to him, "The love of the monastic state would rather make you worthy than unworthy of the episcopal grade."* The attachment of bishops to the monks in ages of faith was not such as might be expressed in terms of a general decent acquiescence with the fact of their existence in the Church. Obealtus Marinus, a holy and humble man, the first bishop of Venice, in 773, would never as long as he lived suffer two monks of St. Hilary to stir from his side.† Richard, archbishop of Canterbury, commending himself to the prayers of the Cistercian order, exclaims, "O desirable tabernacles, O venerable congregation, O Cîteaux, how great is thy house, how fruitful in sons, how magnificent in tongues, how glorious in people!" He trusts that in consideration of their prayers God will pardon his own insufficiency and offences in the episcopal office.‡ Turstin, archbishop of York, evinced such affection for the religious orders, and such zeal in protecting them, that St. Bernard wrote to thank him for his devoted attachment.§ The conduct towards them of Arnulph, archbishop of Rheims in the tenth century, who is described as having been second to none in piety, was truly paternal. He was styled in consequence Pater Monachorum,‖ which words are engraved upon his tomb. The love evinced by bishops for the Mendicant orders from their commencement was no less unequivocal. It is beautifully expressed in the curious letter of Gui Fulcodi, bishop of Puy, afterwards Pope Clement IV. to the prior of the convent of Montpellier.¶ Peter of Blois, writing to the bishop of Orleans, commits to his discretion, "The quiet of the monks, the peace of the simple, and the cause of Christ."** And he might well; for dear to the bishops of the middle ages was that quiet, that peace! "Prelates," says a Carthusian monk, "ought to repair to solitudes sometimes, to converse with devout men there, in order to compose all turbulent emotions and acquire serenity."†† They did not require to be pressed to adopt this practice, the spirit of which was evinced in early times. Pope Gregory the great sought a refuge thus from the secular occupations consequent upon the pastoral care, in the observance of the rule of St. Benedict.‡‡ At the very outset, on the eve of their consecration, bishops

* S. Ambros. Lib. x. Ep. 82. Serm. 15. Sicilia Sacra, i. 604.
† Paradin, Hist. de Lyon, Lib. ii. 29. 31.
‡ Martin, Hist. de Soissons, ii. 468.
§ Hist. Monast. S. Laurent. Leodiens. ap. Martene, Vet. Script. iv. p. 1061.

* Fulberti Carnotens. Epist. viii.
† Italia Sacra, tom. v. 1185.
‡ Pet. Bles. Epist. xcvi.
§ Epist. xcv.
‖ Hock. Gerbert, 133.
¶ Touron, Hist. des Hom. Illust. de l'Ord. de S. D. i.
** Epist. cxii.
†† Pet. Sutorus, De Vita Carthus. i. 3.
‡‡ Mab. Præf. in 1. Sæc. Ben. 7.

to spend the night in prayer within monastery. Thus at Beauvais, the p elect always kept his vigil in the abbey . Lucean.* Then in the course of administration it was the custom of ps to make retreats from time to time nasteries. Thus St. Hugues, bishop enoble, used to retire occasionally to bbey of the Chaise-Dieu, or to the le Chartreuse.† We read that the of Glendalough and the holy seclusion valley of the lakes, still continued to a charm for St. Laurence, when that man became archbishop of Dublin in ne of Henry II. It was his delight re occasionally to that monastery, and in a cave which had been used as an y by St. Kevin, he used to pass whole in prayer and contemplation. Thus, ie blessed Pope Gregory, did he look o his monastery with regret. Henry, of Liege, leaving the abbey of St. rt on one occasion, where he had the Lent, was seen to weep through at being called away from that de- peace to the multifarious tumults of r affairs.‡ Ratherius, bishop of Ve- only waits till he can finish building ch. "Then," he says to the Empress eid, "I shall be ready to follow your ; for it would be better for me to fly nd dwell in solitude in my monastery, ere expect my Lord, who would save om pusillanimity, than any longer to ach things uselessly, and with injury soul."§ In fact, many holy pontiffs, h the love of peace and solitude and al life, renounced their bishopricks, ng the example of St. Gregory Nazi- St. Justus, archbishop of Lyons, lfran, bishop of Sens, and Pope Celes- John, the predecessor of the great t, in the see of Ravenna, had with- into a wilderness of the mountains of o. In 1267, Isaac O'Gorman, bishop laloe, resigned that see and became t in the abbey of the Holy Cross. ount-Cassino came the holy Bishop wishing to serve God with more free- nder the monastic habit in that mo- , far from the rumours of the world.‖ he eleventh century, Bertrand, bishop ns, renounced his see, and retired to ey of Lerins, where he died in odour of sanctity. On coming to that resolution his words indicated discouragement. "Ego Bertrandus Forojulii Episcopus, videns totum mundum urgeri diversis angustiis et tribulationibus, et sacerdotale regnum decidere, non reperio locum cui me prærogativo amore committam præter Lerinense Cœnobium."*

Walter Mauclerc, chancellor of England, in the reign of Henry III. and bishop of Carlisle, took refuge in the order of St Dominic, abandoning all things, even to his cloak, as Matthew Paris says, when he entered the convent at Oxford.† The abbey of St. Medard at Soissons, was chosen by many great prelates for their place of rest after abdicating their sees, numbers of whom were buried beneath its vaults. To monasteries many prelates retired expressly to die. Cardinal George d'Amboise came with this intention to the convent of the Celestins at Lyons. Comparing his own life with that of the monk, brother John, who waited on him in his sickness, he said often to him, "Ah, brother John, my friend, would that I had been brother John." With the same object a great number of bishops chose to retire to the abbey of St. Victor at Paris, in which house the bishops of Paris in the thirteenth century had an apartment, where they used to spend some days occasionally. This abbey was full of their tombs.‡ In 1170 Gerungus, bishop of Misnia, retired to die in the monastery of Monte Sereno.§ John Milet, bishop of Soissons, who, towards the end of his life concentrated his munificence on the abbey of Longpont, was in the act of returning from a visit to the Chartreuse of Bourg-Fontaine, in spite of his eighty-eight years, when he fell sick of his last malady. He ordered that his heart should be sent to the Celestins of Paris, in token of his affection for that monastery. "This was the last bishop of Soissons chosen by the chapter and the people," says Cabaret,—"the last of those great bishops," says Martin, "who were animated by that zeal for the house of the Lord, and by ardent patriotism."§ That nothing might be wanting to display the union of the episcopacy with the religious orders, it was the custom in the twelfth century, when a bishop died, to carry his body about from monastery to monastery, leaving it a day and night in each, till the whole

ardon, Hist. des Sacramens, v.
de S. H.
t. Andaganens. Monast. ap. Martene, Vet.
v. 953.
Pez. Thes. Anecdot. vi. 98.
on. Cas. iv. 31.

* Hist. de Frejus, Lib. iv.
† Touron, Hist. des Hom. Illust. de l'Ord. S. D.
‡ Lebœuf, Hist. du Diocèse de Paris, i. ii. 5.
§ Chronic. Montis Sereni.
‖ Martin, Hist. de Soissons, ii. 356.

number of religious houses in the diocese had been visited. This usage was observed, for instance, at the funeral of Adalbero, archbishop of Treves.* In conclusion we must observe, that this attachment of bishops and of the secular clergy to the monks was not exactly, after all, a merit of supererogation, in consideration of which all who loved peace and the holy institutions established for its maintenance, owed them a debt of gratitude. According to the Catholic religion, they could not have acted otherwise without a perilous risk, which rendered it needless to speak of what might be the consequence to their reputation among all men of cultivated minds, who looked on quietly with the eyes of Catholics, whose common verdict, though profoundly disdained in the society of a party, would faithfully represent that of the Christian world, to which, whatever might be their intrenchments, they could not be wholly and for ever insensible. In the first place, as a necessary consequence of the principle on which the monastic orders were founded, it is certain that all Christians, whether personally belonging to them or not, were strictly bound in conscience to venerate them; and the steps of the demonstration may be stated in the shape in which logicians are accustomed to exhibit processes of reasoning, in order to show their conclusiveness; for as St. Catherine of Sienna says, "The evangelical precepts cannot be observed, unless the counsels are also observed," which proposition she explains thus, "The perfect despise all things mentally and actually: while others, indeed, who possess exterior things, observe the precepts actually, and the councils only mentally, though not actually. And because the counsels are tied and allied to the precepts; therefore no one can observe the precepts without also observing the counsels, if not actually, at least mentally; that is, possessing these riches with humility, not as being their own, but as lent to them for a good end, with freedom of heart and an interior contempt for them; so that although they may possess them actually, yet in no manner do they contradict the divine will."† So we arrive at our first clause, that all Christians must observe the counsels, at least mentally. But to have one's mind alienated from the monastic orders would be incompatible with a mental observance of the counsels: for in theology it would be as idle to separate a love of the counsels from a love of monasteries, as it would be in philosophy to detach the matter from the form of knowledge; the one process leading as necessarily to a substitution of abstract speculation, and perhaps hypocrisy for religion, as the other to the adoption of a geometrical conception, or an idea for reality. Therefore an alienation of mind from monasteries could not be compatible with an actual observance of the precepts; or, in other words, with the clear conscience, and the hope of one at peace with God.

Moreover, from the authoritative ground of the monastic institution, there was no alternative for Christians obedient to the Church. For the Holy See in every age took the monasteries under its especial protection. Its voice was always consonant with the words of Innocent III., with which he commenced his epistle to all the archbishops and bishops, in whose dioceses were houses of the Præmonstratensian order. "If you are true lovers of the Christian religion," said the pontiff, "you will cause no trouble to religious men, in respect either to their persons or to their property, since you are bound rather to deliver them from every inconvenience."* In later times the Mendicant orders and the Jesuits were invested with the same inviolable character, as the acts of the Roman pontiffs from the present glorious Gregory through former times can bear witness; the Popes Gregory IX., Innocent IV., and Alexander IV. showing such parental love to the Franciscans, that their anniversaries are celebrated in all convents of that order, as those of their peculiar benefactors.†

Lastly, a regard to their own tranquillity in death might alone have been sufficient to secure to the religious orders the favour of all who sought to depart from this life in the peace of the Church; for it would have been small consolation otherwise, after a life spent in troubling and disparaging and counteracting the monastic orders, to have heard chanted round them, when there was no longer space for sophistry, those prayers in commendation of the soul, which would sound like a satire or a judgment on their whole administration,—"Omnes sancti monachi et eremitæ, orate pro eo."

* Ap. Martene Vet Script. iv. 207.
† St. Cath. Senens. Dialog. Tract. i. c. 47.

* Epist. Inn. III. Lib. i. 200.
† Annal. Min. iv.

CHAPTER XVIII.

N that remarkable passage of Plato's Republic, where Socrates speaks of the few wise men who retire from the world to keep themselves pure, like per-
ho take shelter under a wall from the
hich the wind raises in clouds, and
covers all others with its impurities,
hilosopher concludes with these words,
, indeed, is it a small matter to retire
s manner, and keep aloof from the

Nor yet, again, is it the greatest,
they do not meet with a state which
s with them; for in a state that ac-
l with them, they would not only save
nefit themselves, but also they would
thers and the whole city.*

w the monks deserved this highest
, according to the judgment of the
ian sage; for not only did they keep
elves in peace and unspotted, but they
multitudes of other men, and some-
whole states, to escape from the
s and impurities of the blind and
tified world. Let us proceed to speak
f the influence of the monks upon
nners of society in ages of faith. At
ight, indeed, the separation seems
nd insurmountable. What a contrast
m the adorable goodness of a St.
ain, as described by Fortunatus of
rs, and the barbarism and perfidy of
ns of Clovis,—between the cloister
e palace! Here we can only observe
irlwind, and the few who take shelter.
theless, after a while, we shall be able
ern the results of this gradual and
action of the few. The peaceful
stronger than the ferocious; for these
these destroyers of cities, like him
aid Milan in ashes, begin soon to
le before the holy abbots, and, like
easts of the forest, to fawn at their
The monk, in those early times,
through the paths of men as the
ed bird that haunts the serpent's ca-
You think it is only because he feels
f invulnerable; but wait a little. "All shall relent, tears shall flow, and hearts beat with such intent as renovates the world."

"The fame of St. Richarius' sanctity spreading far and wide," says the chronicle of his abbey, "King Dagobert came with all his train to visit him, that he might commend himself to his prayers. The servant of God strengthened him with his blessing, and corrected him with the free voice of sacerdotal authority; warning him not to become proud with power, not to trust in uncertain riches, not to be lifted up by the vain sound of applause."*

Totila came to visit St. Benedict in his cave. Long on the earth did the haughty king prostrate himself, as soon as he saw the servant of Jesus Christ. Thrice did the holy man say to him, "Surge." He refused to rise, till the saint raised him up; sparing not reproof, but repeating "Multa mala facis, multa mala fecisti, jam aliquando ab iniquitate compescere."†

Constantine wrote a letter to St. Antony, and styled him his father. Antony resolved to send no answer; but, on his disciples urging him to it, he wrote as follows: "Despise the world; think of the last judgment; remember that Jesus Christ is the only true and eternal King; practise humanity and justice." The Benedictine monk, who has recorded the deeds of the counts of Anjou, concludes his address to Henry, king of England, with these lines:

"Vive precor, sed vive Deo, nam vivere Mundo
Mors est; sed vera est vivere vita Deo."

Such were the lessons which kings received from those who wore the cowl; when the hooded men were feared and venerated, as strong in the force of innocence; when, as in Saxon language, "God's curse, and that of all hooded heads," constituted the only power that could save the pacific, disarm, or intimidate their enemies. Monks had the secret to move the conscience of the haughtiest sinners; so that, at least, at their

* De Repub. Lib. vi.

* Chron. S. Richar. ap. Dacher. Spicileg. in...
† Chronic. Casinens. xv.

death they should give to those whom they had oppressed a salutarys pectacle. "Philip, count of Namur," says Cæsar of Heisterbach, the son of Baldwin, count of Flanders, showed such contrition at his death, that no one saw the like in any other person at the time. He made his confession to four abbots of our order, moved every one present to tears by his discourse, and besought his confessor to tie a rope round his neck, and drag him to the market-place, that he might die there, as he had lived, like a dog."* A more striking instance occurs in the chronicles of St. Denis, where King Chilperic and Fredegond are related to have been terrified at their having oppressed the people, when the death of their children came to verify the monastic warnings. The words of the queen are remarkable: "Ardons donques les lettres que nous avons escriptes, et pour la santé de nostre lignée et de nos ames effaçons les lettres où les exactions sont scélées, qui sont à la destruction des povres." This admonition made the king restrain his avaricious heart; "et lui amolia tant la dureté de son corage qu'il geta et ardi au feu les autentiques en quoi la loi estoit escripte pour le peuple grever."†

Although the monks retired, therefore, to places of shelter at a distance, as into the heart of forests, their influence was not unfelt by the society from the evils of which they fled. The world perceived them at a distance, like the castles which a traveller, passing along the plain, sees perched on rocks among the mountains.‡ Men sought to be associated with them in prayers. Thus, in the annals of Corby, we read: "This year, 1116, three counts of Insula, Gunter, Otho, Stephen, and two of Pyrmont, with their wives, are received into the fraternity of St. Vitus; an honour for which nobles and princes contended."§

"We are visited: we are known," says one who had withdrawn farthest: "what nation has not heard of the Carthusian order? what region has not seen the Carthusian light? The Carthusians are removed in hidden places, but men know where they are, and, though not seen, the fragrance of their good example is felt."‖ So in a theatre, while beholding some grand pageantry to the sound of heroic music, a spectator sometimes suddenly, and unaccountably, withdraws in mind, and pictures to himself the angelic life of the humble monk within his cloister, and feels from that moment a holy renovation. Petrarch often experienced such feelings; and in his letter to John Birel, general of the Carthusians he seems under this impression. "Full of astonishment," he says, "and admiration, I speak to you as I would speak to Jesus Christ himself, who, no doubt, dwells in your heart; for the heart of the just, is it not the temple of God? They say you are an angel, and that you lead the life an angel would do if he was on earth. For my part, I behold you as a star which rises from the monastery of the Carthusians, to enlighten a sinful world; as we see the morning sun rise from the eastern mountains to illuminate the earth. How happy are you! how miserable am I! While I am struggling with the tempestuous waves of time, you are arrived safe in port, and, so to speak, entered into the porch of paradise, with the hope, or rather the assurance, of a blessed and endless life." After beseeching his prayers that God would inspire him with unfeigned charity, perfect piety, and holy religion, he continues: "From whence can my confidence arise to a man I have never seen? It is not my merit which gives it, but my love for you, and for your pious flock, and the idea of your piety. We sometimes love those best we do not personally behold. Sinner as I am, though I embrace you tenderly with my soul, I wish to enfold you in my arms, and kiss that hand I revere; that hand consecrated to God. To this is joined that precious pledge I have confided to your care; that only brother, enrolled in the militia of Jesus Christ, under the banners of your protection. Of all the gifts I have received from nature, none is so dear to me as he is: I know that you love him as your son; you have taken him from me: I am consoled, I rejoice; nay, I glory in a brother worthy to serve Jesus Christ in your holy family." The Carthusian, in his answer, reprimands him severely for the eulogistic style of his letter, saying that it was not right to praise any one to his face; and concludes, by urging him to employ the talents which God has given him in works on morals and devotion.

But the people followed such men to their deserts. "Vital," says Orderic, "who had once been chaplain to Robert, count de Mortain, retired into a desert with some monks, and built a monastery in a wood

* Cæsar. Heisterbach, ii. c. 18.
† Chroniques de S. Denis, liv. iii. c. xi.
‡ Lacordaire.
§ Ap. Leibnitz. Script. Bruns. iii.
‖ Pet. Sutorus de Vita Carthus. Lib. i. c. 3.

amidst the ruins of some ancient buildings which he found. In his sermons he spared neither the weak nor the powerful. He raised his voice as a trumpet, announcing to the Christian people its vices, and to the house of Jacob its sins. Hence kings and princes respected him. The multitude arose before day to go to hear his words: all classes of society were profoundly moved by his just reprimands. Thus did this skilful man sow the good seed, and combat for God, during seven years in the convent which he had founded, till his death."*

How many men in cities were trained by monks to live justly? What integrity and purity would belong to the commercial character, if formed by their rules, as laid down by Dionysius the Carthusian, in his dialogue between a monk and a merchant?† or by Ratherius, that monk of Lobbes, whose work is so curious, as showing what it was to be considered a good Christian in the time of Charles the Bald. How many in the country did the monk edify or reclaim? "He came to the lone fir-tree on the rock, and with his sweet and mighty eloquence the hearts of those who watched it did unlock, and made them melt in tears of penitence." Wild ferocious men, who stood near him, marked and never forgot his words. Let us hear Orderic Vitalis: "A certain man of Brittany, named Goisfred, had been a robber in his youth, but subsequently, by some such inspiration of God, he amended his life, married a legitimate wife, separated himself from his barbarous and murderous satellites, and laboured with his hands to maintain himself. He now even made alms with what he thus laboriously gained, and distributed to the poor, to clerks, to hermits, and monks. Above all, he sought the society of the monks of Ouche, and became their brother in Jesus Christ, observing all the rules of the fraternity, and coming to the abbey at all the chief festivals, and making his offering, leading his horse, loaded with bread, for the monks, though he had sometimes to cut his way through the snow, and to pass swollen torrents."‡

Monks could detect the need of inward purification at the first glance, on meeting with a stranger. When the holy Joseph of Cupertino received a letter from the Cardinal Fachonetti, he said to the youth who brought it from Senigaglia, "My son, you serve a noble master, and are you not ashamed to go forth with an unwashed face? Go wash yourself, that when your master shall see you he may not be displeased!" The poor messenger, who knew that he had washed his face, was all confusion at such a rebuke; but when the friar, smiling, proceeded to explain that it was the heart which was yet to be made clean, he was so astonished and moved, that he would not return to his master until he had made a general confession.*

St. Honoratus, whose monastery was near the summit of the Alps, directed all the people of that region to serve God. "Whoever desired Christ," says St. Hilary, "sought Honoratus, and whoever sought Honoratus certainly found Christ; he invited all with outstretched arms to embrace the love of Christ."† Nor was it only as a fortuitous event, on rare occasions, that monks exercised this influence: they knew that they were at all times bound to do so; for as the universal Doctor taught them,

"Non minus hic peccat qui censum in agro,
Quam qui doctrinam claudit in ore suam.
Absit commissum sine lucro ferre talentum,
Nec servos nequam vos vocet ira Dei.‡

Hence we read, that they were continually seeking to impart to others the peace of their own hearts. "Walter, the tenth abbot of Villars, that venerable father," says the historian of the abbey, "all wonderfully inflamed with the fire of charity, and all absorbed in God, desired nothing else in the world but to lead men to religion."§ St. Columban, in his three monasteries on the border of Lorraine, gave instruction during twenty years to the surrounding people.‖ St. Lye, abbot of the monastery of Saints Gervaise and Protaise, in the diocese of Troyes, in the time of Childebert, when going to work with his own hands in the vineyard of the abbey, on the hill of Massey, used to take bread along with him to give to poor people, that, while they eat near him, he might preach to them on the fear and love of God.¶

St. William, abbot of Hirschau, in the eleventh century, going to visit a cell on the banks of the Danube, on his way came to a mean hut, which he entered with one

* Lib. viii.
† Dion. Carthus. de Justo Pretio Rerum.
‡ Lib. vi.

* Goërres Christlikhe Mystik. ii. 103.
† Hil. in Vit. S. Honor.
‡ Alani de Insulis, Lib. Parabol.
§ Hist. Mon. Villar. 5, ap. Martene, Thes. Anecd. iii.
‖ Jonas in Vit. S. Columb. ap. Mabil.
¶ Desguerrois, Hist. du Diocèse de Tr

of his companions, leaving the rest to walk on. On entering he perceived a very poor woman, and, without ceremony, he sat down by the fire. Casting his eyes around, and observing the extreme poverty of the hut, he asked how she and her husband contrived to live. "Their life," she replied, "was one of misery; bread and water being all they could procure by the labour of their hands." The husband soon arriving, was asked about his religious faith and practice. Both he and his wife were too far distant from any Church or oratory to assist at the public worship; and, in addition, they were grossly ignorant of the first truths of Christianity. They knew not even what the Gospel meant, nor whether a revelation had been made to man. "In the bosom of a German forest, such deplorable ignorance need not surprise us," observes a modern historian who quotes the passage; "it exists at the present day in the most populous parts of England." The abbot, however, was deeply affected. "What wonder," he observed; "that, as you know not God, who alone is able to supply you with the necessaries of life, you should be thus abandoned." He began to inform them, enjoined them to follow him the next day to the cell, and made them continue their visits till they were sufficiently instructed in the truths of religion, having meanwhile amply relieved their temporal wants.

The influence of the Mendicant orders has come before us in so many forms in the course of the preceding books, that it may seem superfluous to dwell upon it here. "Father Francis," exclaims the annalist of his order, "thou art made a seal of divine similitude. Many struck with amaze at thy children, have honoured God. In the nations of Europe, in the vast provinces of Asia and America, they led the blind into the way which they knew not, and caused them to walk in paths that were unknown to them; they changed their darkness into light, and made their rough ways plain."* The seraphic founder endeavouring once to persuade a poor man to pardon his master who had refused to pay him his wages, at length took off his mantle and gave it to him, as a compensation for the loss, asking him only in return to pardon that master for the love of God.† It is no marvel, as friar Antonio de Guevara says to the count of Miranda, that "more persons were converted to God by such sermons than by books." "By means of the friar Savonarola's sermons such numbers went to confession, that every day of the week seemed to be Easter."* These results were immense, no doubt, to all classes of society; but in relation to the poor especially it would be difficult to form an adequate estimate of their value. There is one title which must ever belong to the monks and friars of every order, and distinguish them in the judgment of the wise above all other benefactors of the human race. They were universally the friends of the poor, not in theory, and semblance, but in deeds and in truth. Whoever possesses the happy recollection of having seen them in the exercise of their ministry, instead of questioning their right to this title so well becoming the lovers and dispensers of peace, will only heave a deep sigh for the peasants of lands where it is unknown, and exclaim with Dante—

"O thou northern site! bereft
Indeed, and widow'd, since of these deprived."†

Yes, a Catholic population of its friars may well be ever joyous. Their intercourse with the poor is characterized by a manner which no one can mistake or misinterpret. For see how they receive the rustic group before their gates; kissing the white hairs of the old men, caressing the children, catechizing the barefooted stripling, with as much care and tenderness as if he were the son of a prince: giving the dowry for the maid, paying the debts of the indigent, sending provision to the house of the infirm, and filling the hearts of all with gladness. Evidently the strongest monastic sympathies were with the people, with the majority, as was natural. The Spanish saying, "Viva la gente morena!" would be a cry consonant to their feelings; for the brown or sun-burnt sons of the poor were naturally most dear to those who wished to be themselves poor, and to be treated as the poor. Ælred, abbot of Rievaulx, always styled himself brother of the poor of Christ that are in Rievaulx; and the poet who best knew them, styles him whom the angel from the east marked with the sign of the living God, "The glorious poor one of Christ." Nevertheless, the illustrious author of the

* An. Minor. tom. xvi.
† *Diego* de Navarre, i. 47

* Touron, Hist. des Hom. Illust. de l'Ord. de S. D. iii. 23.
† Purg. i.

Legislation Primitive, in tracing to some of the religious orders the rise of the democratic spirit which gained such an undue ascendancy in later times, ought not to have forgotten that their influence was expressly directed to produce peace and love between the different classes of society; to induce the poor to respect the great for conscience sake, and to beware of judging them, or of murmuring against the institution of property.

But now retracing our steps to earlier times, let us observe how the mitred abbots were practically the poor man's friend. Let us hear an instance recorded of St. Wandregisile, abbot of Fontanelle.

"One day as he was going to visit King Dagobert, at the moment when he was approaching the palace, there was a poor man whose cart was overturned before the king's gate. Many persons were entering and going out, but the greatest part passed by and scorned him. The man of God arriving, saw the impiety which these children of insolence were committing, and immediately alighting from his horse, he stretched out his hand to the poor man, and they two together set the cart up again. Many of those who were present seeing him defiled with mud, began to laugh and to insult him; but he paid no regard to them, following with humility the example of his Master; for the Lord himself has said in the Gospel, "If they have called the father of the family Beelzebub, what will they not call his servants?"*

It would be endless to commemorate the abbatial solicitude in providing for the wants of the poor. A few characteristic instances may be added, however, to those we have seen in a former book.

"He had his hand always open for the poor," says a monk, speaking of Lord William, the eleventh abbot of Villars. "It is above our simplicity," he adds, "to describe how solicitous and benign he was. We can judge of the temperance and sobriety of his table and mode of life from examining the ancient registrar in which formerly all the expenses of the abbots were written down; for there we find that he expended scarcely twelve pounds in the whole circle of the year, and yet, though so sparing in his own food and raiment, thus was he bountiful."† Robert Champeaux, or Campbell, abbot of Tavistock, with the consent of his convent in 1291, appropriated for ever the whole profits arising from an estate called Westlydeton, granted two years before to his abbey by Sir Odo le Arcedeakne, to the providing of the poor with clothes and shoes; the annual distribution of which was made in the cloisters on the day of All-souls.* We have observed elsewhere, that, above all in times of scarcity, the monastic resources were placed at the disposition of the poor; but what was, perhaps, most singular on these occasions was, the skill with which the monks administered to them. During the long pestilence and famine in France, from the year 1348 to 1350, the historian of Soissons says, "that the abbey of Nôtre-Dame in that city gave prodigious alms, and nevertheless suffered no notable diminution in its revenues."† So general and unremitting were the liberalities of the monks, that all infringement of their rights was felt to be an immediate act of oppression of the poor. The English thus complained in the time of Henry VIII. of "the dissolution of the monasteries, and of the consequent destitution of the pooreality of the realm." From that time, in fact, the office of the poor, whom St. Odo, the abbot of Cluny, used to call "the porters of heaven," was permitted to become a sinecure, and men could only associate charity with ruins, saying with him who sung of Rokeby—

"When yonder broken arch was whole,
'Twas there was dealt the weekly dole:
And where yon tottering columns nod,
The chapel sent the hymn to God.
So flits the world's uncertain span!
Nor zeal for God, nor love for man,
Gives mortal monuments a date
Beyond the power of time and fate."

But the monks were not content with affording relief at their own doors, or sending assistance to the houses of the poor. In the annals of Corby, in Saxony we have this significant notice. "This year, 941, a small hospital was built at Wisarah with a chapel of St. Lazarus, in which sick, and pilgrims, and poor people, are sustained by the monastery."‡ Muratori, in his dissertation on hospitals, so many of which were founded by the monks, acknowledges that in regard to such manifestations of charity, our times can hardly

* Acta Sanct. Ord. S. Ben. tom. ii. 528.
† Hist. Mon. Vill. i. 6. ap. Martene, Thes. Anec. iii.

* Oliver, Historical Collections rel. to the monasteries of Devon.
† Martin, ii. 211.
‡ Ap. Leibnitz, Script. Bruns. iii.
§ Antiq. It. D. xxxvii.

be said to equal those ages which he is fond of designating as iron.* The monks also studied with a singular acuteness of discrimination to provide measures for the improvement of the condition of the poor. Thus it was Barnaby of Terni, a friar minor, who first thought of a mount of piety to preserve them from usurers. He made the experiment at Perugia, which succeeded, and then Leo X. authorized the institution which has been so much favoured by succeeding popes. But the beneficial action of the monks in regard to the poor was far from being confined to their personal exertions. What they accomplished themselves was much; but what they taught and caused others to perform was still more; for in ages of faith the monastic influence had, in some measure, anticipated the future judgment, when the first shall be last and the last first. The act of St. Germain, when he gave to a poor man who asked alms the horse which king Childebert had given him, "ayant plus chière," as say the chronicles of St. Denis, "la voix du pauvre que le don du roy,"† can only be appreciated by considering the effect which it much have produced on the public mind. "Amicitia pauperum," says St. Bernard, "regum amicos constituit; amor paupertatis reges. You see the dignity of holy poverty."‡ The monastic influence made honourable both him who gave and him who received alms, even though the latter was the πτωχὸν πανδήμιον, for he too was taught by monks as by Ratherius, that he might be a good Christian if it was not sloth or avarice, or a neglect of the apostle's precept, "Qui non vult operari nec manducet," which had made him become a beggar.§ In modern times a race like the suitors of Penelope has returned, armed with the same old pagan maxims, as in Homer's time, to justify their neglect and abhorrence of the poor; men who can truly boast, like Antinous, that no poor man ever hears their conversation—

——— οὐδέ τις
ἡμετέρων μύθων ξεῖνος καὶ πτωχὸς ἀκούει.‖

When Ulysses proposes to apply in the disguise of a mendicant, Eumæus bids him beware of the rich inmates of the palace, and of their well-dressed pampered servants. In the middle ages there would have been no such young domestics to revile one so roughly clad—

πτωχῷ λευγαλέῳ ἐναλίγκιον ἠδὲ γέροντι,
σκηπτόμενον.

The monk or friar had been in that house teaching better things to young and old, having ever on his tongue the line of St. Columban—

"Divitis opprobrium gemitus est pauperis ingens."*

No one would have dared, therefore, to tax the poor wanderer with laziness and with being good for nothing, or to style him—

πτωχὸν ἀνιηρὸν, δαιτῶν ἀπολυμαντῆρα.

repulsing him for the reason urged by the proud Antinous, that there were already near them enough of insufferable poor, the disgrace of a festivity. Homer represents the richest of the suitors as the most insulting. It was Ctesippus, ἀθεμίστια εἰδὼς, trusting in his immense treasures, who joined mockery to cruelty, and was the first to assail the poor stranger; but even the most friendly and benign urge the unreasonableness of supposing that any one could be guilty of such folly as to invite a poor man to approach unless he was either a physician, or a maker of spears, or a minstrel who could give pleasure by his singing; and adds, that a poor man, merely as being poor, no one would ever think of calling in.† If we look back to a former book, we shall see what a contrast all this presents to Catholic manners during ages of faith; but here it should be observed, that it is in a great measure to the monastic influence that this prodigious change was to be ascribed; for the monks, by their sermons and by their example taught rich men to respect the poor, and held up charitable men as an eternal example; as at the monastery of Renty in Artois, where, on the festival of St. Bertoul, the steward of Count Wambert, who expended all the revenues of the estate of Renty, which his master gave him, in works of charity, one thousand loaves used to be distributed to the poor in memory of his charitable administration of the count's property. The monks were not afraid of displeasing rich patrons by placing before their eyes continually the

* Antiq. It. D. xxxvii.
† Liv. iii. c. 5.
‡ Epist. ciii.
§ Præloquior, Lib. i.
‖ xxi. 291.

* S. Columb. Carmen, ap. Canis. Lect. Antiq. I.
† xx. 287.

wants of the poor. The effects of their intercourse with the great may be estimated from hearing the monastic maxim which Petrus Sutorus thus lays down: "To be acquainted with a rich man is a talent for which an account must be given, if it has not been employed in advising him to give alms."* In the chronicles of St. Denis the monks complain that rich men sometimes provide for themselves habits and robes of feast, which cost as much as twenty or thirty marks of silver; and that, after wearing them only five or six days, at the first request they give them to a minstrel; which, say they, is lamentable; for the price of such a robe would nourish twenty or thirty poor persons for a year. Philippe Auguste having heard some monks complain of this abuse, resolved thenceforth to give all his old robes and vestments to the poor, as an alms that would give him confidence in God.† But it was not alone by giving and inducing others to give alms that the monks proved their friendship. They evinced it also by constantly endeavouring to infuse greater mildness into the laws, which they stigmatized often as cruel and unjust. They would not have the punishment of death inflicted for offences that even still incur it from our English tribunals.‡ They remind the great that with God poverty is an excuse for crimes which He declares to be hateful in the rich. The Franciscan, Diego Murillo, reminds the people of Saragossa that it is a rich man and liar who is pronounced to be hateful to God, to show that regard should be had to the miseries and necessities of the poor. One meets with continual proof too of the care which was taken by abbots to abolish every evil custom that had been drawn into oppression of the rustics dwelling near them.§ A charter of Gotescalch, abbot of Nonantula, in which he grants lands and privileges to the people of Nonantula in 1058, begins with these words: "Our omnipotent Lord and Redeemer always invites men to salvation; therefore I, Gotescalch, humble abbot of the monastery of St. Silvester in Nonantula, with the counsel of the brethren of this monastery, on account of God, and for the utility of the said church, and for the remedy of our souls, provide to ordain things good and useful to all our people now and hereafter dwelling in Nonantula."‖

In fact, the joy of the people, so invariably evinced on the foundation of a new religious house, arose in some measure, no doubt, from their knowing that they were to be no longer under the fisc, but under an abbot.

But to return to the influence of the religious orders in regard to the spiritual interests of society. Here it is obvious they could have but few rivals. Their habits of amiable familiarity with the people, and systematic condescension to men of low estate, alone must have given them pre-eminence. The Franciscans, indeed, were expressly enjoined to take a pleasure in conversing with poor and mean persons, and such as are despised by the world.*

Friar Francis of Soriano, a celebrated preacher of the Capuchins, used to avoid great cities and places where he would have noble auditors, and choose villages and little mountain-towns, and obscure places, saying that he always found more fruit produced by the word of God in such places than in great towns and cities.† The monastic solicitude for the spiritual interests of the poor, is indicated, too, by material monuments, attesting the care they took to furnish all places near them with proper objects to fill the minds of the illiterate with what their Saviour had done for them, and to excite the people to the practice of frequent prayer. Hence those crosses and stations and inscriptions, which announce the neighbourhood of a convent. "This year," (934,) say the annals of Corby in Saxony, "a little chapel on the wayside was built in the fields of Lüre, for the devotion of passengers."‡ The institution of laical confraternities for prayer, which produced such fruits of piety among the people, is attributed to St. Bonaventura.§ The country round a monastery was never left without spiritual culture; and affecting examples are not wanting of the devotion of the monks in supplying it. Thus we read that every morning a monk used to be sent from Croyland to Spaldyng, to say mass for the people there. It happened once, on the festival of St. Lucy, that very early a dreadful tempest arose, and the boat which carried the monk was lost; and the venerable man, by name Manerius, and greatly religious, was drowned at Wodelode.‖

* De Vit. Carthus. ii. t. ii. c. 4.
† Ad an. 1186. ‡ Pet. Bles. de Institut. Episc.
§ Martene, Vet. Script. ii. 86.
‖ Muratori, Antiq. Ital. Dissert. xxxvi.

* Diego de Navarre, les Chroniques des frères Min. Lib. i. c. 9. † Annal. Capucinorum, 1587.
‡ Ap. Leibnitz, Script. Bruns. iii.
§ Annal. Min. iv.
‖ Hist. Croylandens. Rer. Ang. Script.

Matthew de Bassio, first general of the Capuchins, applied himself with great diligence to animate youth to piety. When himself a boy, it had been his custom to excite other boys to praise our Lord; and when a friar, and an old man, this was again his favourite employment. He established at Forli certain societies of boys, who assembled for instruction in the Christian doctrine. The boys loved him; for he used to make them little presents, so that they used to follow him in troops whenever he went out through the fields or villages. Having preached once to a crowd of boys in a field near Senigaglia, and seeing them exhausted with heat and thirst, he begged a pitcher of wine from a woman; and it seemed as if each boy was able to have a drink from it. At first this institution of boys was laughed at, for this was in 1552; but when the good effects were felt, the people became of a different opinion. On the festival of the Ascension, he led a multitude of them to the top of a high hill, and preached to them in few words. "On this day," said he, "the Lord Jesus ascended up to heaven, that he might bless us from heaven. Above,—above is paradise, where our Jesus dwelleth. I will serve the world no more: I will rise with Jesus: Jesus is my love, my inheritance, and the God of my heart."* The few words of such a monk, coming from a peaceful breast full of truth, produced effects prodigious and durable. Nor can one wonder at it; since, independently of every thing else, few could be insensible to that attraction of the uncommon, that influence of the solitude which encompassed the monk, coming forth from his impenetrable retreat as from a sanctuary of peace, to speak to the multitude with the courage and independence of a celestial messenger. Wherever he appeared, discord and enmities, rivalries and heart-burnings, gave way, as if by a secret charm; and devout people would endeavour, if possible, to pick up some thread from the hem of his habit.

The crowd that followed St. Vincent Ferrier, to receive his benediction after preaching to them on Good Friday, at Tortosa, was so great that the bridge of boats sunk under the weight but no one perished.† "Experience proves," says a monastic writer, "that those who despise this world are the objects of love: for humble men are no offence to any one; and, therefore, much peace and charity accrues: for the humble heart has an invincible power over human wickedness; and hence it is that humble monks in cloisters are so loved by all men."* When St. Serein, after passing the Alps, had returned to his little monastery in France, all the neighbouring country was filled with joy, which the people testified by hastening to visit him, and lighting fires on the night of his arrival.† When an abbot of Cluny died, it was always necessary, for some days after, to admit the people of the surrounding country, who thither flocked to kiss his feet and his vestments.‡ When the people of the town knew of the death of St. John of the Cross, they flocked in such multitudes to the monastery where his body lay, that there was danger of its being injured by the press. What true honours were these! Therefore Cardan the philosopher says, that if you desire durable glory, there is no need either of riches or of the favour of princes. Witness Benedict, Francis, Bernard, Dominic, Albert, Thomas, Bonaventure, and Bruno, not alone poor, but mendicants.§ Such was, as the unhappy poet too acknowledges,—

"The glorious doom of those who struggled to keep alive
The lamp of hope o'er man's bewilder'd lot."

But it was not alone over the poor that the peaceful influence of the monks extended. Charlemagne loved the abbey of St. Denis more than the city of Paris. The monks of St. Gall used always to style him "our Charles,"—so familiar was he with their community.‖ There were few monasteries which did not possess some hooded man whom the great and powerful of the world venerated, so as to desire to serve him with their own hands,—as did the wife of the Emperor Maximus, waiting on St. Martin, ministering as Martha while listening as Mary.¶ "He knew how to accommodate himself, and condescend to all men," says the chronicler, speaking of Charles, the eighth abbot of Villars in the seventh century; "so that he converted from the vain conversation of the world both nobles and plebeians. An eminent

* Hist. Croylandens. Rer. Ang. Script. ad an. 1552.

† Touron, Hist. des Hom. Illust. de l'Ord. de S. D. v.

* Jom à Jesu, Instruct. Novitiorum.
† Desguerrois, Hist. du Diocèse de Troyes, 161.
‡ Bibliothec. Clun.
§ De Utilitat. ex Advers. Capiend. Lib. iii. c. 2.
‖ Eckehard, Min. de Vita Notkeri, c. 29.
¶ Sulp. Sever. Dial. iii.

ace did God confer upon him, causing
m to be so beloved by great and small, by
inces of the earth and their subjects;
r princes wished him to be present in
eir councils, though he never attempted
further their interests whenever any
ing was to be done contrary to God and
the honour of holy religion."*

Of St. Maiolus, the fourth abbot of Cluny,
e read as follows: "He was dear to God
d to men. Many Catholics and hon-
rable clerks, holy monks and reverend
bots, venerated him as a father; bishops
ated him as a most dear brother; by
perors and empresses, by kings and
inces of the world, he was called 'lord;'
d he was honoured by pontiffs of the
stolic seat. The great Cæsar Otho
ved him from his heart. The wife of
e same emperor, Adelaide, loved him
th a sincere and devout charity. Their
n, the Emperor Otho, loved him with
mble devotion. Chuonradus, the noble
d pacific brother of the same empress,
ved him equally. The more they beheld
s face, the more they increased in his
e. What shall I say of the most noble
enry, duke of Burgundy! What of Lam-
rt, the most illustrious and noble count!
hat of William, what of Richard, the
ave dukes of Aquitaine and Normandy!
hat of the Italian princes and mar-
isses!—Thus was he magnified and
orified by the Lord in the sight of kings,
d before all the people."† Of Erluin,
bot of Gemblou, it is recorded that
many who were high in secular power
dged him worthy of their friendship, on
count of the reverence of sanctity which
ne forth in him."‡

"One asks," says William of Jumiège,
scribing Boson, abbot of Bec, "whether
became so illustrious, in consequence
his great ability for temporal affairs
d for those of religion, or of his exem-
ary submission to the laws of the monas-
life; for many powerful men, shining
the dignities of the world, or in those
the church, lived in intimate familiarity
th him; respecting him as a father,
ring him as a preceptor, and loving him
a brother or a son."§

"Our Prior Nicholas," says a chronicler
the thirteenth century, "had such grace
m the Lord that every one loved him.
e count and countess always desired his
company; so that when they walked forth they did not wish to have a band of jesters and actors to amuse them; but, sending for the prior, they made themselves glad with listening to his sweet talk."*

Conrad I., who, by the advice of St. Bernard, was elected abbot of Fulda, was the perpetual companion of the Emperor Lothaire, on his journeys through France, Italy, Germany, Campania, and Apulia.†

The influence of the monks was extended also, by means of their occasional perambulations through the country, which they always took care to make subservient to the good of those with whom they came in contact, an end which was not difficult to obtain; "for," as Pope Pius II. said of St. Catherine of Sienna, "no one could approach them without departing better than when they went to them." Most beautiful is that passage in the life of Bourdoise, where he describes the mysterious and indelible impression he received in his youth on a journey, when, arriving where the roads of Laon and of Paris separate, he met at eight o'clock in the morning two friars of the order of St. Dominic, who seemed to him like angels, so heavenly was their discourse as they walked by his side. They soon parted; and he never saw them afterwards; but during that conversation they gave him an advice, of which he used to speak to his dearest friends with great reserve, as if he feared to reveal it; such a mysterious impression did it leave upon his soul.‡ These journeys were instrumental to the formation of that familiarity with the great which contributed so much to extend the pacific influence of the cloister.

Many Castellains had chambers in their castles, which they used to call the chambers of the Minors, so accustomed were they to receive friars. Of the close intimacy in which many monks and friars lived with princes, there are curious instances related.§ John, duke of Brittany, had brother Peter Lenet in his council, and Francis, count de Montfort, had always with him another Minor. Henry VI. of England obtained permission to have four Minors always in his palace, and in 1441 many great men had similar permission granted to them.‖ Matthew de Bassio and his companions, who were the first to

* Hist. Mon. Villar. ap. Martene, Thes. Anec. vi.
† Bibliothec. Cluniacens.
‡ De Gestis Abb. Gemb. ap. Dacher. Spici-
§ Lib. viii. c. 24.

* Hist. Monast. Viconiensis, ap. Martene, Vet. Script. vi.
† Cornelii Monach. Breviar. Fuldense Historicum.
‡ Vie de Bourdoise, liv. i. 20.
§ Annal. Min. v. 1281.
‖ Id. tom. xi.

revive the ancient hood of St. Francis, and to return to the strict practice of his rule, being received into the palace of John, duke of Camerino, whose wife was their great protectress, we read that every day they celebrated mass in the chapel of the palace; and that it was with such gravity and devotion, that all who assisted were elevated to contemplation. The palace itself was to them a desert, in which, remote from all tumult of secular affairs, they contemplated God: so carefully did they avoid the sight and conversation of the courtiers, that no one ever saw them, excepting at mass.*

The influence of such guests may be easily conceived. In general, when monks addressed themselves to the great, their object was to give them religious counsel or consolation. Thus the Abbot John sends a little book of prayers, compiled from the fathers, as a present to the widowed Empress Agnes, and addresses her in these terms in the prologue.

"Accept then, O pious soul, excellent exemplar of holy widowhood, the little work of flowers which you sought from me, in which you will find sweet words of celestial contemplation, which are to be read with reverence, and to be meditated on with due fear, lest, perchance, he who should approach lukewarm and indevout, might be condemned of temerity. For you must know that the reading of this book is especially for those who do not suffer their minds to be darkened by earthly concupiscence. But when these are read with tears and great devotion, then the mild reader tastes on the palate of his heart, the sweetness which was hidden within. It being so then let not the proud and fastidious mind presume to touch the secret and sublime words of the divine language, lest it should fall into error, for light cannot be seen when the eyes are blinded. But for you who converse well in this life of action, it is just that you should take here the wings of contemplation, and flying on high, draw from the fountain of supernal sweetness. St. John, the last of the servants of Christ, and the brethren who are with me, salute your beatitude in Christ, pious mother of the poor, and noble ornament of widows. Farewell."†

It is a curious fact, which ought not to escape observation, that science itself owes much to the influence arising from the monastic intercourse with the great. The learned geometricians of Spain and of all Europe, laughed at the project of Columbus, while a poor Franciscan friar, John Perezio de Marchina, guardian of the convent of Arabida, a few paces distant from the town of Palos de Moguet, alone judged otherwise, encouraged him, and gave him letters to the queen; and had it not been for this friar, and his friend, a Dominican, Diego Deza, confessor of the king of Castille, who recognising the merit of the applicant, obtained from the king the three ships in 1491, Columbus would have been obliged to abandon his enterprise.* On his return, he took Franciscans with him, who were the first to announce the gospel in the new world. This John Perez de Marchina accompanied Columbus in his second voyage, and on landing in the island of Hispaniola, he constructed a hut, in which, after saying the first mass that new world ever witnessed, he placed the holy Eucharist. This was the first church of the West Indies, and the second he built in the town of St. Domingo, both of which Columbus, to show his love and gratitude to the Franciscans, afterwards rebuilt with polished stone in a sumptuous manner.†

Here one might speak of the prodigious exertions of the Dominicans in behalf of peace and mercy, while protecting the Indians, but our limits will not permit us to pursue this theme, which would lead us nearer to the manners of later ages. The choice of monks by princes, as their spiritual directors, was productive, no doubt, of great results. Thieri, king of France, had for confessor, Ausbert, abbot of Fontenelle, in 683; Charles Martel had for confessor, Martin, a monk of Corby; Count Walbert had St. Bertin, of Sisthiu; Richard, duke of Normandy, had the abbot of St. Peter, of Chartres; the Emperor Otho III. confessed to St. Romuald; and the Empress Agnes had the blessed Peter Damian for spiritual director; Henry III. of England, had for his confessor, John of Darlington, a Dominican of great sanctity and erudition.‡ We must remember, that the relation between kings and princes, in ages of faith, and their confessors, was not exactly what might be supposed, if we were only to judge from the conduct of some sceptical Catholics at the present day, who live only for themselves, without either

* Ann. Capucinorum, 1527.
† Ap. Pez. Thes. Anecdot. tom. iii. p. 111.

* Wadding, xv. Touron, iii. 24.
† Vol. xv. ‡ Touron, i. 4.

praise or blame. "The honour St. Louis showed his confessors was such," say the chronicles, "that when he used to be sitting in their presence, if any window or door happened to fly open or shut by the force of the wind, he used to rise and shut it gently, or place it so, that it should make no more noise to disturb them."*

Some modern historians have the candour to acknowledge the immense moral benefit which the world derived from having kings thus in contact with the monastic action. "Witness," says Michelet, "Louis-le-Débonnaire and Louis IX., educated by monks, living with monks, governed by monks: and were there ever men more profoundly impressed with a desire of performing all the duties of their state with a clear conscience? What profound justice characterised their actions!" "It may be asked," says St. Bonaventura, "why do monks and friars honour rich men more than poor, serving them more promptly in confessions and other things? God has care of all men alike, therefore we ought certainly to love all men alike, and seek with equal solicitude, to promote the salvation of rich and poor, according to their respective wants. If the poor man be better than the rich, we should love him more, and yet we must honour the rich more for four reasons. First, because God in this world has given pre-eminence to the rich and powerful; and, therefore we conform to his ordination in honouring them so far as relates to this order. Secondly, because of the infirmity of the rich: who if they are not honoured, grow indignant, and so become more infirm and worse, and a burden to us and other poor. Whereas we ought not to be a scandal to the weak, and a cause of their becoming weaker still: but should rather provoke them to good. Thirdly, because a greater utility results from the correction of one rich man than of many poor; for a rich man's conversion is of advantage to many in several respects. Fourthly, since we receive more corporal support from the rich, it is but just that we should repay them spiritually. Besides, the affairs of the poor are more easily expedited, because they are not bound by so many ties, or involved in so many perplexities which require counsel oftener."†

* Chroniques de St. Denis ad 1256.
† S. Bonavent. Determinationes Questionum circa Regulam S. Francisci, c. 23.

In fine, the monasteries possessed the natural influence of all great properties which brought with them powerful connections and honours. When abbots were princes of the empire, and peers of parliament, when abbeys had for their protectors and stewards such men as the counts of Hapsburg, Rapperschwil, Werdenberg, and Toggenburg, who were bound by those offices to defend the abbey of Einsiedelin,* when even the superiors of mendicants, as those of the Franciscans, were grandees of Spain,† when kings, as Henry and Sancho, of Castille, were so affectionate to the same order, that the one surrounded the royal arms with the cord of St. Francis,‡ and the other desired that he might be buried in the royal chapel at Toledo, wearing the habit of a Franciscan,§ it is clear that the pacific must have been also in a temporal sense, very influential men, enjoying a position in the state which gave them means of imparting a direction to the spirit of the whole community. Accordingly, their labours and plans were those of men conscious of their own power; but what could be more magnificent or more noble than their projects? Cluny, that immense confederation, demanded the freedom of ecclesiastical elections. Cîteaux gave to the defence of Christendom that wondrous and sudden creation, the military orders. When was influence more gloriously employed? Truly it was well for the social order, and the happiness of the world, that the ignorant should be excited by the external display of power to respect men who entertained and realized such views, to whom the wise and learned were constantly repairing for advice in all their proceedings, whom theologians, jurisconsults, physicians, philosophers, historians, orators, poets, and professors of all noble arts were extolling as the most virtuous of the human race,‖ and addressing in words like those of Plato to Æschylus.

—— χώρει,
Καὶ σῶζε πόλιν τὴν ὑμετέραν
Γνώμαις ἀγαθαῖς, καὶ παίδευσον
Τοὺς ἀνοήτους· πολλοὶ δ' εἰσίν—¶

* Tschudi Einsiedlische Chronik.
† Annal. Min. tom. xvi.
‡ Id. tom. ix. 1407.
§ Id. v.
‖ Pet. Sutorus de Vet. Carthus. Lib. ii. t. iii. 2.
¶ Ranæ, 1525.

CHAPTER XIX.

NEAR upon the close of our sojourn in this house of blessed peace, it may seem late to ask now why such riches were bestowed on monasteries, since that is a question to which every thing we have seen and heard under its roof must have supplied a sufficient answer. Nevertheless, it may be well to return once more to the treasury, to cast a glance over the old charters and diplomas, with a view to this specific object; for there is much to learn from them; they will enable us, as it were, to hear the reply of the founders and benefactors, who can best explain their own motives; and the result will not prove irrelevant matter to insert in a history of these pacific institutions.

The Roman pagan laws prohibited the bequest of property to communities, or to any sort of collegiate bodies, and allowed only of legacies to individuals. These laws were formerly abrogated by Constantine, but, in fact, the giving of estates to the Church had been a practice of the first Christians, from the time of the Apostles. "The pagans," as an old Spanish writer observes, "spent their riches in erecting baths, colossæums, pyramids, arches, and those insane edifices which antiquity celebrated. Christians raised monasteries, hospitals, colleges, and cathedrals."*

"Gold," said Columbus, "is an excellent thing. With gold one can do every thing—can even cause souls to gain paradise."† He alluded to such foundations, so rich were the returns to heaven from the cloister. Not riches, then, but the abuse of riches are a blemish to the Church, as John Polmar said, in his speech before the council of Basilea; and even the state, so far from suffering by the wealth of religious communities, as John Marianat seems inclined to grant, gains from them in every respect prodigiously. As for these institutions in particular, it is evident that if the monasteries had not been well endowed, their inhabitants could not have fulfilled their mission, in regard to the interests either of religion, of charity, or of learning; and in the middle ages, as at the present day in Spain, we may be sure that the wealth of the monasteries was not a subject of regret to the district in which they were placed, when every peasant knew what was the life of abstinence, which was led within their walls; while the poor had a right to profit by the endowments, either in receiving relief or in sharing the cells of the monks, if they chose, like them, to renounce the world.* We need not cite many instances to prove the liberality of kings, nobles, and people towards the religious orders in ages of faith. Its mode of communication was often singular. Clovis gave to John, abbot of Reomans in Burgundy, as much land as he could ride round on his ass in one day; to St. Remi he gave as much as the holy man could ride round on his ass, while he took his meridien. "How long and how wide is the tract you give me?" asked St. Florent to Dagobert; who replied, "All that you can ride round on your little ass, while I am bathing and putting on my clothes." Louis-le-Débonnaire built and repaired twenty-six monasteries, which are named by the anonymous author of his life.† During the government of William in Normandy seventeen monasteries of monks and six of nuns were built and sumptuously provided with all things necessary for the pompous celebration of divine worship every day.‡ Duke Richard built the abbeys of St. Peter and St. Ouen at Rouen, and another on the hill in honour of St. Michael. King Henry, the husband of Matilda, who built so many abbeys, insisted on constructing,

* De Academiis et Doctis Viris Hispan. Narrat. Alfonsi Garsiæ Præf.

† Lett. to Ferd. and Isab. Navarette Hist. iii. 152.

* Henningsen's Campaign.

† Vita et Actus Lud. Pii, Duchesne, ii.

‡ Orderic Vit. Lib. vii.

with his own hands, the dormitory for the monks of Tours.* Orderic Vitalis says that the barons of Normandy imitated the pious liberality of their princes, in making holy foundations for the good of their souls. "There was no powerful man who would not have deemed himself worthy of derision and of contempt, if he did not entertain suitably in his domains, clerks or monks, to form the host of God."† The same feeling is ascribed by a monk of Mount-Cassino to Count Roger; for when he came in possession of all Sicily, we are told that he saw in one place "most grandiose palaces of Sarassins, amongst which the church of St. Mary appeared like a cabin; and the count sighed that the palaces of the Sarissins should be so high, and the court of the Virgin Mary so low. So he ordered it to be rebuilt on a noble scale, giving much money to purchase marble and cut stones."‡ I repeat it, such details might be interminable. Who could enumerate all the noblemen who gave towns, and forests, and chases, and mills, and rivers, and riches, and themselves and their sons to the monasteries and churches of God in the diocese of Salzburg alone?§ The donations of one individual would often be too multiplied for enumeration here. Sir William Vavasour of Haslewood, in the thirteenth century, besides legacies, not only to the poor of the district and to his friends, leaves to the Friars Preachers of York five marks; to the Friars Minor of the same city five marks; to the Augustinians of the same city forty shillings; to the monks of Mount Carmel forty; to the Preaching Friars of Beverley forty; to the Friars Minor of Pontefract six marks; to the Friars Minor of Beverley forty shillings; to the Dominicans of Scarborough forty; to the Franciscans of the same place forty; to the Dominicans of Yarm forty; to the Franciscans of Richmond forty; to the Franciscans of Doncaster forty; to the Augustinians of Tykhill forty; to the nuns of Sinningthwaite ten marks; to the nuns of Apleton, Munketon, St. Clement's York, Arthington, Essbold, Kirkeleys, Wilberforce, each convent forty shillings. "Giroie de Courserault," says William of Jumiège, "possessed nobility, lands, and riches, and did not the less love God, who gave Him all these goods; honouring His ministers, and building six churches."‖ Rudolph, count of Rapperschwil, in the twelfth century, a devout and valiant knight, has immortalized his name in the monastic records, not only by his defending the rights of the abbeys of Einsiedelin and of St. Gall, but also by his immense donations to those of Fax, Pfeffers, Ruti, St. Gall, Bollingen, and Warmspach. In fact, many families owe their earliest titles to such acts. The Abbé Lebœuf says, in his history of the diocese of Paris, "That the names of the ancient lords of Chauvry have been chiefly transmitted to us by means of their donations to some neighbouring monastery."*

The gifts of these ancient benefactors, even when of little intrinsic value, indicate no less an affectionate attention to the peculiar wants of the monks. Thus, Hugues, viscount of Meaux, gives to one monastery a part of the dead wood in the forest which belongs to his castle. Philip, count of Flanders, gives to the monks of Clairvaux, two sacks of dry peas every year. William of Breteuil gives to the monks of Ouche one hundred sous, to purchase fish every year at the beginning of Lent.† "Every where, I remark," says Monteil, "that in rich and pious houses, the best dish on the table is sent to the Capuchins."‡ We often hear of the donations of the barons on setting out for Palestine, which testified how much they valued the monks on their estates; but we should be reminded also, that the same disposition urged them to perform every good work, and in particular to promote the freedom of the people. Thus, Philip, count of Flanders, on this occasion, while making donations to the monks of Clairvaux, with the same pen was confirming the customs of the citizens of Arras; as if he felt that he could not confer favours on the monks without also extending them to the people, to whom they were such true and constant friends.

The accounts of expenditure made by the provost of municipalities in the middle age, evince the same generosity to monks. Thus in the reign of Philippe-Auguste, in the records of Orleans, we read of a certain sum having been given to the monks, and then conjoined with this notice, there is an entry made of the money which was laid out in repairing the city walls; as if the magistrates wished to indicate their solicitude to defend the citizens by prayers as well as arms. In 1308, during a scarcity in Dublin, the prior of Christ-Church,

* Will. of Jumiège, viii. 32.
† Hist. Normand. Lib. iii.
‡ L'Ystoire de li Normant, vi. 23.
§ Germania Sacra, ii. 13. ‖ Lib. iii.

* Tom. iv. † Order. Vit. v.
‡ Hist. des Français, viii. 250.

desiring to purchase corn, sent to John le Decer, Mayor of the city, a pledge of plate, to the value of forty pounds, which that magistrate immediately returned, with a present of twenty barrels of corn. In 1283 the priory of the Blessed Trinity in that city, having been destroyed by fire, along with the street in which it stood, the citizens agreed to make a collection for repairing it, before they would rebuild their own dwellings, which had suffered in the conflagration. From the thirteenth century, when they arose, the Mendicant orders experienced that the old liberality in this respect was not exhausted. What generosity and zeal were evinced by the inhabitants of the plain of Spoleto, Perugia, Foligno, and Assisi to St. Francis and his brethren coming to them with their horses, mules, and waggons loaded with bread, wine, oil, cheese, flesh, fowl, eggs, butter, poultry, linen, cloth, and whatever they could want! Then one might have seen knights and other lords spreading their own mantles on the ground, to honour these poor of Jesus Christ. Every landlord desired to erect a convent for them on his estate: princes expended their treasures in multiplying them. The Empress Ann, wife of the Emperor Matthias, founded four convents of Capuchins, at Steyer, Regensburg, Budweiss, and Vienna.* How far, it may be asked, were the religious orders active in promoting this spirit throughout the world? Modern writers would induce us to believe, that the monks were ever craving after donations, and that liberality to their order cancelled every crime in their judgment of the donor's character; but they know little of the middle ages who suffer themselves to be imposed upon by such representations.

The monastic spirit in this respect breathes in the peaceful but magnanimous reply of Guitmond, monk of the abbey of the cross of St. Leufroy to William the Conqueror, on being invited by him to repair to England for promotion, "I leave the spoils of England," said the monk, "to the lovers of this world; I prefer the free poverty of Jesus Christ, which St. Anthony and St. Benedict embraced, to all the riches of Crœsus and Sardanapalus, which, after a miserable death, they left to their enemies."† "You have built monasteries," says St. Jerome to a rich nobleman, "and a great number of the saints are supported by you in the islands of Dalmatia; but you would do better if you yourself would live holy am holy. Sancti estote quoniam ego sum," said the Lord.* So, while the desire of King Dagobert to en adorn the church of St. Denis, the that abbey, in their chronicle, fai expose the crimes of his subsequ saying, that he changed his graces virtues into vices.† Of Clothaire I say, "Of this king we have more of e of good to relate: he was, indeed, t tain degree, devout to the churches saints; but, nevertheless, he had s vices, that they extinguished his vi there were any in him. He was a of women, and history does not reco his life was worthy of praise or of m but many authors consign him to tion."‡ A late editor of these ch complains that the monks who c them treat Brunehaut too severely. record, however, that she founded riched many churches and abbeys, b style her, "femme exercitée et us mort de ses prochains."§ Waddi Franciscan gives the same lesson great, when speaking of the sun church of his order at Rimini, the which is formed of cut stones of w magnitude, without any cement or l "The chief founder of this conve says, "was Sigismund Malatesta, a be commended more for the gifts than of mind, eminent for military rare eloquence, and corporal streng of manners and conversation little C He adorned the church with figures tile fables and profane emblems, pl it his own mausoleum, on which he i a pagan epitaph."‖ St. Francis, counsels his friars to ask alms con and to feel no shame, not on the urged by Telemachus,

αἰδὼς δ' οὐκ ἀγαθὴ κεχρημένῳ ἀνδρὶ πα

but "because our Lord made Hims for us:" but how little the love of could interfere with the peace of h may be gathered from the fact Minors cannot use any thing of ri their convents, furniture, books, and belonging of right to the pope, the only using them as his guests, hav the usufruct and not the possession.

* Heumann, De re Diplom. iii. p. 380.
† Hist. d'Evreux.

* Epist. xcii. † Lib. v. c. xi.
§ iv. 21. ‖ Annal. Minor. tom
¶ xvii. 347.
** Louis de Paris, Expos. de la Regl Min. 6.

d times I have wondered," says
ı Pasquier, "why Guillaume de Sainct
and after him John of Meun, in his
ɜ of the Rose, should abhor the Men-
ɪrders for their vow of poverty; for
ıdicity of which they make profession
mendicity like that of strong vaga-
who, that they may remain always
to the republic, go about begging
ɔuse to house. On the contrary,
ɔor people, daily devoted to the ser-
God and to preaching, leave it to the
ı of worthy people to give them
:cording as they think they merit
nd there is no greater way to ruin
ı than by having great wealth."*
ɜence of any thing like intrigue, too,
.ring even the usufruct is most con-
ɜ in their rule and practice. "If a
ays one of their expositors, "be left
ɔne on condition of his paying an-
ı part to some convent of Minors,
hren cannot accept the legacy, nor
he payment; and if the brethren
ay to the heirs, notwithstanding our
ıtion, 'if you give this sum voluntа-
.lns, we will accept it,' they cannot
ds receive it."†
ı brother John left his ox and his
:o become a follower of St. Francis,
founder obliged him to give them
ɜlations.‡ After St. Bernardine of
ıad preached, when the people used
forward and present him with money
convents, he would never either
t or touch it; he used to pass on.§
:thusian monastery of Laval-Sainte,
ınton of Freyburg, founded in 1295,
rd I. Seigneur de Charmey, was
by Girard II., who had no chil-
ith all his property, paternal and
l, in the parish of Charmey; but
ds, his second wife, Alexie, bringing
ıughter, he addressed the monks in
ɔns: "Girard Seigneur of Charmey
ıis dearly beloved, the prior and
ɪf the holy valley. May it please
beloved fathers, to have pity upon
ıpon my little daughter, whom I
ained from God by your prayers,
rant to her, under the condition of
: law observed in this country, some
ɪf the property which my father and
ave before given you by irrevocable
; and God will recompense you in
" The answer was as follows.
ısequence, we, William, humble

erches de la France, iii. 19.
ıap. 6. ‡ Diego de Navarre, i. 29.
ɗinor. x.

prior, and the other monks of the Val-Sainte of the order of Carthusians, having seen the request above written, by permission of the reverend Lord Bishop of Lausanne, we grant to Girard, Seigneur de Charmey, son of our blessed founder, of happy memory, and to Jeannette, his very dear and only daughter, the third part of all the property which Girard and his father had before devoutly given both in forests and in lands." This daughter married Francis Magnym of Aubonne, but as she died without children, all the property was restored to the Carthusians in 1360.

But it is time that we should meet the question respecting the motive of those who made such donations to the monks. Nothing can be more mystically high, and at the same time more solid and faithful to the spirit of the book of God than the arguments employed by the founders and benefactors of monasteries, in the middle ages, when explaining their intention in the prefaces to their charters of foundation, privilege, and endowment.* Many motives are alleged in the diplomas to religious houses as having influenced their authors. The first and most general cause which determined them, seems to have been a profound sense of the sanctity of the community to which they made these grants. Thus one diploma begins, "I, Higmar, in the name of God, considering the purity of the innocence of the Abbot Olger and of his monks in the service of God, and considering that by serving them I can please God, give such and such lands to them." The chronicles, moreover, are before us to corroborate such statements. "At this time," says the chronicle of Melrose Abbey, "many rich men came to us. The king of the land, Alexander, was buried in the church; and many others also, through veneration for the sanctity of the abbot, demanding eagerly that he would accept whatever he pleased of their goods: of which offer he would rarely avail himself; yet sometimes he would accept a few of their cows that they might minister milk to the needy who came to them. He had two cows belonging to the monastery to furnish himself and a companion with milk: but the reason why the rich men of the earth came to him was, that they might confess their sins to him and receive his holy benediction, which they believed would greatly profit them."† "Duke Robert," says a monk of Mount-Cassino, "so loved the Abbot Desiderius, that he

* Vide Baluze, Miscellan. Diplom. et Epist. tom. iii. passim.
† Chronica de Mailros, Rer. Anglic. Script. i.

revered him as if he were St. Benedict, and he did not wish to be without the presence of the abbot—who was no less loved by the duchess; and the duke gave rich palls to the monastery, and gold, and silver, and cloth for the monks, and fish for their provision, and on solemn feasts sent them vessels of gold and silver."* "Father Dosithée, relating that the alms of the citizens of Manzere and of the peasants in the neighbourhood to the barefooted Carmelites were so abundant, that sometimes the monks felt bound to refuse them, adds, "This teaches us that a great exactitude in the fulfilment of duties moves seculars much more than all the other means which human prudence could suggest."† Stephen Pasquier, who was advocate for the university of Paris against the Jesuits when the latter sought to be incorporated in it, furnishes a striking instance; for he says, writing to a friend, "It would be hard to tell you how they increase from day to day, and how the troubles have contributed to this; for having by their ceremonies brought reformation into the ecclesiastical order, and being vowed to maintain the authority of the holy see against the Calvinists, those who are frank Catholics, seeing that from their shop religion and erudition both come forth, have given them great alms to found seminaries."‡ The holy solemnity of the divine offices in monasteries no doubt induced many to be generous to them. Thus in the annals of Corby, at the date of 1019, we read, "The festival of St. Vitus was splendidly celebrated, and great alms were collected: the very beggars were liberal."§ Free men, with their wives and children, used, out of devotion, voluntarily, by solemn acts, to make themselves serfs of abbeys in which were eminent saints; for whose sakes avowedly they made this extraordinary offering. Thus, in 1039, Reinald, a free man, having been nourished from a boy in the abbey of the Holy Trinity, at Vendome, and having gained all that he possessed under its dominion, offered to God himself, choosing rather to be for ever its servant than free in the world, and firmly believing that to serve God is to reign; which act he fulfilled according to form, placing the cord of the abbey bell round his neck, to signify that he would be always ready to answer that call. Many similar acts are found in monastic documents.‖

* L'Ystoire de li Normant, Lib. viii. 35.
† Vie de St. Jean de la Croix, Liv. ii.
‡ Lettres de Pasquier, liv. iv. 24.
§ Ap Leibnitz, Script. Bruns. iii.
‖ Pasquier, Recherches de la France, iii. 41.

Again, donations often followed from men having heard the sermons of the monks: they thought nothing afterwards too great or too good for them. During a certain feast St. Francis preached at Monte Feltro standing upon a wall. His theme was the virtue of endurance; and the Seigneur Orlando, count of Chiusi, was so moved at the sermon, that he went to the holy man and immediately offered to give him the mountain of Alvernia, which was his property, in order that the saint might live there in retirement and contemplation. The holy man accepted the offer, and sending there two of his disciples, they built a chapel and a monastery, in which they established themselves, being welcomed to that solitude, as we are told, by the cries of the birds who came forth as if to greet them.* Generally, after the sermons of St. Francis, the people of the town or village went about and offered to build a convent for his friars on their grounds. Preaching at Poggibonzi, and being favourably heard by the people, he asked them to build a house for the brethren, which they did near the church of St. Mary. Marianus saw the table containing the gift in these words, "Concedimus nos—cuidam Fratri Francisco de Assisio qui vocatur Sanctus ab omnibus." The town then stood on a high mountain, but being besieged by the Florentines when it sided with the Gibellines, it was destroyed and rebuilt in the valley; the convent remaining in solitude on the heights.† In later times the same cause operated; for we read that Lorenzo de Medicis built a monastery near Florence for brother Mariano, of the order of St. Augustin, merely because he was an admirable preacher.‡ Personal intimacy with the superiors of religious houses often led to donations. This was the case at the abbey of Villers in the seventh century; for, in consequence of the great friendship which the nobles bore to the Abbot Charles, many vineyards on the Rhine and the Moselle were given to the abbey. "This is to be admired in him," says the chronicle, "that he should have enjoyed such incomparable favour with all, when he was so tenacious a preserver of the things of his abbey, and always desirous of acquiring more; for he obtained great additions to the property of the abbey, and during his rule not a hide of land nor a cart was ever sold, for he judged it to be a sacrilege if any thing belonging to the

* Les Chroniques des FF. Min. liv. ii. c. 37.
† Ann. Min. an. 1213.
‡ Machiavel, Hist. of Florence, viii.

church was alienated from it. By the grace of God he kept the house free from all debts, and was able to give as much as 600 marcs to other churches; yet the rich gave him largely, while he had always closed hands for soldiers and tyrants, and a purse ever open for the poor and desolate."* Indeed, the well-known charity of the monks for the poor was another prolific source of wealth to their communities. A charter of Louis-le-Débonnaire to the abbey of St. Medard at Soissons, begins thus: "Although the offerings of the faithful to venerable places, where the bodies of saints repose, cannot in any way serve to increase the glory of the blessed, it is, nevertheless, certain, that the said offerings conduce greatly to the salvation of those who make them in memory of the martyrs; because, by means of such gifts, the poor and indigent are nourished, who would not otherwise be able to live."† So close was the connection between monastic charity and monastic wealth, that Cæsar of Heisterbach lays down a general rule for all monks, saying, "If you expel brother Date from the monastery, you cannot prevail on brother Dabitur to remain."‡

In the eleventh century, tithes were generally given to monasteries, "in usus pauperum et peregrinorum;" but there are examples in a much earlier age, some of which, produced by Mabillon, prove that the care of the people, even in the administration of the sacraments, devolved frequently upon monasteries. In the time of Louis-le-Débonnaire, some laymen desired to redeem the tithes, but the emperor forbad them, by the third capitulary.§ Petrus Damianus uses these words: "In order that they might furnish more copious provision to the poor, tithes were given to monasteries, not only of cattle, but of fowl and eggs."‖

But the secret of munificence to religious houses lay often deeper still than might be inferred from any of the considerations hitherto alleged. Lucas Tudensis relates, that, in the time of Alphonso III., when Cordova was occupied by the Sarassins, the Mahometan king one day taking repose in a beauteous field, sweet with roses and trees of various kinds, one of his soldiers said to him, "O how beautiful, sweet, and delightful, would be this world, if men were not to die!"¶

This reflection throws light upon the intention of Christians in ages of faith, when they endowed monasteries so abundantly; for one of the chief motives which actuated them in doing so,—which, indeed, was never separated from any other inducement,—was the desire to secure for themselves a permanent possession, and a durable felicity. "My lord," said St. Eloy one day to Dagobert, desiring to found in the Limousin the abbey of Solignac, "grant me this gift, in order that I may make a ladder by which you and I may mount to the heavenly kingdom." Let us hear a charter from the manuscripts of the abbey of St. Martin at Tours. "Multifariously does the multiplied mercy of the omnipotent God wish to honour the human race, in deigning to grant to every faithful mortal, that, from his own temporal goods, he may be able to purchase and provide a celestial kingdom, and, in exchange for frail and transitory things, receive from the Lord an eternal recompense: for so declares the angelic voice,—'Fiducia magna erit coram summo Domino, eleemosyna omnibus facientibus eam;' and the Lord himself promised in his gospel, 'Quicumque alicui aliquid dederit, vel calicem aquæ frigidæ tantum in nomine meo amen dico vobis non perdet mercedem suam;' and again He says, 'Date in præsenti quæ possidetis, et dabitur vobis in futuro præmium et regnum æternæ beatitudinis;' and again, 'Quicumque dimiserit et pauperibus erogaverit agros, domos, vineas et mancipia propter me, centuplum accipiet et vitam æternam possidebit." Therefore, in the name of the high Saviour our Lord, I Garnegaud, considering with a devout mind this great and ineffable reward of Almighty God, and knowing that what the Lord hath promised is most certain and firm, and meditating daily within myself the measure of human fragility, how no one knows the day and hour of his death, and fearing at the same time the day of last judgment and the Judge who is to examine my sins, and remembering the piety of our Lord, saying, 'Date eleemosynam, et omnia munda fient vobis,' therefore, that I may be a partaker of eternal happiness, I give and grant to this monastery such and such lands."†

The charter of the foundation of the abbeys of St. Stephen and of the Holy Trinity, at Caen, expresses a similar motive: for the words are, "Whoever makes a donation of any thing to God, or for the love of God, does not alienate it from himself, but rather

* Hist. Mon. Vill. ap. Martene, Thes. Anec. iii.
† Martin, Hist. de Soissons, i. 307.
‡ Illust. Mirac. Lib. iv. 69.
§ Præf. in 4 sæc. cap. 7.
‖ Opuscul. xxxiii. c. 7.
¶ Rod. Santii Hist. Hispan. p. iii. c. 17.

* Bernier, Hist. de Blois Preuves, i.

preserves it for himself, and keeps it to be multiplied at a future time, with hope of eternal life. Thus acteth the benign liberality of the Creator towards his creatures: and, though He hath no need of our goods, since to Him appertains the earth with all that it contains, yet He requires to be honoured by our means and substance, and that the sacrifice of praise should be offered to Him for our salvation."*

Amongst the Norman princes who accompanied Roger to Sicily was Bartholomew de Lucy, count of Montecava. He speaks as follows, in a diploma, dated 1193, to the Cistercian monastery of St. Maria Roccæamatoris, near Messina: "The Creator of all the word inspiring, I have considered that temporal goods have been committed to me in this life, as to every other mortal man, in order that by them, charitably and discreetly dispensed in divine worship, and in assisting the servants of God and the poor, and in salutary works of mercy, I might acquire eternal possessions and the joys of celestial life, prepared for the faithful of Christ from the beginning of the world by the providence of his goodness; and because, from the liberal goodness of God it is, that His own gifts which He commits temporally, afterwards from the hands of His creatures doing well He rewards eternally; and from the terrestrial Church, if any thing be offered to Himself and to His ministers, He assumes afterwards to Himself; moved by this consideration, I, Bartholomew de Lucy, to the honour of the eternal God, and under the name of the most glorious Virgin Mary, have founded an honourable mansion of the Cistercian order, with the intention that lauds, sacrifices, and pious ecclesiastical exercises, may be for ever offered to Jesus Christ, Son of the living God, day and night; and that it may conduce to the support and comfort of His servants, of pilgrims, of sick and weary people, and of all the miserable."†

The donation of Arichis the Longobard, duke of Beneventum, in the year 758, to the monastery of St. Sophia, expresses the same intention. Thus it begins: "In the name of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, —riches began to increase to me, while divers kinds of gems and metals abounded to me, and many other treasures, whatever Indus or vain Crete bears, whatever soft Arabia or black-skinned Ethiopia furnish. Considering then all these things, from the beginning to the end of the world, what are past and present, and what will be in future, I deemed all things under the sun to be vanity, of which the essence is birth, experience, labour, and death. 'Nil ergo rerum copia proderit nisi Deo possessori oblata.' We remember our fifty years past; scarcely can we expect sixty years: for, if some have reached a hundred years, they may ardently desire the night of repose; if some possessed the sweets of riches for a season, now they weep to feel bitter poverty. The world, contracted and bankrupt, flies from the dying. By the Saviour's voice heaven and earth are said to pass away. The life of mortals is like a flower which withers, and like a lamp which is extinguished by the passing wind. Nothing is more useful—'nihil utilius,' nothing more profitable, than to remember the future life; and, by anticipation, to offer to the Lord our goods, that we may have true and durable riches, and blessed peace, in eternal life in heaven. Moreover, for me did the Lord of Majesty and King of Angels become poor, descending upon this earth clothed in a servile form; and for me did He suffer. Therefore, I, who am a fragile creature, the illustrious Prince Arichis, meditating on the fate of frail life, and desiring to gain the riches of immortality, have consecrated these walls under the name of thy holy wisdom, O Christ, who art the true wisdom of the Lord."*

Both Scriptures, new and ancient, propose the mark at which these founders aimed, whether they held unceasingly their view intent upon such glorious ends, or sought to realize some temporal object which was not at variance with them. Aystulphus merely wishes to obey an apostolic precept, when, in 753, he grants a privilege to the monastery of Nonantula; for in that he says, "What else means the admonition to provide good things both before God and also before men, but that we should love all men, and assist venerable places and wise men with our riches?"† Monasteries being deemed a source of honour to the state, all true lovers of their country wished to favour them. Aristippus remarked that the Athenian people nourished Socrates, enabling him to live splendidly; and, partly from a similar motive, monks, as true philosophers, were now nourished.‡

Again, what will surprise some readers,

* De Bourgueville, Les Recherches et Antiquitez de Normandie, 21. 1.
† Sicilia Sacra, ii. 1287.

* Italia Sacra, tom. viii. 26.
† Id. i. 86.
‡ Cardan de Consolatione, ii.

;ave to monks sometimes as to the
:nowing that they were really in want
)ort. "We are reduced to such dis-
says Lupus, abbot of Ferrers, "that
ear we have scarcely corn for two
s: our servants are almost naked, and
'ethren are mostly clothed in rags;
) obliged to diminish our hospitality
poor." So writes this illustrious abbot
)cmar, archbishop of Rheims.* In
r letter he says to him, "It is not
e lament being deprived of heaps of
nd silver, and other precious things;
at we want the necessaries of life, such
d and raiment."† In a letter to
s the Bald he says, "During the last
'ears, since I have been elected by
y-two monks to preside over them, we
incredible want."‡ In another letter
)rles, remonstrating on his cruelty in
ng possession of what belonged to the
tery, he says, "Do not suppose that
est; for our old men declare they
from long experience, and from what
livered to them when they were boys,
they say, that whoever inflicts any
injury on our monastery, unless he
quickly, is sure to incur some great
)ither of health or of life."§ It was
arvellous that such appeals should
)een answered by a society that had
In 1218, the monks of Monte Sereno
wanted bread, and sometimes they
'ithout any food.‖ The Carthusians
'is, commemorating as one of their
ctors Peter Travet, a citizen of Lagny
reign of King Charles V., record
e supplied the necessities of thirty
of the house. In fact, the gift of a
of provisions would be recorded in
ary of a religious house as a great
t. There was a poor convent of
hius in Romagna, say the annals of
der, far remote from any town. During
.t fall of snow, all the ways being
impassable, lo! one evening the gate
)s rung, and a youth appeared with a
of bread, which he gave to the porter.
'outh refused to tell his name; and
he porter begged him to take a night's
g, as the snow was still falling and
;ht drawing on fast, he declined; and
the porter went to inform Denis of
o, who was then vicar in absence of
ardian, the youth departed, nor could
they see the prints of his feet on the snow, so that the good father believed it was an angel.* The greatest monasteries were sometimes reduced to the same distress. In his charter to the abbey of St. Maximin at Treves, Dagobert assigns as his motive, "the excessive penury of the monks serving Christ there, on account of the ravages of pagans and unbelieving Christians." Peter, bishop of Verona, being surprised at the poverty of the monks of St. Gall when he visited that abbey, desired them, on his going away, to send after him to Verona six brethren, two by two, and by three different ways. "Let them come to me only two at a time, and, bending the thumb on the hand, let them ask alms. Then I will, as usual, lead them into my private chamber, where I will tie gold in bandages round their legs, and then send them away. So let them return to you as they came." Thus it was done, and so a large quantity of gold was brought to our abbey from Verona.† Sometimes it was an aspect of total desolation which excited generosity. Herbert, count of Champagne and of Brie, had been moved at the sight of the ruins of the monastery of Lagny, formerly a nursery of saints, having been founded by St. Fursy, which lay on his road when he used to come to Paris. It had been reduced to this state by the Normans. He applied to King Robert, who granted him the place, and then restored the monastery, causing a Monk Herbert, disciple of the famous Gerbert, to be made abbot. Count Stephen, having obtained from the same king confirmation of this establishment, invited the archbishop of Rheims, and the bishops of Soissons and of Teroueune, to assist at the solemn dedication of the new church, by Sevin, archbishop of Sens; and, at his entreaty, these bishops brought holy relics to enrich it. King Robert and the duke of Burgundy assisted on this grand occasion, the king following the procession bare-footed.‡ But let us look at other characters; for the reasons which called for liberality were many.

Thibaud, count of Blois, in a diploma of the year 1142, to an abbey of Cistercians, states his motive for giving it certain lands and boundaries to be a wish to promote its peace. "Since I know," he says, "that quiet is useful and necessary to the monastic life, I have determined upon extending

ıpi Epist. xlii.
ist. xliv. ‡ Id. lxv.
liii.
ronic. Montis Sereni, ap. Menckenii Script.
ım. ii.

* Annal. Capucinorum ad an. 1576.
† Eckehard, Minim. de Vita Notkeri.
‡ Lebœuf, Hist. du Diocèse de Paris, xv.

the boundaries of that monastery, and marking them with certain signs, lest the monks of that house should be in the least prevented from serving God in peace, or disquieted by the tumults of secular men."*

Sometimes donations were made through desire of delivering a friend from danger by means of the monastic prayers. Thus when the news of the deposition of Louis-le-Débonnaire came to Brittany, Nominœ, his general there, evinced his affection by going immediately to the monastery of Convoïon, and giving great possessions to the monks, specifying that they were to pray to God for the emperor's deliverance.† At other times there was a ratification of ancient grants to monasteries through gratitude to the monks for favours that had been received from them. Thus one charter, of the year 1226, begins, "I, Jane, by the grace of God, countess of Flanders, make known, that when my lord and husband, Count Ferrandus, was captured in open war, the abbot and convent of St. Vedast, at Arras, to redeem him, through love, and by no law or violence compelled, gave assistance to me out of the goods of their church mercifully and benignly. I wish, therefore, that the aid from the abbot and convent to redeem my husband, so liberally extended, may not be to the prejudice of the charters which they have received from me and my ancestors."‡ Gratitude to God actuated many founders and benefactors. The annals of Corby relate, that in 1303, Helena Vechert, for the happy return of her only son from the Holy Land, ordered the church in Luchtringen to be repaired: and again, that, in 1094, Herman de Sichelsten sent three fat oxen to the abbey on the recovery of his son, granted to the prayers of the monks.§

Men also gave to monasteries because there they knew that their donations would be well employed and multiplied, as at that Dominican convent in Cesena, where the slice of pork in sculpture attested what great things might be done with a widow's mite and good men's prayers.‖ Naturally they presented libraries and treasures of art to monasteries rather than to presbyteries, for the very substantial reason that in the former there was much greater probability that there would be always some persons competent and willing to make use of them. Thus the inducements to evince liberality to monasteries were many, but the main object, as we find expressed in the ancient diplomas, was to please God, to avert his anger by means of holy prayers and sacrifice, and to give form to the wishes of a pious heart. So we read of Henry, duke of Saxony, in 1191, the husband of Matilda of England, and father of the Emperor Otho IV., that his generosity to monks was the consequence of his becoming convinced of the vanity of all things but the desire of pleasing heaven. "Seeing that with all his efforts," says the chronicles, "he could not bend the emperor to benevolence, and desiring to please the celestial king, he applied himself to amplify the house of the Lord, and especially the monastery of St. John the Baptist and St. Blaze, which he constructed with great pains, and enriched with costly images and works of gold and marble; and though labouring under severe infirmity, which would have prostrated any other man, he spared not his own person. He ordered, also, the ancient writings of chronicles to be collected, and written out, and recited, and in this occupation he often passed the whole night without sleep."*

Odelirius, counsellor of Roger, Earl of Shrewsbury, concludes his eulogium on monasteries, in the year 1083, with these words of admonition: "While you can, therefore, O glorious Earl, I exhort you to construct for God a monastic fortress, that the soldiers of Christ may there combat perpetually against the devil in favour of your soul. Behold here on the river Mole is a house which you have lately given me. I have already begun to build a church of stone near it in pursuance of a vow which I made last year at Rome before St. Peter's altar. I offer it with joy, as well as all that I possess, to the Lord. Rise up then, and begin the work of God manfully. You will not want fellow-labourers. As soon as the first stone shall be laid, I will offer fifteen pounds sterling. I will give, besides, my own person, my son Benedict, and all that I possess, provided that under the patronage of the monks the half may pass to my son Evrard. Orderic, my eldest son, has been educated under a liberal monk, and I have procured for him an asylum in the abbey of Ouches. Thus for the love of our Redeemer I have parted from my eldest

* Bernier, Hist. de Blois, Preuves, 20.
† Lobineau, Hist. de Bret. i.
‡ Ap. Martene, Vet. Script. tom. i. p. 1205.
§ Ap. Leibnitz, Script. Bruns. iii.
‖ Leand. Albert, Descript. Ital. 460.

* Chronicon Stederburgense, ap. Leibnitz, Script. Brunsv. i.

ıd sent him beyond the seas, that as ıtary exile he may contend for the ıl King."* Similarly the motive of ɜrt, expressed in his charter to the ɔf St. Maximinus, at Treves, is the that there may be a continual re- ance of him and of his parents in ɣ prayers of the said monastery.

ı, then, in general, are the conside- which we find expressed in the t charters and diplomas as having ıced men when they gave to monas- heir riches, their dearest treasures, emselves. But there remains still ced a powerful motive which actu- any thoughtful and acute lovers of ıat Christian family in ages of faith ıd and endow monasteries, the con- ion of which will bring us back more iately to the point of view from we set out in this examination of istory; for it is certain, that much zeal in their favour arose from the ɔf regarding them as strictly institu- ɔf peace, calculated to extend that ıable gift of God to their neighbour- ɔ their country, and to the human

eveloping the justice of this obser- it would be impossible to neglect ing, in the first place, that they ndowed with a view to the attain- ɔf that primal and true Christian which is wholly spiritual, belonging soul, either in connection with the uring the present life, or separated ; in the intermediate state, when it fied from all that could disturb the ıeaven. Of their efficacy in regard attainment of spiritual peace on we have an effecting example, which ow that even the mere knowledge e being such pacific communities g could tranquillize the minds of rs, and appease their troubled state. s the letter of the Empress Cune- widow of St. Henry, to the convent she had founded in Hess, begin- "I, Cunegund, by divine dispensa- alone in name empress, to her l congregation in Confugia, what- longs to just love;" for she says, ık I should bear more easily the my own adversity if I should see fairs safe and prosperous. For al- my mind is shaken on all sides by ɔd of cares, yet the anchor of your brance is not loosened from the depths of my heart; and though you are far removed from my eyes, yet you are never absent from my mind. Who shall separate us from the charity of Christ? Shall grief or distance? If the use of our lost riches were restored to us, our will should be manifested by our deeds."* But it was for peace after death that so many hands were raised in supplication before signing the charters that are now before us. The requiem æternam was on the lips while the fingers held the pen. However insecure in some instances might be the hopes of those who made these foundations, their thoughts were of the soul—of the soul's eternal rest. "Pie Jesu, Domine," they said from the bottom of their hearts; "dona eis requiem. Amen."

Thus our poet, with eyes intent upon the realities of history, represents King Henry V. endeavouring to tranquillize his mind before the battle of Agincourt, by recalling to it the foundations which he had made in England of the Carthusian monastery of Bethlehem and the adjoining monastery of Sion, which he had founded to compensate for the fault of his father in compassing the crown.

"Five hundred poor I have in yearly pay,
Who twice a day their wither'd hands hold up
Toward heaven, to pardon blood; and I have built
Two chantries, where the sad and solemn priests
Sing still for Richard's soul. More will I do:
Though all that I can do is nothing worth,
Since that my penitence comes after all,
Imploring pardon."†

Of citing historical and diplomatic testimonies of course there might be no end. Count Joseph Erzterhazi, founding a monastery of Camaldolese on his estates in Hungary, declares that he does so to honour God, to benefit his country, and for the good of his own soul. I the more willingly select this instance, because nothing can be more affecting than his devout letter in 1747 to Ladislaus Rodossany, the superior of these hermits, in which he speaks of his own approaching death, and of the consoling peace which he derives from having established hermits of Camaldoli in Hungary.‡ But let us read some of the charters, for they are deeply affecting, and capable of awakening the most thoughtless men to a remembrance that the dead need prayer.

* Orderic. Vit. Lib. v.

* Heumann, De Re Diplomatica, iii. p. 152.
† Hen. V. iv.
‡ Annal. Camaldul. Lib. lxxx.

"I Roger, count of Calabria and of Sicily for the love of God and the remedy of my soul, and for the soul's sake of Robert Guiscard, my brother, the glorious duke of Apulia and Calabria, have wished to dedicate the church of the desert in the territory of Squillacum, which I have given to the blessed Father Bruno, the master of the said hermitage, and to his successors for ever."* Now hear his words when founding the monastery of Saints Peter and Paul, at Messina, "These things we propose to do with full deliberation, that the multitude of religious men may be united and assembled in this place; and we wish that by us they may have in abundance what is necessary for food, and that the place itself may be illustrated by them and supported as is fitting, that these religious men may be suppliants with the divine clemency for the whole Christian people, and for me, a sinner, that the omnipotent God may loose me from my sins."† Here follows the testament of William the pious, duke of Aquitaine, concerning the foundation of the monastery of Cluny, in the year 910. "Considering that from the things which are transitorily possessed, if well used, there may result a durable reward, I, William, by the gift of God, count and duke, desiring as is lawful to provide for my salvation, have resolved to employ what has been entrusted to me for a time to provide an emolument for my soul. Therefore to all who live in the unity of the faith, and demand the mercy of Christ, be it known now and to the end of the world that on account of the love of God and of our Saviour Jesus Christ, I, William, and my wife Ingelberga, give to the holy apostles Peter and Paul the land of Cluny, which is on the river Granna, and the chapel which is there in honour of holy Mary, the mother of God, first for the love of God, then for the soul of my ancestor, King Odo, of my father and mother, for my own soul, and for that of my wife, as also for those of my brothers and sisters, and of all my relations, and for those of all my faithful servants who adhere to my service; and also for the state and integrity of the Catholic religion; and, lastly, for all Christians in the bonds of one charity and faith, both of the past, present, and future times. I give them in order that a regular monastery may be constructed there in honour of the holy apostles Peter and Paul, to be subject to the rule of the blessed Benedict."*

But the peace, with a view to which so many monasteries were founded and endowed, was not alone of this high and spiritual kind, relating to the interior world of the soul in its present and future state. It was also an earthly and external peace; for these institutions were known to conduce to social and political tranquillity; and that many abbeys were erected for this express end is clear from an inspection of the charters which proclaim their origin. The conviction that such was their tendency arose not merely from considering their direct spiritual operation, as when the Carthusian order every day and at each canonical hour prays for priests, for kings and people, that all may have peace,† though this was not overlooked in the middle ages, as may be witnessed in the words of the emperor Lothaire III. to the monks of Mount-Cassino.—"From ancient times your church has the reputation of religion, and given the example always of holy conversation, for which reason we trust to obtain by your prayers to God, that quiet may be restored to the universal Church, and peace granted in our times;" and in the acts of King Robert and of the emperor of Constantinople, sending to commend themselves and their dominions to the prayers of the same monks;‡ but also from an observation of the fact formerly notorious, and which has not escaped the notice of modern authors, one of whom remarks, that "no association gives such extensive guarantees of order to the state as religious communities." He might have added, too, that nothing tended more to the peace of the world, by counteracting the warlike tendencies of a national feeling, or of a mistaken and pagan patriotism. The practical experience alluded to by the bishop of Sens, in his passport to a monk who was going to travel, "by a divine instinct," that "wherever he finds the Christian religion, he ought to find as it were his country,"§ must in a great degree be attributed to the influence of the religious orders, which had spread their branches through all lands, uniting multitudes of men of different countries in the closest ties of a domestic interest, and even attaching them to localities far removed from the limits of their own nation. Thus a

* Sicilia Sacra, ad an. 1094, i. 524.
† Id. ii. 1034.

* Bibliothec. Cluniacens. 2.
† Pet. Sutorus, De Vit. Carthus. ii. ii. 2.
‡ Hist. Cassinens. Sæc. 7.
§ Lupi Epist. cvi.

modern traveller, on occasion of his visit to the Grande Chartreuse in France, says that those monks, hearing that their ancient monastery of Witham in England was then in his possession, "beseeched him almost with tears in their eyes to revere these consecrated edifices, and to preserve their remains for the sake of St. Hugo." Certainly I have nowhere found the memory of England's former sanctity so fresh as in the secluded cloisters of Italy and Germany.

One evening I left Florence and walked to that Carthusian monastery which stands, like a huge castle, on a lofty hill three miles from the city, on the Roman way. In the cloisters I was presented to a venerable father, who addressed me in English, and invited me into his cell. We sat down and for a time silently surveyed the lovely prospect from his window. We then conversed, and I learned with some surprise that he had visited England and Ireland, and had frequently been in London and Dublin. I confess my veneration for him did not keep pace with my astonishment, when I found that from his paradise of peace, he looked back to his travels through these regions of discord with so much pleasure; but my distrust was quickly dissipated when he proceeded with a smile to undeceive me, saying, "Yes, I have been to London and to Dublin often in mind with my wishes, my admiration, and my prayers for your glorious country, but with my body I have never left Italy, the land of my birth." At these words he rose to obey the bell, which summoned him to vespers. I need not say with what reverence I kissed the hand which then conveyed his parting benediction.

But let us observe in how many ways the monastic orders contributed to bind closer the religious bonds of the great Christian family, which, since their suppression, seem to be every year growing weaker and weaker, so that now the descendants of those who once submitted to the spiritual sway of an Italian or a Frenchman would regard a fellow countryman, who comes from a county only a few miles distant from their own, with eyes of jealousy as a stranger, so forgotten and obsolete have become the supernatural manners of faith, where there are no monks to teach them. In the first place, monks of one country were received as brethren in the monasteries of another. Many Englishmen were monks in the abbey of Mount-Cassino in all ages; of whom were Aufredus in the eleventh century, and in later times Gregorius Sayr, Thomas of Preston, Michael, and Bernard. An Irishman, Rachisius, was in that monastery at the time when the chronicles were last edited.* Similarly there were many Irish monks in the abbey of Fulda, some of them recluses.

The remembrance of having owed their noblest institutions to foreign monks was well calculated to nourish a friendly feeling towards the land of their birth. The Burgundians were indebted to the holy monks of Ireland for the abbey of Luxueil, to whom also the Italians owed that of Bobbio, the Lorrainers that of St. Mansu at Toul, and the Germans that of Wirsburg, not to mention many others. The Irish founded so many churches in Europe, that a monk of the abbey of St. Gall has met with a sufficient number wherewith to compose a large volume of their foundations. The memory of foreign monks as that of benefactors could not have been wholly unproductive of the fruits of international affection. Ireland, which gave Columban to Italy, Gall to Helvetia, Kilian to Germany, and Virgilius to Carinthia, must have been regarded with gratitude by the people, who regarded them as their apostles and fathers. Blessed Cataldo from Ireland was venerated among the early saints of Tarentum in Calabria,† and the patron of the great Benedictine monastery of Mœck in Austria was from the same country, St. Colman of the eleventh century. The memory, too, of having conferred benefits on other countries by founding and enriching religious houses there must have operated in opposition to all jealous and malignant feelings towards them. The alms of an Alfred, after enriching the poor monasteries of his own kingdom, to those of France, Brittany, and Ireland, and the grant of lands in Oxfordshire to the abbey of St. Denis in France by King Edward the Confessor, were not only signs but pledges of a peaceful union among nations. And here we owe it to truth and justice to remark, that from the moment of the conquest of Ireland till the fifteenth century, while the English continued to be Catholics, we find continual notice of their charity in founding or endowing monasteries in that country. William Marshal, earl of Pembroke, founded some of almost every order, as did also Walter Lacy in the time of

* Chron. Cas. iv. c. viii.

† Joan. Juvenis, De Antiq. et Fort. Tarentinorum, Lib. viii. 2. Thes. Ant. It. ix.

Richard I., and Richard Strongbow, also earl of Pembroke. The Dillons, the Digbys, the Fitzgeralds, the Butlers, the Tyrells, the Devereuxes, the Carews, and the Prestons, were all founders of religious houses in Ireland. Maud de Lacy, Gerard de Pendergrast, John Decer, an English chief-justice in Ireland, and Geoffrey Fitz-Robert, were eminent in this track. Henry II. founded the great abbey of St. Thomas at Thomastown near Dublin; Philip of Worcester, constable of Ireland, founded Kilcumin Abbey, dependant upon Glastonbury, and John de Courcy, earl of Ulster, general of the English, founded others dependant upon English abbeys. Hugh de Lacy founded the priory of Ardes in 1218, and made it dependant on Louley of the same order in France. The abbey of little Tintern of the Vow, on the coast of Wexford, daughter of the great Tintern in Wales, was founded by William Marshal. These English noblemen, in making such foundations, were providing better for the social and political tranquillity of Ireland, than if they had been legally commissioned to preserve its peace by means of the halter and the sword, like the over-weening brood that have come after them under the banners of reformation—upstart lordlings, who blush to hear their grandsires' avocation named, and who love to play the dragon over the flying poor.

The alien monasteries, which were numerous throughout Christendom, by producing a constant intercourse between the most learned men of different countries, must have powerfully contributed to the same pacific end. The English Benedictines were naturalized in France. In consequence of the number of Irish monks who had passed into France and Germany, many monasteries of the order of St. Benedict in those countries were built in favour of monks of that nation: such was the monastery of St. Martin at Cologne, and similar houses of Irish or Scotch monks were at Vienna, Ratisbon, Erfurth, and in many other places,* some of which, as that at Erfurth, had been founded by bishops of the diocese. Fingen, an Irish abbot, in the tenth century, the friend of the Empress Adelhard, widow of Otho the Great, bound himself and his successors to receive no other but Irish monks, as long as any such could be found; and the charter of the Irish monastery at Vienna, founded by Henry I. Duke of Austria, supplies this curious explanation for a similar ordina "We ordain," it says, "that only Irish be received into this monastery; eo relatione Religiosorum et de certa sci novimus ipsorum laudabilem simpli tem."*

But if the influence of monks was tended thus to the promotion of peac regard to foreign countries, much was it efficacious at home in conducin that of their own nation, and to the bility of the government which prote them. Emperors and kings were not in making this discovery, as their cha can bear witness. Dom Martene call tention to those solemn exordiums of diplomas of the ancient kings, which s how they considered monasteries as ins ments of peace. "If we attend to petitions of the servants of God, whic late to the securing of their quiet, we t that it will conduce to the praise stability of our kingdom." Such the words which continually recur in charters.† Charlemagne, thus mag cently styled, Charles, most serene aug crowned by God, great, pacific emp governing the empire of the Romans, by the mercy of God king also of the Fr and Longobards, is far from relying the strong arm of power for the mainten of peace. His words are, "Whatevc grant to venerable places, for the lo our Lord Jesus Christ, we trust will duce without doubt, to the stability of empire."‡ His son Louis holds the s language in his charter to the monas of St. Maximin at Treves; for it be thus, "If we provide for the quiet of monasteries, this will conduce to the stability of our kingdom, and to our taining the recompense of the blessed in spirit."§ Again, Charles the Bald s in his charter to the monks of St. Ma of Tours, "If we confer honours on pl dedicated to God, and provide for the p and tranquillity of those serving God them, we trust that it will tend to strengt the state of our earthly kingdom, and mote the work of our eternal safety."‖

Boso, king of Burgundy, thought by alms and oblations wars might be vented; for in an instrument granted Asmundus, who sought redress when

* Mab. Præf. in III. Sæc. Ben. 1.

* Ap. Pez. Rer. Script. Anst. 1.

† Martene, Veterum Scriptorum et Monum torum Historicor. tom. i. Præfat.

‡ Id. p. 59.

§ Heumann, De Re Diplom. ii. 422.

‖ Id. p. 105.

had been repeatedly devastated by
he king having called his coun-
began to consider, as he says,
r remedio eleemosynæ cessentur
ıste insurgentia."* Charles the
in his charter to the Elnonensian
y, in 921, says, "If we confer
y things and consolations on the
of God, we believe that it will
duce to the salvation of our soul,
that the state of the kingdom will
r maintained in peace, and with
olidity secured."†
iploma of Conrad II. to the mo-
of Corby begins thus: "If, with
icitude, we provide for the peace
quillity of the churches of God,
that in return we shall receive
Creator the grace of being able to
helm of the kingdom, committed
y God, with peace and tranquil-
he diploma of King Zuendebold, in
ıtains these words: "If, following
s manner of the glorious kings our
s, we preserve the state of the
inviolate by the rigour of royal
r, and consult with provident dis-
for the utility of the servants of
is, we firmly believe, will conduce
anquillity of our kingdom, and to
ining eternal beatitude."§ The
even of Frederic I. to the bishop
lano, in 1177, recognises the same
; for the words are, "If we cle-
hear the reasonable petitions of
ıs persons relative to the increase
mmodities of the churches of God,
re that it will conduce to our eter-
tion, and to the augmentation of
oral glory.‖ So also the calami-
disturbance of kingdoms are as-
diplomatic acts to the oppression
teries and churches; as by Charle-
his capitularies.¶ Cardinal Hum-
ıdvises princes to consider that
wars, internal seditions, nation
gainst nation, and kings against
e the penalties of having violated
astic peace. When Charlemagne
d to seize the goods of a church,
d, "I trust that God can assist
by the merits and prayers of His
ıan by all the military force of the

ne, Veterum Scriptorum et Monumen-
toricor. tom. i. p. 221.
278. ‡ ii. 607.
Trevirensium Arch. ap. id. tom. iv. p.
‖ Murat. Antiq. It. Dissert. ii.
vii. c. 104.
iii. Advers. Simoniac.

world."* When such views prevailed, one can understand the strong language of kings to express their sense of the importance of monastic foundations; as when the Emperor, Otho IV. says, in 1210, in his diploma to the Church of Camerino, "From the first day in which the most high Creator, from whom all good proceeds, chose to raise us to the height of imperial dignity, it has been our full vow and intimate desire to promote religious places and persons with appropriate benefits;"† that is, with security for the exercise of their peaceful, holy labours; for we see by these examples that the protection of the liberty and peace of monasteries was considered after all as the most signal donation that the great could bestow upon them.

Hence those charters of emperors so multiplied to monasteries, in order that persons dedicated to God might hold and dispose places according to their rule, "longe remota contradictione, inquietudine, vel contrarietate," as Lothaire says in his diploma to the monastery of St. Saviour and Julia at Brescia. "The sublimity of royal prudence," says Henry IV. king of the Romans, in 1065, "ought in every way to provide for the peace and quiet of those who serve God."‡ The diploma of the Emperor Lothaire II., in 1137, to Wibald, abbot of Stavelo, in the Ardennes, begins thus: "Since the imperial solicitude and power ought to consult for the peace and quiet of all the churches of God, especially should it for those of our own dominions."§ The diploma of Conrad II. to the same abbot began with the same words;‖ all which decrees were only in accordance with the vows, and charges, and examples of the Holy See, as when Pope Alexander III. said, "It is necessary that we diligently attend with pastoral solicitude to the peace and quiet of religious men;"¶ for rest of mind and quiet of body were not only delectable but necessary to the servants of God, as both science and experience, to use the expression of Ives de Chartres, convinced every community in ages of faith.** Each founder felt himself bound to procure these advantages for the community he instituted; and hence, as Orderic Vitalis says, "The valiant knight, William Giroie, in

* Lib. i. cap. tit. 83.
† Italia Sacra, i. 553.
‡ Ap. Martene, Vet. Script. ii. 70.
§ ii. 98. ‖ Id. ii. 103.
¶ Id. ii. 885. ** Iv. Car. Epist. 164.

refounding the monastery of St. Evroul at Ouches, expressed himself in these terms: 'Let these monks be established in such liberty, that henceforth neither we nor our descendants may ever demand any other retribution but their prayers; and in order that at no future time we may be able, by the instigation of the demon, to disquiet them in any manner, let us place the said monastery wholly under the protection of the duke of Normandy, to defend it against ourselves, our descendants, and all mortals; that if we should ever pretend to require by force any service or contribution besides the spiritual benefit, we may be salutarily repressed by the severity of the prince, and forced, even in spite of ourselves, to cease from molesting the knights of God.'"*

This conviction respecting the immense security for peace which resulted from the institution of monasteries, was not confined to the breasts of kings; it was the universal opinion. Speaking of the priory of Leeds, Lambard, as cited by Weever, says, "That in ancient times the greatest personages held monks, friars, and nuns in such veneration and liking, that they thought no city in case to flourish, no house likely to have long continuance, no castle sufficiently defended, where was not an abbey, priory, or nunnery, either placed within the walls, or situate at hand, and near adjoining."† And thus Robert Fabian, in his commendation of London, written in the reign of King Henry VII., says, that Christ hath ever preserved that city "by meane of divine servyce; that in contynual wyse is kept in devout guyse wythin the mure of yt. As houses of relygyon in diverse places of thys towne, whyche in great devocyon ben ever occupyed: when one hath done another begyn, so that of prayer they never blyn such order is these houses wythin wyth all virtue allyed." We may remark, too, that many monasteries were founded with an express view to make compensation to the people for the former miseries of war. The peaceful foundation of Camaldoli in Poland was made shortly after the country had been ravaged by the incursions of Tartars, Muscovites, and Transylvanians, and by the intestine discords of the great; to repair which horrors, pious men sought to establish the pacific family of Romuald on the mountain to which they expressly gave the name of Peace. Similarly the Sc monasteries of Kelso, Melrose, Holyr Jedburgh, Newbottle, Kinloss, and burgh, were founded by King David pressly to compensate for the suffering the people from the border wars to wl they were continually exposed, and to s them as places of shelter, since the sa territory of the religious houses gene escaped these ravages.

It may be observed also, that the in duction of new religious orders into c tries or cities which had not before rece them, was always the peaceful result conviction of the utility which would re from them to society. The Capuchins introduced into Avignon, in 1576, b nobleman of that city, who, hearing their great virtue, wrote to the gen and offered to build them a convent at own expense. They were called into S without their having taken any meas for that end; but God inspired a cer apothecary of Barcelona, named Mic Quirolio, with a strong desire to pro their reception into that city. This Mic was a good man, so respected by the suls, that they acquiesced in his dem and wrote to the general of the c inviting him there.*

In conclusion we should observe, all these motives conspiring, contrib to impress many kings and men of pc in ages of faith, with an intimate co tion that it was impossible for any occa to arise when it would be lawful to alie the goods of the religious houses. Emperor Otho I., being in great strai his war against Henry, his brother, Gilbert, duke of Lorraine, a certain cc who had followed and served him faithf in all his wars, prayed him by letter give him an abbey, which was then vac that he might employ its revenues to his soldiers. The emperor, with a smi countenance, told the gentleman brought the letter that he wished to the count an answer by word of mo The count on hearing this was overjo supposing that his request was gran and, accordingly, coming to the empe presence, he found him in the mid the people; and the emperor replie presence of them all, "We must obey rather than man. For who is so blin not to perceive that the request which have now made me is not a request bu open menace, in the necessity to which

* Lib. vii. 23.
† On Funeral Mon. 287.

* Annal. Capucinorum, 1576.

e reduced? But it is written, Give hat which is holy to dogs: which ge, being taken by doctors in an rical sense, I should esteem it giving dogs if I should give to him who s secular war a monastery, which is led for monks who militate under tandard of God alone. For this ı I wish you to learn, before all this ', that you ask from me with such nce a gift so unreasonable, that you never obtain it from me, nor any else that you may ask from me in . Therefore, if you wish to take to the side of these rebels, the sooner part the better." These magnanimous of so great an emperor produced ın effect on the count, that he threw lf on his knees, and implored for- ss of the fault into which he had rtently fallen.*

charters have detained us long; e ought not to close them without ing, as a corollary, that not alone onks were blessed as the true pacific, ıat the monasteries were instruments ıce to diffuse order and tranquillity gh the world, but also that a vast ity of the innumerable men who ed religious houses have an unques- le title to be ranked in the same number; for such is the conclusion e deduce from them. In the begin- we find that Christian women who, ture and grace, are so essentially nakers, came forward as the first ers. Paula, that noble Roman lady, our; Pulcheria, the sister of Theo- the younger, and Eudocia, his wife, monasteries. Then who were the s and nobles that followed in that Precisely those who were most ntly pacific in desire; such as Charle- , who built so many, and his devout ouis, who was so enamoured with that he wished to devote himself to a cloister. Historians tell us that he was proceeding on the expedition t the king of Bavaria, he passed by ns, and went to pray in the abbey of edard. It was with a profound sad- nd presentiment of death that the nperor took leave of this moûtier, he had so loved, and where he had ch suffered. Many times he turned ad towards it and shed tears, when wers disappeared from the horizon.

squier, Recherches de la France, Lib. iii.

Theuther, provost of St. Medard, a man faithful in all things, was riding at his side, and endeavoured, while weeping himself, to console his emperor, and asked him why he was so much afflicted? Louis, knowing that these words issued from a faithful heart, opened his own to Theuther. "You know," said he, "how much I have loved this place, which I shall never see again, as the holy martyr has revealed to me. I vowed him a vow, the effect of which the troubles of my empire have prevented; and if I did not think that my enemies would impute it to fear, or rather, what is more to be dreaded, that the Almighty would disapprove of the execution of my vow, I would have laid aside my arms here and my imperial purple. What ought I to do?" "Your vow is good," replied the monk, "glorious Cæsar, but the will of God is better. It is a great thing to renounce the world for thy salvation: but it is still greater to watch over the safety of all. What was most admirable in Christ was His dying for His servants. It will be glorious, then, for you to combat, if it must be so even to death, for the flock which Christ has confided to you." Louis, strengthened by these words, took leave of the provost and of the brethren who had escorted him, and departed by the road to Aix-la-Chapelle and the Rhine.* The adieu, as he foresaw, was for the last time. In a few months after he died in an island of the Rhine near Mayence.

Another great founder of monasteries was the King St. Louis, so eminent for his love of peace, who built in Paris, besides the Holy Chapel, the Church of the Holy Cross; the hospital of the blind; and the Hotel Dieu; the monasteries of the Quatre Mendians; of the Chartreuse; the Blanc-Manteaux; and the Filles Dieu; in the diocese of Beauvais, the abbey of Royaumon; and in Rouen, the abbey of St. Mathew; besides the hospitals of Compiegne, Pontoise, and Vernon.† Among the feudal nobility, the founders of monasteries were similarly the same men who have already, on so many occasions, passed before us as the meek of the earth, the just, the merciful, and the pacific. Does history commemorate an "indefatigable protector of the poor" as Richard, duke of Normandy, is styled by William of Jumiège? The same is also sure to be de-

* Liber de Translatione S. Sebast. i.
† Pasquier, iii. 22.

signated as "the faithful servant of Christ, and the tender father of monks."* The great and good, whose memory is in benediction, the hero-like Winrich von Knipprode, grand-master of the Teutonic order, in whose praise no contemporary is silent, will leave it impossible for future ages to question his attachment to the religious orders. "It was a natural consequence of his piety," says Voight, "that he should have been inclined to favour monasteries. How much he loved them, Oliva and Pelplin, and many other religious houses, can bear witness. He built or promoted the Augustinian convent of Heiligenbeil; the monastery of Konitz; that of the Holy Trinity at Grosswaldeck, on the spot where the heathen Prussians used to sacrifice to their gods; the convent of St. Mary in Königsberg; that of the Minors at Wehlan; and the Carthusian monastery in Dantzig, which was completed a year before his death."† The humble and pacific man who, like the Marquis Leopold of Austria, refuses, as being unworthy, to lay the first stone of the monastery which he himself founds, as was seen when that of Newenburg was to be built, of which he said that a clerk or monk should place the foundation,‡ is sure to be one of the foremost to protect and favour whatever belongs to the monastic state.

Accordingly we find that the monks were always conscious of the peaceful character of those who encouraged and protected them. Thus we read in the annals of the abbey of Mount Oliva, "Here lived Mistwinus, a pacific and devout prince, who enriched and favoured this monastery."§ Where they could not praise their founder for other virtues, they evince delight in being able to proclaim with enthusiasm his love of peace. Thus on the tomb of John Galeazza Visconti, in the Carthusian monastery which he founded at Pavia, we read these verses—

"Cujus pietasque, fidesque
Sacraque justitia et clementia sanguinis expers
Innocuam fecere animam. Nec dulcior alter
Eloquio, nec magnificis præstantior alter,
Nec fuit in totis Europæ finibus unquam
Aptior imperiis princeps, nec sanctior alter
Religione fuit, nec pacis amantior illo:
Ipse graves, populis cruda de sede tyrannos
Dejecit, fregit tumidos, stravitque superbos.
Hic erat unde quies magnorum certa laborum
Italiæ speranda foret."

* Lib. v. 17.
† Geschichte Preussens, v. 390.
‡ Chronic. Claustro-Neoburg. ap. Pez. Script. Rer. Aust. i. § Annal. Mon. Oliv. 8.

The tenant of this tomb has been confounded by some authors with his successor, John Maria Visconti, whose effigy is in the same monastery, and who, as a most cruel prince, is generally represented with two bulldogs at his side, which he used to let loose upon the people: but the founder had many qualities of a great man. It was he who, when a child, being invited by his father, Galeazza, to point out who was the wisest of the company, which consisted of many grave and robed men, after considering a little in silence, went up to Petrarch, whom he had never seen before, and took him by the cloak, and led him to his father. Through life he evinced the same judgment, for he never was deceived by men or events. "This is less strange," says Paul Jovius, "when we consider his inveterate custom of walking and meditating alone, of seeking examples from old annals, and studying the institutions of the fathers. No hunting, or gambling, or dissolute pleasures led him from business, but always he exercised his mind in solid studies. He founded many noble libraries, and chose the wisest men for his council. There was a crowd of writers in his palace, who took down notes of every thing relative to the government; for he regulated even the number of dishes for solemn feasts. No prince of Italy, from the time of the Goths, flourished in greater power or splendour of life, and no one was comparable to him, if we regard his innate gravity and prudence, his dignity of form and countenance, or his study of virtue. The Florentines objected to him diverse lusts, but," says Paul Jovius, "they only sought to blacken their enemy." Admitting, however, that he had many faults, the monks believed that he was a lover of peace, while Italy acknowledged him as one of her greatest men.*

In conclusion we may observe, that even some features in the material construction of monasteries bear witness to the existence of desires in the men who erected them which are intimately connected with a love of peace. Such are those secret chambers and tribunes, expressly provided in order that the founders might assist at the solemn offices of the choir. Of these we have seen many instances. Thus in the Franciscan convent in Cork was an apartment built by the founder, Mackarty, surnamed the great, expressly for himself, to which he used to retire on the great

* Græv. Thes. Antiq. It. iii.

; and similarly in the upper story
abbey of the Celestins, at Mar-
there was a little lodging, called
nder's rooms, where John de Mon-
sed to make occasional retreats, and
it the offices, there being a window
hich opened over the sanctuary of
rch. It would be but fair to con-
also that men who could agree
r to make such foundations in com-
ust have had many qualities analo-
the object which these were intended
ver. Men who were not pacific,
ardly have acted thus in concert for
nd, which might so easily minister
secret purposes of egotism. The
an Abbey of Ebrach was founded
by two brothers, Berno and Rich-
ble lords of Ebran, with the aid of
ster Bertha. The great abbey of
an, of the same order, in a forest
anton of Lucerne, was founded by
brothers, Lutolph, Wernher, and
von Langenstein, whose castle was
neighbourhood at Roth.*

y, the affection expressed for mo-
s by their founders proves that
uld appreciate with peaceful hearts
d of such pacific institutions. Hart-
count of Kyburg, the successor of
d, founder of the city of Friburg,
etters of protection to the monas-
Hauterive, expresses himself in
markable terms. "I command and
ly ask you to honour and love the
s house of Alteripa, and whoever
o love and serve me should love it,
id doing it the least injury. I take
my protection. Let every one know
oever offends against that house, or
it, offends against my person. This
ommand to all our citizens of Fri-
at whenever they hear or know of
jury being committed against it,
ould so act towards the perpetra-
if the injury had been inflicted on
son."†

monastery of Swethl, or Claravallis,
tria, was founded by Hadmar de
m, a rich nobleman, in the year
Godeschalcus, abbot of the Holy
t Ratisbon, at his request, sent to
ermann, to be abbot, with twelve
others, whom he received with all
on. Having been determined as
ite for this foundation by a dream,

k Gallerie der Klöster Deutschlands, i.
latio Monast. de Altaripa, ap. Martene,
pt. tom. vi.

he had the spot cleared of trees, and the walls marked out; then mounting his horse, with Hermann, he gave for the monastery all the territory that he could encompass in one ride, whether in woods, waters, marshes, meadows, villages, towns, or churches. After many years the pious founder took the cross with Leopold VIII., duke of Austria, and departed to Egypt for Palestine. Before he set out, he came to the monastery with his two sons, Henry and Hadmar, and asked permission to enter the chapter, which being easily granted, he took leave of them all with many tears, saying to the brethren, "I know truly that I shall never again see this house while in my mortal body." Then he exhorted his two sons to love and defend it, telling them that otherwise they would incur the divine vengeance. So saying, he took off his belt, studded with silver and gold, and gave it to his eldest son Henry, saying, "Behold! I exonerate myself from the care of this holy house and congregation, and on you, beloved son, do I impose the burden of defending it, because, alas! I am compelled, unwilling, with death before me imminent, to desert this house which I have loved, and ever shall love, with all my strength. Love it as your heart and soul; and take this belt as the token of that love, and wear it next your heart, that you may never forget how it has been commended to your love, and that you may enjoy an eternal peace with all the saints." Then turning to his younger son, Hadmar, he gave him his best ring, and said, "Lo! beloved son, you have my name, you are my flesh and bone. I commend to you this house and congregation, that faithfully embracing and serving it you may possess an eternal mansion. In sign of the love that you ought to have towards this house, I deliver to you this ring, the sign and pledge of love." Then turning to the monks, who were all weeping, he said, "Beloved fathers and brothers, I commend to you my soul, that if perchance you cannot have my body, at least you may never forget my soul on account of God." Finally, calling into the chapter some of his secretaries who were to go with him to Jerusalem, he said, "O most dear and beloved, who for the sake of the kingdom of heaven are about to go with me into long banishment, and who perhaps are to behold my death, I abjure you by the tremendous day of judgment, that if you cannot bring back my body to this place of my foundation, at least you will bring back my heart

and my right hand to this beloved house; for I know that after my death this house can hardly have so cheerful a giver, or so benevolent and faithful a protector." Then bidding farewell to all, both old and young, he went out of the chapter, and entering the church, threw himself on his knees before the high altar, offering the secret prayers of his heart to God. Then proceeding forth, turning back repeatedly and sobbing, the abbot, monks, and lay brothers all accompanied him as far as the exterior gate. He wept aloud, and ejaculated, commending himself to God and to the blessed Virgin. Then mounting his horse, he rode slowly on, but on coming to high ground, at a place called Gaisrueck, whence he could contemplate the monastery in the valley below, he paused awhile. Resuming his course, still he turned round his horse frequently, casting back looks of sorrow, till at length, when the monastery could hardly be discerned any longer, he alighted a second time, and prostrating himself on the earth, with many tears commended again and again the monastery to God and to the blessed Virgin. When he reached the sea the weather was tempestuous. The sailors inviting him to embark, he besought them to wait till midnight, for he said he knew for certain that the Lord would still the waves at that hour, when his monks in Zwiethl would rise for matins and intercede for him. The event seemed to verify his words, for the wind fell at midnight, and the ship had a happy passage: but no sooner had he landed than he feel sick, and then being duly fortified by the sacraments, he rendered up his spirit to God on the vigil of St. Mary Magdalene in 1217. His servants, preserving his heart and right hand, brought them back with his bones to the monastery, and buried them in the chapter. Ebro, the abbot, described these scenes after what he had heard from those who were eye-witnesses.*

But we are taking scholar's road, not seeking the shortest way, but exploring every by-path, like boys who seem searching for an excuse to prolong their walk. The guide who is to conduct us on our return from the abbey waits however at the gate. Yet we have culled some fruit that may please well from this delay; for even to this last moment our researches, however indirect, into the history of these institutions, have added confirmation to our first statement. After so general and faithful a perambulation of the monastic state, we may confidently rest in that conclusion. Its identity with peace and all pacific interests may be to other observers a matter of theory; to us it must ever be henceforth a matter of fact. Peaceful was its object, peaceful even the locality it required, peaceful the origin of all its creations, peaceful the employment it enforced, peaceful the rule on which it depended, peaceful the wisdom which characterized it, and peaceful the discourse and manner of its children. Attached to their cells and to their own congregations, they were at peace with themselves, with their brethren, with every other order in the Church, and with all mankind. Peaceful was their influence; they conciliated rich and poor; their monasteries were founded as instruments of order and stability, as places of rest for the people, and as fortresses for the state; their founders were eminent for qualities analogous to such institutions, being themselves men of meekness and peace. If the monks whom they endowed so richly might be said to reign, the world should remember that they displayed at least the treasures which Plato required in those who ruled over mankind, —goodness and wisdom. Others might serve society by defending with arms its material interests; they sought to establish its happiness by diffusing tranquillity, and cultivating all the arts which can adorn the human existence. Theirs was a glory which never cost any one a sigh or a tear. Other reigns, as Tacitus remarks, are always pacific in the commencement; theirs was peaceful to the end. What more can be added? You may easily banish monks from your courts and from your parliaments, from your universities and your palaces, but not from the hearts of men: for, thanks to these holy champions of the Spouse, who came thus to her succour, whose fame yet lives, and shall live long as nature lasts,—

"——— The world has seen
A type of peace. And as some most serene
And lovely spot to a poor maniac's eye,
After long years, some sweet and moving scene
Of youthful hope, returning suddenly,
Quells his long madness,—thus man shall remember thee."

* Gasp. Jongel. Notit. Abb. Ord. Cist. Liv. iv. 24.

CHAPTER XX.

O now we are to take leave of the good monks, whom perhaps we shall never behold again. We must depart: "our lives flow in different directions," as lat said, on a similar occasion, to a Antonio; and probably we shall not ch other more in this world. "Ah, r!" methinks I hear the monk reply, s even so: we are used to this. We en whom we love for a day, and then finished. May the will of God be Take these flowers, these rosaries, little pictures, for my sake." "We separate," the departing guest says m again. The monk lifts up his and a smile of indescribable melan- and tenderness lights up the coun- e which that dark hood overshadows. ther accompanies him to the abbey After making ten or twelve steps, veller turns his head to look back, ere is the monk still standing, with n his eyes. "No!" exclaims one as witnessed such a scene; never I forget him. This meeting has ne of the sweetest impressions from rney to Italy's delightful land: it er constitute one of my fondest re- ons."

course to the monastery was en- l by discourse concerning the origin rent abbeys. Our return through est may be rendered profitable by g aside a little to visit the hermits ved solitary within a short distance nonks. As Sordello says to Dante,—

——— To the right
spirits sit apart retir'd. If thou
ntest, I to these will lead thy steps;
hou wilt know them, not without delight."

xcursion will introduce to us a dis- ranch of the pacific family that we ving, and enable us to complete, as personal observation, our history of who inherited the beatitude of the il; and well pleased methinks one to be at any invitation that will keep us longer under the leaves, inhaling the sweet mountain air, that will give us a few more breezes in the morning,— a few more wanderings, as if guided by the spirit described by Shakspeare "through bog, through bush, through brake, through briar," hearing the chiming of angelic bells, interrupted only by the murmuring of a river that doth fall from rock to rock transpicuous. Besides, who that is now bent on view of novel sights will be slow to turn from his road, when the allurement is to see a hermit, living in solitude remote, like him who for a dance was dragged to martyrdom? The heart, even in its blithest mood, cleaves to such an image, as poets well discerned, who so often chose it for their song: as in the lines,—

"A little lowly hermitage it was,
Downe in a dale, hard by a forest's side,
Far from resort of people, that did pass
In travaill to and froe: a little wyde
There was an holy chapell edifyde,
Wherein the hermite dewly went to say
His holy things each morne and eventyde:
Thereby a christall streame did gently play,
Which from a sacred fountaine welled forth alway."*

And in the next,—

"Thence forward by that painful way they pas
Forth to an hill, that was both steepe and hy;
On top whereof a sacred chappell was,
And eke a little hermitage thereby,
Wherein an aged holy man did lie,
That day and night paid his devotion,—
Of God and goodnes was his meditation."†

Never did any with more speed haste to their profit, or flee from their annoyance, than would a youth in days of yore, when such a father was described, spring upon his horse and ride to visit him. The race of hunters who find delight in piercing through the woods can still be found. Let there be then also those who, as the poet says, "chase through the forest of the pathless past these recollected pleasures." The very intimation of a course through

* Spencer, i. 1. † Id. i. 10.

deserts to the hermitage, which would have charmed those dames and knights of antique days, renews the joy I felt when first I did inhale the Tuscan air.

This mode of life dates from the earliest ages. We read that Elias and Elisha, and the sons of the prophets, dwelt in the wildernesses, and built themselves tabernacles near the banks of the Jordan. Similar men were described by Moses, as the sons of Seth, who separated themselves to the service of God.* Hence we read, that the missionaries of that order which took its name from Mount Carmel, where Elias dwelt, and to which Pythagoras repaired to enjoy the solitude of its temple,† found a great advantage in Persia from their character as children of the prophet Elija, whose authority is so great throughout the east.‡ In the constitutions of the blessed Rodulph, the fourth prior of Camaldoli, given in the year 1080, we find cited the examples not only of David and Elias, of Elijah and St. John the Baptist, of our Saviour and the ancient fathers of the desert, but also those of the Gentile philosophers, "who, though they followed other camps, are not to be despised," adds the holy man, "since they made philosophy consist in the meditation of death, and in the renouncement of pleasure: they despised riches and fled the world, saying that it was difficult to be rich and wise. And they, indeed, were not instructed by doctrines, or excited by examples, or won by promises, to choose such an admirable life; and yet some of us Christians are more tepid than they were; and, for an eternal reward, have less fervour than these men evinced for fame and glory. O shame, to be more indifferent than infidels! Whence is this? Is there not a country in exile, a feast in the desert, pleasures in penitence, joys in the place of horror and of vast solitude?"§ In fact, to show that our Lord Jesus demonstrated the similitude of all ecclesiastical professions in Himself, the author of an ancient manuscript, found in the abbey of St. James at Liege, observes that Christ proposed Himself as a model to hermits, as well as to monks; for when they sought to make Him a king, we read that He fled to a mountain alone; and elsewhere, that He walked no more openly with the Jews, but withdrew into a region near the desert to the city of Ephrem, where He remained with His disciples; and again, that in those days He went to a mountain to pray, and was all night in prayer to God.* How soon the Church reckoned hermits among her visible children, may be learned from the histories of the fathers of the desert: but indeed, in all regions, they seem to have followed the first preachers of the faith. During the persecution of Aurelian, we find an anchorite in Gaul, St. Parre, whose hermitage was near the city of Troyes. The emperor, when this holy man was brought into his presence, addressed him in disdainful mood, "I hear that you are of a noble race, and yet you pass your days like a wolf in solitude!" After the time of St. Jerome, when it became the opinion of holy men that generally the life in community which supplied examples of every grace, and delivered each member from all personal cares, was preferable to the solitary life, there still continued to be hermits, who either wandered through the deserts, living upon roots, and having no fixed habitation, or built huts for themselves under some rocks, or in forests, where the peasants supplied their necessary wants. All through the middle ages, however, such a life was deemed fitting only for men of great perfection, so constituted as not to brook transporting from that cloudless air: "for solitude," says Peter of Blois, "endangers many. They wandered in the desert, saith the text, and perished by serpents. I consider serpents the viperous thoughts which encompass you in solitude."† Moreover, a life of this kind in the woods was not wholly without danger. In the vast solitudes of Palestine the hermits were sometimes killed by the Sarassins; and even in Europe, from impious Christians they used to suffer violence and death. Hence, in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, hermits began, after the example of the recluses, to live two or three together. Thus Ascelin, seigneur of Marly-la-ville in the twelfth century, retired into the deep solitary valley where stood the abbey of Herivaux in after time, and there led a secluded life of devotion for thirty years, with some companions, hermits, whom he had assembled round him. In 1160, with their consent, he obtained leave from Maurice de Sully, bishop of Paris, to unite the little community under the rule of St. Augustin.‡

In many places of Switzerland and Ger-

* Middendorp, Originum Anachoreticarum Sylva, Præf.

† Jamblich. de Pyth. Vit. 3.

‡ Dosithée, Vie de St. Jean de la Croix.

§ Annal. Camaldul. tom. iii. Append.

* Liber de Diversis Ordinibus quæ sunt in Ecclesia, ap. Martene, Vet. Script. tom. ix.

† Contra Depravat. ‡ Lebœuf, iv.

these wood-brothers lived thus a godly
nd revived the habits of the primitive
ts. Thus brother John, called of Rut-
in the wilderness of Sedel, near Gan-
wil, is described as resembling those
:ient times. After the manner of the
athers, with his brethren, he so devoted
lf to God, under a strict eremitical
f life, that he drew not a few to piety,
: mere force of his example.* Some
s of St. Gall lived with him; and
udes, great and low, came to be edified
: spectacle. Count Frederic of Tog-
rg bestowed on them and their succes-
ie ground, on which they might build
ouses and chapel; and Henry, bishop
nstance, took them under his protec-
.nd confirmed their hermitage. Others
them such large alms that they were
o buy some other land from the con-
of Maggenau. Similarly, in other
, hermits were fixed; the priests of
rish sometimes setting apart for them
rer was collected at certain masses.
ost celebrated of the German wood-
rs was Bernard, who, in 1400, lived
at holiness at Pfanneregg. Generally
upported themselves by working with
hands, and by casual alms. They
ed to no order; but, like the anacho-
of Thebaid and Syria, remained in
le as long as they wished, and where
rished.†

s vocation to a solitary religious life
not limited to any age, the Church
sly provided a manner of fulfilling it
rould suit all times, and be exempt
angers and inconveniences; and accor-
, in the Carthusian order, which was
stablishment of the eremitical life,
le was enjoyed without its perils, and
ned with the advantages of a life in
unity.‡ The institution of the her-
of Camaldoli was established with the
riew. Those belonging to the latter
who lived in the wood of Grosbois, in
ocese of Paris, are thus described by
bbé Châtelain, who visited them in
"They have nine cells, forming two
streets; and in each cell there is an
y for mass. They say matins at one
morning, tierce before mass, sextes
diately before dinner, nones at two,
s before supper, and complin on retiring
t.§ In deserts of this kind men used

nfirmatio Episc. Constant. 1375.
lefons von Arx, Geschichte des S. Gall, ii.
st. Sutorus, De Vita Carthusiana, Lib. i.
iii. i.
sbœuf, Hist. du Diocèse de Paris, xiii. 41.

to make retreats for a season. Thus Ugolino, bishop of Ostia, cardinal, and afterwards Pope Gregory IX., withdrew into that of Camaldoli, on the Tuscan mountains, along with St. Francis of Assisi, where his cell is still shown, with a chapel at the end of the desert, immediately adjoining that of St. Francis. Still, however, the ancient and original life of anachorites without such resources and security, was perpetuated in the Church throughout the middle ages. Then, as we find from the life of St. Wulstan, the vast wood of the Malvern Hills contained the holy hermits Aldwin and Guido.* Then St. Guthlac followed the same peaceful life in the fens of Lincolnshire, making his hut of reeds from the oozy bed around some islet, that far beneath where the wave beats it, produces them in store; on which solitary tract the effigy of a hermit still recalls him before the lonely hostels, that for many ages have not seen sailing on those waters a living man that contemplates. Then, as in the eleventh century, there were in Italy solitary hermits, Andreas Zocrard; John Vincent, who had been archbishop of Ravenna; and Bononius, who had penetrated into the centre of Egypt, before fixing himself in the solitude of Pereus. Then, in almost every extensive tract of desert country, whether forest or bare stony ridge that rose still higher than the thunder's voice, some holy anachorite, unguarded and unaided, save by casual charity, was known to dwell,—

——— οἵτ' ἄλσεα καλὰ νέμονται,
καὶ πηγὰς ποταμῶν καὶ πίσεα ποιήεντα.†

In the middle ages such men could easily choose and construct their own abode. The ancient laws allow a common traveller, passing through a forest, to light a fire, to let his horse graze, and to pull down branches; if he perceive the trunk of a tree that may be of service to his cart, he may cut it down for the purpose.‡ Under the forest laws, hermits, by a general tacit understanding, were privileged persons, and might remain in the woods unmolested. Frequently their hermitages were however often built, or at least kept in repair, by the peasants and poor villagers, who used also to charge themselves with supplying the holy man who chose it for his abode with food, which was the same as that which they gave to their own children,—cheese, and milk, and

* Rer. Angl. Script. † Il. xx. 8.
‡ Michelet, Origin du Droit, 411.

fruits; for the little garden adjoining supplied roots. They would also at intervals furnish him with a new hood, and with skins for his bed:* for—wiser than some minute moralists, who, now perplexing others as themselves, accuse him of neglecting duties—they knew that his heart, ever bent on working good, responded in every pulse to the common heart of humankind; and that he only followed meekly his vocation, diffusing his good influence to bless the earth. They had often proof, besides, how much he loved them. One old hermit at Cuziba used to go by night and sow the fields of such poor persons as had not the means of procuring seed. Whenever he saw any one weary with a burden, he would assist him to carry it: he would even mend the shoes of the poor, and carry water and provisions for them.† Pambus, another of the ancient anachorites, said in dying, "From the time when I first came into this desert place, I never spent a day without doing something with my hands." The affinity which seemed to exist between solitary religious men and certain localities might suggest a reflection on the œconomy of the Church, which never permitted that any thing should be lost or thrown away: for as in the natural world the process of decomposition conduces to the life of animals, so in the spiritual order deserted edifices—as ruined monasteries—used to be selected by hermits for their abode, that there might be no waste of such precious fragments. Thus at Châtres, in the diocese of Paris, the church of St. Germain, of Auxerre, standing solitary, serving only to the devotion of a few scattered houses at a distance, in the seventh century St. Corbinien availed himself of the solitude, and, building a cell near it, lived there as a recluse, until the people flocking to him—great lords, and even Pepin, mayor of the palace, sending to desire his prayers—the holy man was troubled, and after fourteen years departed on a pilgrimage.‡

The abbey of Hiverneau becoming uninhabited about the year 1560, some hermits repaired there, and took up undisturbed possession. One of these was Brother Remounet d'Arces, of the ancient house of Arces, in Dauphiny, who was instructed in letters in his youth, and suffered himself to slide into the heresy of these times, which began in his day, in which he remained during twenty years, and bore arms for them. At length, after hearing the sermons, and frequenting the company of great preachers and doctors, he gave himself to prayer and study for four years, comparing the books of the heretics with those of the Catholics, and in the end recognised his error, abjured it, and as a penance came to this hermitage in the year 1588, where he spent the rest of his life. After giving all his goods to the poor, he built himself a little lodging in this place, and devoted his whole time to prayer, to assisting the poor, and consoling the afflicted. He even began to write certain works of morals, and others on the mysteries of religion against heresies; but his labours were interrupted by death in 1598, in the fifty-ninth year of his age, to the great grief of the nobility and of all the people,"—this is the substance of his epitaph. He used to be called Brother Marcian or Raimond. He had remained there two years unknown. Henry IV. visited him, calling him his carabine; and when he heard the news of his death he said, "Voilà, comme Dieu attire à soi les bons."*

In general, however, the spot chosen by such men for their habitation was near some monastery, which supplied their wants; where, as Dante says,—

> "So firmly to God's service they adher'd,
> That with no costlier viands than the juice
> Of olives, easily they pass'd the heats
> Of summer, and the winter frosts, content
> In heav'n-ward musings."

In the eleventh century, the abbey of St. John the Baptist, at Tourtal, in Suabia, attracted many hermits, who selected the desert valley around it for their abode. "In that vast wilderness," says the chronicle of Berthold of Constance, "as if in an uninhabitable place, inaccessible from the density of the forest and the snow-capt precipices of rocks, they militated for God." Thus St. Benedict, after remaining three years unknown to men, and known only to God,—as St. Bernard says,†—became a cherished neighbour of monks at Subiaco. There being no path from the cell of the monk who supplied him with provisions to the cavern, which lay at the bottom of a precipitous ravine, this good man, standing on the brink, used to let down the food into the deep abyss by a long cord, to the end of which a little bell was fastened, in order that the hermit might know when it arrived.

* Monteil, Hist. des Français, tom. iv. p. 320.
† Sophron. Pratum Spirituale, 24.
‡ Lebœuf, Hist. du Diocèse de Paris, x.

* Lebœuf, Hist. du Diocèse de Paris, xii. p. 98.
† De S. Ben. Abb. Serm.

The Benedictines commemorate these
t years of their founder in their hymn
vespers on his festival,—

"Ille florentes peragebat annos
Cum puer dulcis patriæ penates
Liquit, et solus latuit silenti
Conditus antro.
Inter urticas, rigidosque sentes
Vicit altricem scelerum juventam;
Inde conscripsit documenta vitæ
Pulchra beatæ."

ilarly, near the abbey of Croyland, where
the wooden cell of St. Guthlac, dwelt
ain hermits, in holy familiarity with
l. One was a nobleman but lately con-
ed to the Catholic faith, and named
sa, who, having left all, followed Christ.
ther was Bettellinus, a third Egbert, a
rth Tatwinus. The fame of St. Guthlac,
he time of King Ethelred, gave a great
rest to the monastery of Croyland, near
ch he lived. He was descended from
a, lord of the Mercians. Tecta and
wald were his parents. Felix the Bur-
dian, says Orderic Vitalis, wrote the
s of this holy hermit, but in a prolix
e. "I undertake," he adds, "to speak
fly of his life, at the prayer of my
hren, with whom I spent five weeks at
yland, by the benevolent order of the
erable Abbot Goisfred. Doubtless the
tal of the holy deeds of the Saxons, or
glish beyond the sea, will not be less
ful to faithful Cisalpines than the history
the Greeks or Egyptians, concerning
om one reads such long and profitable
rations, collected by the zeal of holy
tors."* Some men lived as hermits with-
he very walls of the monastery. Thus
ngal, an Irish recluse, resided within the
ey of St. Denis, where he wrote a book
the year 810. Sometimes men passed
n the eremitical to the monastic life.
e humble and blessed James, a religious
n of the order of the seraphical Father
Francis, had lived some time in his own
ntry, Andalusia, as a hermit, near a cer-
a old and solitary church, in the company
a devout priest, who was a hermit, wear-
the same habit with him, and employ-
himself in the holy exercises of prayer
l meditation. They had both one gar-
n, which they cultivated, as well to shun
ness, as to sustain their poor life. They
o employed themselves in making spoons,
bes, and such like things, of wood; which
y either gave to the poor, or else sold
m, that they might give alms with the
ce of them.†

But now, eager to discover one who in his life revives the saintly anachorite, let us bend our thoughts exclusively to find him: though, when we shall succeed, I scarce can say: for how shall the wish that takes us over the mountain be fulfilled, if there be no clue to guide us beside this most remote, most wild, untrodden path? How shall we discover the hermitage, riding thus at a venture, beneath green leaves and gloomy branches, that often overbrow a bleak and alpine cliff? Hermits were so free from what Montaign terms the cowardly ambition of wishing to draw glory from their concealment, that they acted like the animals which efface the track at the entrance of their den. This could not, however, always be effected. The Père Sicard followed long that road of the angels composed of a number of stones, for many days' journey, through the desert, which used of old to direct the steps of the anachorites.* What may excite surprise is the circumstance that some paths through places now most populous were first made by hermits, who little could foresee what men would in after ages tread them. Thus, in ancient times, there was a causeway from Highgate, made by a hermit who lived on the summit, leading to the village of Islington. Even where faith and innocence prevailed, they shunned the neighbourhood of a thoroughfare; in that respect alone like Sarpedon:—

ἦτοι ὁ κὰπ πεδίον τὸ Ἀλήϊον οἶος ἄλᾶτο,
ὃν θυμὸν κατέδων, πάτον ἀνθρώπων ἀλεείνων.†

In 1213, Pope Innocent sent letters to Count Guido, complaining of his having made a public road through the desert, near the hermitage of Camaldoli, on which not only armed men, but actors and actresses pass; thus disturbing the peace and tranquillity of these holy men serving God in solitary meditation. He entreats him to consider his old age, and how his life cannot be long, and that after death only his works can follow him; and adds, that, if he refuses, he will order his brethren, the archbishop of Pisa, and the bishops of Florence and Arezzo, to stop that public way by censure ecclesiastic.‡ After St. Romuald had constructed the cells on the mountain, perceiving that the silence of the desert was interrupted by the crowds of strangers who came to visit them, in order to remove from the hermits all secular sounds, he built lower

Hist. Lib. iv. † Ribadineira Novemb. ii.

* Let. Edif. v. xxix. † Il. vi. 201.
‡ Annal. Camald. Lib. xxxvii.

down, at a spot most agreeable for its beauty, a large hospice to receive the strangers; and there he left one monk, who was a priest, and three lay brethren, to receive strangers with all the sweetness of holy charity. This hospice became the monastery which was so celebrated.*

Perhaps a description of some favourite haunts of hermits will serve to direct our steps in quest of them: for we find that, in general, their predilections in this respect were very similar. With this view it will be needless to speak of islands to which we cannot now pass over, though we should be sure to succeed in our search upon them, however savage they might be. When St. Fulgentius, meditating flight into Egypt to escape the incursions of the Vandals, arrived at Syracuse, having conversed with Eulalius the bishop, he passed the sea into an island called the Isle of the Cyclops, in which he found a blessed hermit, Ruffinus, living in great austerity.† At present our research must be confined to woods and mountains, or at most the shore.

At the foot of a desert rock, at Cape Matapan, in Greece, Michaud found a hermitage, and he takes occasion to observe, that Piety, which flies from the troubles and vicissitudes of life, is pleased at contemplating the stormy seas, and the asperity of solitary mountains. Elsewhere, during his travels, where his countrymen were living, he says he was struck with the melancholy fact, that in modern times corruption and solitude are united, and that the very sacred spots which were formerly reserved for the devotion of hermits are now soiled by some seductive spells and pleasures vain.‡

In the middle ages there were few places peculiarly remarkable for natural beauty, for the repose of a sublime solitude, in which one was not sure to find a hermit, who often served the pilgrim as his guide, or gave him warning in such words as, "The sun hastes and evening comes. Delay not, while there is nought to hinder, down this rock thy safe descent; for it is so steep that nimblest steps to tread it are required. Ere the western sky is hung with blackness, strive ye for the pass." An ancient forest of chesnuts, whose huge gnarled interwining trunks might so easily be converted into a cell, under the dark curtain of their foliage casting heavy shades, or the side of any mountain near the rills that glitter down the grassy slopes, making fresh and soft the banks through which they glide into the forest lower down, were sites which well suited him. Thus on Mount Ezel, where St. Meinrad led an eremitical life in the ninth century, I found, while thunder roared, one night a hermit at his prayers; and until the revolution there was always a succession of such men upon Mount Valerian on the Seine, which commands that beautiful view over the forest of St. Germain and the French capital, on which three crosses stood, which had been erected in the thirteenth century. In the reign of Charles VI., Anthony, a solitary hermit, lived on this mount; for whom Gerson, chancellor of the church of Paris, prescribed a plan of life, which begins with these words: "Johannes Cancellarius indignus Ecclesiæ Parisiensis Antonio Recluso in Monte Val, fructum eremicolæ solitudinis adipisci." In 1556, Guillemette Faussart became a recluse on this mountain, where she built a little chapel with the alms of Henry Guyof and of Gilles Martine. While this was building, every night, after her prayers, she used to go down to the river and carry up as much water as served the masons for the whole of the next day. She closed her penitential life in 1561, at the end of five years. After her death, John de Houssai came here to be a hermit in her cell, having received the habit from the Carthusians. He lived chiefly upon roots and bread and water, rarely eating eggs or fish: his whole time was spent in prayer and reading, and in consoling such persons as came to him with permission from the bishop of Paris, or from the Penitentiary. He slept in his white robe; and there he lived during forty-six years, excepting for an interval, on the occasion of the civil wars, when, being troubled by the armed men, he retired to the college of Montaigu at Paris, among the poor scholars. He died in his 70th year in the year 1609, and was buried near sister Guillemette on the mountain, in presence of the clergy and of many great lords. He was honoured during his life, and frequently visited by the Kings Henri III. and Henri IV., to whom it is said that he even predicted the manner of their death. The inhabitants of Surenne and the neighbouring villages used to have recourse to him in public calamities, and beg his intercession. In 1574 Thomas Guygadon, a native of Morlaix in Brittany, obtained leave to inhabit the cell of this holy hermit; and after him Pierre de Blois lived there fifty-one years and two months, till his death in 1639. In 1638, brother John le Comte, native of Mans, died on this

* Annal Camald. Lib. iv.
† Sicilia Sacra, i. 592.
‡ Correspondence d'Orient, 41.

ain, after having lived there as a her-
ring forty years. Seraphim de la
having taken the habit of a hermit
, in the bishopric of Viterbo, came
nd was supported by the alms of
Marguerite de Valois. In the middle
seventeenth century the hermits on
ountain formed a community, which
till the revolution. They had all
perior, who was to examine their
ns to an eremitical life, and without
consent they could do nothing extra-
y. They fed upon vegetables, worked
the ground, maintained silence, and
often. They had each a separate
d a common chapel, in which mass
ily said. They were laymen, who
o vows. The last of these hermits
name is recorded was Nicolas de la
re, who had exercised the profession
rgeon.*

has not heard of the hermits of
Serrat? Let me record a narrative
ing these rocks, which I should not
epeated if the venerable and learned
r from whose lips I heard it had been
till; but now, without offence, I may
me of Chevalier with the rest enrol.
I visited them shortly after the revo-
and, on my questioning him respect-
ir picturesque beauty, for that benign
an condescended often to converse
e, he replied as follows: "I knew
vell; for I once spent fifteen days
ghts in the cell of the hermit, which
the highest peak of the saw'd rock,
purpose of making trigonometrical
tions, by order of the French govern-
Two months before I arrived, the
who had inhabited that cell was
ed by a man, who mounted up the
f the rock, grappling each splinter
ushed from crag to crag. His books
otion, his crucifix, a skull, and his
bedstead, were all still preserved
vith religious respect. At that time
were twelve hermits living on the
ain, the nearest of whose cells was at
er of a league from mine lower down.
of these hermits had been officers in
alry of Spain, and others were priests.
ll seemed to me to be men of ascetic
n, profoundly convinced of the vanity
an things, and yet nothing could be
weet and gentle than their manners.
ey were only reviving here; for we
ll read in the Moniteur, during the
e war, how the French soldiers had
seized the hermits, and hurled them from
the rocks, in places where the noise made
by their reaching the ground could not be
heard. That was now partly forgotten; other
hermits had supplied their place, and only
the late murder had left one cell deserted.
I put my mattress on the very planks
which had served him for his bed. As
the observations were made in the night
by means of concentrated lamps, I used
to go down in the day, and spend my time
on the roads and in the fields adjacent; and
I used often to converse with the peasants
in their dialect without their discovering
who I was. What devil is that on the
rock's point, whose flame we see every
night? I used sometimes to say to them,
'What is he doing?' 'No good, seignior;
no good. It is a preparation for fresh wars,
and the next time we shall not escape.' In
fact, the atrocities of the French soldiers
had been horrible: they used to fasten the
Spaniards to the trees, and then set fire to
them. I was sometimes alarmed for my
own safety; but the curate of the parish,
who was an excellent and a learned man,
gave me confidence. Upon my asking him
whether he had ever heard his parishioners
threaten me, he said that some had used
high words, but that he had preached a ser-
mon to them in my behalf, telling them that
I was there only for the interests of naviga-
tion and commerce, which was for the good
of all men; and that I was myself a good
Christian, and that every day I used to as-
sist at his mass. The brave peasants after-
wards used to come to my cell and bring
me game, for which they would take no pay-
ment. I used to amuse myself on the
mountain with botanical researches. For
one reduced like me now to lean upon a
staff, that were no ground. Often, with
breath exhausted from my lungs, I could
no further mount, but did seat me. The
life I led there was something paradisiacal;
and even now, at this distance of time, its
remembrance sweetens my old age, as my
grey hairs are descending in bitterness to
my grave."

The crags and splinters of the rocks that
surround abbeys, along which one coasts as
a man walks near the battlements on a nar-
row wall, are generally associated with the
memory of hermits, though to reach them,
feet avail not without help of hands. At
Vallombrosa I saw the chasm in the hard
stone where a hermit had made his bed for
forty years; and when I visited the abbey
of St. Maurice, in the Valais, I was directed
to visit the hermit who lived in a cavern on

* Œuf, Hist. du Diocèse de Paris, vii. 129.

the side of the precipice which adjoins that house. Rugged was the rock and steep; a path not easy for the clambering goat to mount. There I found that old man, hoary white with age, blind but cheerful. He refused to cover his head with his cowl, though it was the season when the sun least veils his face, and the fly gives way to the shrill knat; and on my urging him, he replied, as if he saw, saying, "Since a youth has not declined enduring the fierce heat to ascend my scorching rock, I at least, a poor old man, long withered, need not fear it." Near Fribourg, in the rocks which overhang the river Sane, cut out of the cliff, a suite of solemn rooms, through which its dark waves resound loud roaring, so as to stun the ear, still recalls the hermit who once inhabited them. His hands had wrought them. It was with some difficulty that I waded across that bellowing stream, which in 1708 proved fatal to some poor scholars who were passing it in a boat, on the festival of St. Antony, intending to visit the hermit. In the chain of Apennines, through which you travel going from Piceno into Umbria, there is a wooded valley, having Sentino Nova on the right and Fabriano on the left, which is shut in with vast rocks, from which a river falls precipitously, causing a murmur of waters to complete the charm of that vale. Beneath the rock there is a cavern, which was a den of wolves, where they used to bring forth and rear their young; so that the valley received from the country people the name of Pascilupi; and there dwelt some hermits, to whom fled for refuge the first friars, who revived the habit and the life of blessed Francis; for this desert of Pascilupi was accessible only by one path, and that most steep and rough; so that the tumult of men seemed completely cut off here, as if to verify the promise, "Abscondes eos in abscondito faciei tuæ et conturbatione hominum."*

The Creator of the world seemed to have provided such shelter expressly for the hermit; and such men loved it with a poet's love. "There is a cave," says one, who would have lived happier in such a dwelling,

"All overgrown with trailing odorous plants,
Which curtain out the day with leaves and flowers;
And there is heard the ever-moving air,
Whispering without from tree to tree; and birds
And bees: and all around are mossy seats;
And the rough walls are clothed with long grass—
A simple dwelling, which shall be our own;
Where we will search
For hidden thoughts, each lovelier than the
——— and, like lutes
Touched by the skill of the enamoured wind
Weaves harmonies divine, yet ever new,
From difference sweet, where discord cannot

Such were those caves on the mount over Parma, in Calabria, of which entrance is so covered with aromatic pla where blessed Helias, Abbot, and St. Ni lived a solitary life.*

Arriving at the noon-tide hour, wh one of these old caverns seems yet to k the moonlight of the expired night asle through which the awakened day can ne enter, the traveller of the middle ages of found at the entrance sitting its inhabit the hermit. Thus on the mountain Bruncaberg, near Holmes, in Denma there was a great cavern, in which herm used to live who gave salutary advice persons passing out of the city.† After however, there can be no certain clue guide us; for often hermits had no fi residence. Marinus had probably certain seat at first, but, like the anci anachorites, went here and there eithe avoid the multitude, or in quest of necessaries of life. It was not till l that he and St. Romuald made themsel a hermitage in the island of St. Mich near Venice.‡ Through this ancient fo then, whose thick shade with lively gre ness the new-springing day attempers, us roam and search its limits round. H when we least expect it, the hermits r come suddenly upon us; as those Camaldoli appeared once to me, descend from their desert to the monastery to hol chapter there. I shall never forget h all my sense in ravishment was l on beholding them emerge from amon the rocks in the dark pine forest which I was wandering. Their l white habits, flowing beards, and sw calm countenances, with eyes bent do ward, formed such a picture among crags and trees as Titian and Zurba never traced. I stood immoveable, and believe should have fallen on my kne but for the suddenness of the visi which, ere I could collect my thoug was past.

Count Roger, hunting in the desert

* Annal. Capucinorum, 1526.

* Gabrielis Barrii de Antiq. et Situ Calabr ii. Thes. Antiq. It. ix.

† Olai Magni Septent. Hist. ix. 11.

‡ Annal. Camald. i. 33.

Squillace, in Calabria, experienced amaze like mine. His dogs barked at the entrance of a cave; and within it he discovered Bruno, the son of a noble house of Cologne, whom the love of solitude had conducted there, after spending his youth in the schools of Paris. In the year 1117, some boatmen on the river Athesis, penetrating into a certain wood called Satutius, near Verona, discovered a hermit who had lived there unknown in solitude twenty years. He was a German, named Gualfardus, who in 1097, left his native town of Augsbourg, and had travelled to Italy. These boatmen led him into the city, where he was received into the monastery of the Holy Saviour in Curteregia.*

Milton met a hermit when he was travelling from Rome to Naples, and he is obliged to record the service he rendered him in introducing him to John Baptiste Manso, marquis of Villa, to whom Tasso addressed his book on friendship.†

But now, supposing ourselves in presence of the hermit, let us with due reverence salute the man of holy solitude, who makes the forest thronged with visitants. In his visage glows a benign joy and a paternal love, which may embolden the most diffident to accost him. He will forgive our curiosity if we inquire who he is, and what has induced him to embrace so extraordinary mode of life. Let us meekly entreat him to reveal it, though we cannot always reckon upon obtaining a satisfactory reply; for some kept their secret.

The convertite of Classe, who excited Romulus to become a hermit, when he used to converse with him while he was doing penance in that monastery, is called by the ancient writers "the blessed unknown;" and always addressed with the title, Beati incogniti.‡

Brother Ulrich was a hermit in Switzerland, of great renown, and no one could relate who he was or whence he came. All that was known respecting him was his first coming to the wood in the year 1473. He appeared then to be a rich nobleman, about fifty years of age, who travelled with five horses, and came to Unterwalden, in order to see the hermit, Nicholas Von de Flue, of whom he had heard much. The conversation of the blessed man made such an impression on him, that he resolved on the spot to remain all the rest of his days in the wilderness, and to follow him. Nicholas, after proving him a long time, gave him a small house, not far from the chapel at Ranft, where he might serve the priest's mass, and give an answer to the pilgrims. He passed under the name of Brother Ulrich, and led a most holy life, following the instructions of Nicholas. Afterwards he inhabited a wooden cell in the forest, wearing a brown habit, and beads at his girdle, and walking bare-footed. In 1486 he made a pilgrimage to Rome, to visit the holy places, in company with Lucas Kölblin, the priest of Muthathal; and though he soon returned, it was only in time to find his brother hermit, Nicholas, at the extremity, and to close his eyes. He followed him upon the feast of Corpus Christi, and was buried with great mourning in a side chapel in the church at Kerns. The inscription on the stone was,

"Here lies Brother Ulrich, who died blessed, in the year 1491."

No one ever knew his origin or family: some in modern times suppose that he was a Bavarian, from Munich, others a Suabian from Memmingen.* He was not the only one unknown among those who followed the instruction of this hermit: another was the holy recluse virgin Cæcilia, whose family name was never discovered. She inhabited a lonesome dwelling in the wood, a quarter of a league from Ranft, and near the chapel of brother Ulrich, where she led such an angelic life, that all the country was amazed. She died in the year 1565, at the age of more than a hundred, having survived Nicholas seventy-eight years. She also was buried at Kerns, and many miracles were wrought through her intercession.

Suatocope, king of Bohemia, having been vanquished by the Emperor Arnulph, retired into a desert, where he passed the rest of his days with some hermits, who never knew who he had been until the hour before his death, when he informed them that he had been a king, and that he had never found true happiness until he had joined their society.†

However, in the chronicles of the middle ages we find frequent mention of hermits, whose life and conversion were no secret. Some, like the last, had been sons of kings,

* Annal. Camald. Lib. 23.
† Second Defence of the People of England.
‡ Annal. Camald. Lib. ii. 56.

* Leben und Geschichte des Nikol. By [illegible] senbach, 271.
† Ord. Vit.

who had exchanged their jewels for a set of beads, their gorgeous palace for a hermitage. The blessed Josse was son of Judicael, king of Brittany, and brother of another king. Being sought for to be made king, he set out on a pilgrimage to Rome, with eleven others, after giving up his studies in the convent of Lanmelmon. Seven years after, he served God in the hermitage of Braïc, on the river Quantia, where he lived on birds and little fish. With his own hands he built in the forest two oratories of wood, enriching them with the relics which he had brought from Rome.*

Many hermits in the middle ages had been great noblemen. In 1166, St. William, Duc de Guyenne, and count of Poitiers, retired to a hermitage, where he lived many years, till his death. His body was interred in a little garden, which he used to cultivate, and an oratory was afterwards erected over the spot. Guido, of the noble family of the Gherardesca, count of Donoraticus, in the fortieth year of his age, through the love of Christ, became a hermit in the desert of Camaldoli. Dying there, in 1140, all the bells of his former domains are said to have tolled, as Nicholas Brautius Sarsinas records in his poetical martyrology,

"Vasta virum clarum vivum celavit eremus,
Defunctum sanctum cymbala sacra sonant."†

Some anachorites, as in the first ages of the church, had been distinguished in the world by their crimes, for which they now were doing penance, but in a spirit very unlike that of Athæmenes, son of Catreus, king of Crete, of whom we read that having ignorantly slain his father, according to the predictions of an oracle, he fell into despair, and not being able to endure to meet men, or support their presence, turned aside and gave himself up to the desert, wandering alone until he died through grief.‡ The Christian penitent in solitude had peace, being ever fed with kindly hope.

Francis Sichichi, a youth, had been a celebrated assassin. Having cut off with a sword the arm of Leonard Cannizarius, his fellow townsman, he was punished with torture and prison. Thus his heart was changed; so assuming a hermit's dress, he inhabited a cave on the mountains near the monastery of St. Ma Bosco, in Sicily, where in fasting prayer, and other holy exercises, he a hermit, serving mass, and commu ing daily in the monastery till his when he was buried as a friend of G the town of Clusa.*

Hermits there were, however, m strong affections, who embraced th of solitude through a sinking of the from sorrow, and a faintness that have no other end but death. They men who sought to hide from the w eye a grief so profound and tender, only He who made the heart, could pathize with its sufferings. Spense scribes one of these as being so dan that no joy

"In all his life, which afterwards he had,
He ever tasted, but with penaunce sad
And pensive sorrow pind and wore away
Ne ever laught, ne once shew'd countenanc
But alwaie wept and wailed night and da
Unto those woods he turned backe again
And finding there fit solitary place
For wofull wight, chose out a gloomy gla
Where hardly eye mote see bright heaven
For mossy trees, which covered all with
And sad melancholy; there he his cabin ma

Some of these hermits, of whom are such charming pictures in the o mantic fabling of Spain, who used to sl knights, as when the old recluse in landes of Bordeaux received Elie, of Thoulouse, had themselves been kn Such in later times was the celeb Nicholas of the Rock, who had long a soldier serving his country, but l still more God, or as St. Jerome says, habitu alterius alteri militabat."‡ H been a perfect knight, defending w and orphans, and all poor persons, venting as far as he could, all pl and excess, declaring that a soldier sl be distinguished not more by courage by mildness, and justice, and peace.§ Abbot Blasius, his contemporary, "he is indeed in our times a wond hermit, living in the desert, and h fasted for twenty years: of whom than a hundred thousand witnesses speak, and not merely ordinary pe and his own countrymen, but pontiffs princes, such as Popes Sixtus IV. Innocent VIII., the Emperor Fre III., Archduke Sigismond of Austri bishop of Constance, and many other

* Orderic. Vit. Lib. iii.
† Annal. Camald. Lib. xxv.
‡ Diodorus.
* Sicilia Sacra, ii. 890.
† iv. 7.
‡ Epist. 79.
§ Weissenb

that posterity can never doubt respecting him. The Abbot Conrad von Wiblingen told me himself, that he had held a long conversation with him, and that the hermit in reply to his first salutation, "you are the man who has spent so many years without food," answered, "Good father, I have never said that I eat nothing." John Molinet, of Valenciennes, says in one of his works, "that he had seen one of the wonders of his times, the hermit Nicholas of the Rock." Bonifacius Simoneta, abbot of Cornu, in Italy, another of his contemporaries, speaks also of having heard of his fasts; as does Cornelius Agrippa, saying, "this faculty of bearing hunger, is confirmed in our time, by the miraculous example of brother Nicholas, who has lived in the desert twenty-two years without food."* Petrus Canisius, who wrote shortly after his death, inserted him in his German Martyrology, and also wrote upon his gift of prayer. His portraits were multiplied through Switzerland, in imagery of every kind. The kings of France had the picture of this friend of God in their cabinets; the kings of Spain had it deposited in their archives; the Archduke Sigismond, of Austria, the dukes of Savoy and Lorraine, Philip IV. king of Spain, Louis XII. king of France, the Emperor Ferdinand III., and many other great princes, took occasion to manifest their respect and esteem for this poor hermit. St. Charles Borromeo came to Saxeln, and remained for two hours on his knees at the tomb. Even the heretics of that age were awed by his austerity. Luther, in a letter to Paulus Speratus, mentioned the vision of the holy Trinity, which had been vouchsafed to this hermit, and added that he held him for an especial friend of God, entrusted with divine secrets. Within a short walk of Stantz, there is a deep narrow vale, richly wooded, through which a torrent bellows. At an enchanting spot upon the bank, is a small dwelling constructed with the brown walnut planks of the country, and roofed rudely with wood and stones. Here did he live. This is his hermitage, still visited with such religious respect. In the rooms one can hardly stand upright; but from the bed on which he lay, the sylvan view is so delightful, that one might envy such a lodging. The door faces the chapel and the stream; the back windows open on a sloping lawn, which rises from the wall: the mountain tops are seen only at intervals through the immense trees, which shadow all the valley. Whoso has seen the spot, will pardon my wishing to describe it.

In the hermit, too, one might sometimes have recognised the renowned philosopher of the schools, the curate, or the sire that once waved the crozier over a numerous flock.

When Abeillard left St. Denis, he became so disgusted with the society of men, that in imitation of St. Jerome, he retired with one clerk, into a desert place, which was near Nogent sur Seine. There was a deep wood; there was a rivulet, and there were wild fruits. There he built a little cell and a chapel, of wood and rushes, having obtained permission from the blessed Haton, bishop of Troyes, who moreover gave him the ground to do with it what he chose. In the chapel, he set up a carved stone, to serve as a symbol of the blessed Trinity, so formed as to prove how Catholic was his doctrine on that head; a venerable monument of his faith, which was ever afterwards preserved in the abbey of Paraclet, where, till the revolution, it might have been seen placed honourably in the choir of the nuns, on a marble pedestal, on which was an inscription, stating its origin. There spending his time in holy exercises and in study, he derived such consolation, that he gave the place the name of Paraclet, having been able to build a fairer chapel, which was dedicated to the Holy Spirit, to mark that God had consoled him. When the place of his retreat at length became known, a multitude of scholars flocked to him, entreating that he would permit them to live there under his direction, and after great difficulty they obtained his consent. Then each scholar made a little hut for himself on the brink of the stream, and there they lived on coarse bread and herbs, and drank only water, sleeping on straw. They rose with the sun, and went to rest at its setting, they began each day with prayer; then they sung the Psalms, and went to hear his lectures on theology, which he delivered under a tree. It was there that he composed his treatise on morals, "Know thyself," which after being lost for many years, was at length found in the Bodleian library. There were more than six hundred of these disciples living thus more like hermits, than students of philosophy. A larger church and additional buildings became necessary, which led some years later to the famous convent of Paraclet, in which Heloisa presided.

* Corn. Agrip. de Occult. Phil. i. 58.

Parish priests became hermits through desire of peace. In 1196, Guy, the curate of Maincourt, in the diocese of Paris, gave up his charge and retired with some companions into a neighbouring wood, given to him by Guy de Levy.* To such a hermit, how true must have appeared the saying of Menander,

Ὡς ἡδὺ τῷ μισοῦντι τοὺς φαύλους τρόπους
Ἐρημία, καὶ τῷ μελετῶντι μηδὲ ἓν
Πονηρὸν, ἱκανὸν κτῆμ' ἀγρὸς τρέφων καλῶς.

In the transfer of property, it was often necessary to provide for the right of such men. We find Philippe-Auguste by an especial diploma, endowing the church of St. Evaste, near Orleans, with a little fief in the wood, which served as a retreat to a poor hermit; but the church was not to take possession of it till after the hermit's death, and then it was a condition that two priests should always live as hermits in this wood of oaks and birch.†

"There rests not far from this church of St. Martin," says St. Gregory of Tours, "a certain priest, John, a Briton by nation, who for the sake of the divine love, withdrew himself from the sight of men, and built a little cell and an oratory before the church of a certain village. There in a little garden which he cultivated with his own hand, he planted laurels and trees, which now are risen up to a vast height, affording the most delicious shade; under whose boughs the holy man used to sit, while he always read or wrote something. After his death, it happened that one of these trees decayed through age, and the person who had possession of the grove, dug it up by the roots, and made the trunk into a kind of seat, on which he used to take his rest when weary. Yet after two years he began to feel compunction for what he had done. "Woe is me!" he used to say, "because I have done wrong, in employing for such a purpose, as a common seat, a tree which had been planted by the very hands of such a priest!" So with these words he dug a hole in the ground, and placed the wood within it, and then covered it up. Strange to say, when the spring came back, and the other trees began to bud out leaves, this poor buried trunk sent forth new sprouts.‡

Bishops, who often set an example in this respect, could not complain when priests retired thus. There is a village in the mountains of the Vosges, still called Bonhomme, from St. Dié, bishop of Nevers, who led a hermit's life there.* St. Taurin, bishop of Evreux, through love of heavenly contemplation, retired to a desert place, on the sea coast, near Coutance, where he built a cabin, and spent the rest of his days in the exercise of an austere life.† St. Loyer, bishop of Séez, in the eighth century, some years before his death, resigned his episcopal functions, and returned to his original eremitical life. He died in his hermitage, and was buried in his little chapel, which became a parish church in after time.‡

The Camaldolese hermits received many bishops amongst them. In their hermitage on the mountains of Tuscany, I saw the tomb of Cornelius Francis de Nelis, bishop of Antwerp, who died in that retreat in 1798. Their annals commemorate the precious death of the hermit Bogumilus, in his solitude of Dobrowensis, in Poland, in 1189, who had been archbishop of Gnesne. He abdicated in 1177, and continued here with a few hermits, dwelling in some poor hut.§ In general, however, if we inquire into the history of the hermits whom we meet in the woods, we shall find that they had passed to that peace from long previous tranquillity in the cloister. The holy Amatus, after living for thirty years in the monastery of St. Maurice, in the Valais, led a most abstemious life on a solitary rock, to which a monk, Berinus, used to bring him food every third day. Valerius, a Spanish abbot, in the time of Wamba, who wrote De vana sæculi sapientia, lived for a long time as a hermit in the Asturias.‖

St. Hospitius, after building a monastery of St. Honoratus, at Lerins, erected also on the summit of the peninsula, three thousand paces from Nice, on the east shore, a tower not many paces separate from the monastery, in which he lived as a hermit, devoted to prayer and meditation, from which he used to address the people, predicting the coming of the Langobards. When these invaders ap-

* Lebœuf, Hist. du Diocèse de Paris, viii. 54.
† Gall. Christiana, viii. 522.
‡ Mirac. 23.

* Voyage Lit. de Deux Bén. 136.
† Hist. d'Evreux, 31.
‡ De Maurey d'Orville, Recherches Hist. sur le Diocèse de Séez, 96.
§ Ann. Camald. Lib. xxxiv.
‖ Ant. Hispalens. Bibliothec. Hispana, Lib. v.

proached, he caused all entrance to the tower to be closed up, leaving only a small window, through which he used to draw up food and necessaries. So when the Langobards arrived, they thought to find treasure here, and mounted by ladders to the window; but finding only this hermit covered with sackcloth and chains, they supposed him a malefactor. He lived shut up in the tower till the end of his life, ruling his monks by deputy.*

During the middle ages, it was not uncommon for men to set out on long journeys, with no other object but to visit some holy hermit, dwelling in the woods, or on the top of mountains, in order to adjure him to solve some knot which had involved their mind, or merely to listen to his hallowed words, and thus recover their tranquillity by witnessing a gleam of heaven in his peace; vainly sought for in most other breasts; for

"Only the waters which in perfect stillness lie,
Give back an undisturbed image of the sky."†

Thus in early times many learned pagan philosophers and great physicians used to repair to the desert, in order to take counsel of St. Anthony. St. Augustin addressed himself to Simplicius, a hermit, as did St. Bruno to another hermit. St. Malachy put himself under the direction of a holy hermit named Imar, who led an austere life in a cell, near the great church of Armagh. Albert von Bonstetten relates, that a company of noble persons made a long journey out of Germany, in order to see and speak with the hermit Nicholas of the Rock, in the forests of Unterwalden, of whom fame had published so many wonders. The renowned Johannes Trithemius, abbot of Spanheim, who had lived with him, mentions in his annals, that a vast concourse of foreigners used to repair to the hermitage of this holy man: and elsewhere, in his fifteenth homily on fasting, he says, "that he does not believe there is in all Germany any one who has not heard of this wonderful man; that all pilgrims who went to Einsiedelin, made a point of turning out of their way to visit his lonely cell, which was at a distance of fourteen leagues from the road to the abbey; that none would ever be discouraged by the difficulty of that wild and rugged path, for all were of opinion that their pilgrimage would not be fulfilled, if they had not seen him; and that many persons celebrated for their learning, used to repair to Sachseln in order to converse with him."

England in earlier times had also her hermits, who used to attract a similar concourse of persons seeking to be edified. Thus during the thirteen years when blessed St. Cuthbert was leading an eremitical life on the borders of the Picts, great multitudes of people daily used to visit him. We read, that by the providence and grace of God, never any one returned from him without great comfort. This caused both young and old to resort unto him, taking great pleasure both to see him and to hear him speak.

The life of hermits in our busy and prosaic age, appears to some as merely a poetic conception, without any view to reality or use; and that there is much of poesy in such a theme, no one can doubt. What pages more charming, more Homeric, than those of St. Jerome, where he relates the lives of St. Paul, the eremite, of St. Hilarion, and of the monk Malchus? What true simplicity of style, what wildness of incident, what inspiration of purity and innocence! But hermits were in the church not for decoration only. It is a characteristic of the ages of faith, that there should be no institution, however calculated to supply the poet with materials for his imagination, and the painter with visions for his pencil, which did not possess a deep practical utility to the church, and consequently to the world. A wise law had established all things, nor was there aught, as Dante says of paradise,

"That did not fit exactly, as the finger to the ring."*

It was not therefore without cause, or without fulfilling an object which no other instrument could have accomplished, that hermits, these solitary men who diffused such a charm to the scene of human life, were found succeeding each other in the Christian republic. We find from history, that in early times it was a frequent practice to visit the fathers of the desert, in order to be edified by their replies. Thus we read of visitors approaching them, and saying, "Dic mihi verbum." Olympius answered on one of these occasions, "Sit not with heretics, and wherever you are,

* Petri Jofredi Nicæa Civitas illustrata, Thesaur. Antiq. Ital. tom. ix.
† Trench.

* xxxii.

consider yourself a stranger."* Two philosophers came to question an aged hermit; but he returned no answer; until, after repeated remonstrances, he told them to think on death, and to learn to be silent.†

John Moschus relates that a certain old man once came to a solitary hermit, and said to him, "Tell me, brother, in the long course of your solitary life and spiritual exercise, what have you gained? To whom the hermit replied, 'Depart, and after ten days come back to me, and I will tell you.' The old man went his way and returned at the end of ten days, and found that the hermit had departed to Christ, and had left a title, on which was written, 'Pardon me, O father, because while I performed the work of God, or sang the psalmody of my hours, I never suffered my mind to rest upon earth.'"‡ Thus the philosophy of the hermits in form of expression, to shun vain length of words, resembled the old Gnomic-practical wisdom of the first Greek sages and poets, conveyed in short, pithy sentences, or mystic symbols. Doubtless many hermits were divinely inspired and fitted for their peculiar ministry. Trithemius says, that he considered Nicholas of the Rock another Antony, who, without reading or study, had been taught all wisdom by the Holy Spirit. "In the instruction of Christian morality," says this learned abbot, "he was a deep and efficacious counsellor, who held to the Gospel, and with word and work brought many persons from an evil to a better life."§ Freely the sage, though wrapt in musings high, assumed the teacher's part, and mildly spoke to all. "This man of God," he adds, "was in our times a real wonder; for he had never studied, and could not even read, and yet had he a wondrous insight into the mysteries of the holy Scriptures, and would give answers to all questions of the learned, that would have implied the deepest wisdom and learning." The chronicle of Nürnberg, by Johan Nauklerus, states that, "though his words were few, yet to all questions they were ever apt, and so full of comfort, that seldom any one departed from him without being edified. He was always cheerful and joyous, and ever the same, so that no one ever saw him with a sorrowful look." A pious pilgrim, who never disclosed his name, came to the holy man's cell, and held with him a long spiritual conversation. He broke out with the words, "How happy and blessed art thou, O Father Nicholas!" but the hermit instantly, with an altered countenance, replied, "God alone can be called happy, but a time will come when men will introduce a new faith, and he who will resist this as a wall or a rock may then be pronounced happy." These remarkable words were produced in the evidence brought forward in the process of his beatification. The accustomed prayer of this holy hermit was, "O God, take me from myself, and give myself all to thee!" The wondrous things related of him might almost inspire with a kind of dread the timid stranger. Thus, we read, that the holy hermit having sent his fourth son to study at the University of Paris, a certain German student, the friend of this young man, was returning home, to whom he had given a letter to his father, which he lost on his road through Burgundy; still being most anxious to hear somewhat the holy man, though he knew not how he durst approach him after losing the letter, he continued on his way to Sachseln; and when he was not far from Ranft, the hermit, holding the lost letter in his hand, met him and saluted him most graciously, asking him whether he brought any other letter.*

The most secluded hermits had some who followed their instructions. Angelus Gualdensis hid himself at last wholly in his cell, and never went out; but we read that the people of the neighbouring towns and villages came in numbers to receive counsel from him in his desert. Through a little window he used to receive the bread and other provisions which they offered to him, and he gave them his benediction, and used to speak salutary words to them, as they stood without, that they might be induced to seek eternal life and peace.† Indeed, by the rules of their holy state, hermits were bound to study to assist all who came to them. "Piety," say the Camaldulese, "is essential to a solitary hermit, that he may be humane, benignant, merciful, and mild. Piety is a benignant affection of heart, condescending humanely and mercifully to the infirmity of others."‡ How kind and gracious is their salutation of the stranger, "Wherefore delay, young traveller, in such a mournful place? Art

* Sophron. Pratum Spirit. ii. † Id. 156.
‡ Prat. Spirit. c. 98.
§ Annal. Hirsaugiens. 505.

* Leben und Geschichte des S. Nickolaus von Flue, p. 144. † Annal. Camald. Lib. xlvi.
‡ Ibid. Lib. xxxi.

yworn, or canst not further trace
?" He was often, truly, in a two-
ıe, wayworn; and that benevolent
ı knew his meaning better than
speak it. Instinctively men fled
for refuge; as in the beautiful
ı which tells of the noble youth
princely house of Beneventum,
ıen his father was slain by the
s, stole away to the woods and
by night to the solitary hermit
ı, with whom he remained till
aced the monastic life, being first
into the monastery of Sancta
at Beneventum, where the Abbot
caused him to exchange his name
ıs for that of Desiderius, to express
loved him, and afterwards elected
Mount-Cassino, whence he passed
y the chair of Peter as Pope Vic-
: But it was not always a holy
; who knocked at the hermit's

a scene must it have been when
ible Merovingian kings used to
e into the forests to see these
men of solitude and prayer! St.
a monk of Micy near Orleans,
:o a hermitage in the country of
nd St. Gregory of Tours relates
ildebert, king of France, before
out on the war in Spain, visited
his retreat, and offered him 500
:rowns, which he refused. After
:h of this hermit, the king, who
the success of that war to his
caused a church to be built on
where he had died; and by degrees
ɔeing built round it, the town of
: Cells was the result.†
e sixth century, St. Victor retired
ılitary wood near the village of St.
ı in the diocese of Troyes; but
: of his sanctity rendered him the
f love and respect to the nobles
ɔle of that country, who admired
he grace of Jesus Christ. It hap-
ne day that the king of France,
s train of courtiers, and many
en of the country, followed by
servants, came into that wood,
long the banks of the river Aulbe,
ake of hunting. The king, hearing
y were near the retreat of a holy
.te, whom every one spoke of with
verence, became anxious to know
ıd so the whole company turned
aside and rode towards his cell. The king was overjoyed at the thought of finding such a holy man in his little hermitage; but the saint came out on their approach and met them. The king seeing him advance, quickened his pace, embraced him, and gave him the kiss of peace. "What, my holy father and priest, are you thus retired from the world in penitence? It is I who should do this, and not you, who are so good a man; but I beseech you pray God that He pardon me my sins." "Sire," replied the hermit, "it is my obligation to pray for you, that God may bless you and your family and kingdom, giving you His Holy Spirit, and a prudent counsel, that you may govern with wisdom and justice. Sire, in this word every thing is comprised: but now may it please you to step into the cell of this poor sinner, and take a little refreshment?" "Ouy Dea," said the king, "and it will be a great happiness to me." So the saint called his boy to bring some wine, and the king entered and was refreshed.*

But they had more perilous visitors. Outlaws and robbers would sometimes repair to the hermit, seeking some assuagement of remorse. Many horrible tales from wretches who came to him for secret parley, who seemed hastening each step to the nether hell, the anachorite in desert places has endured. He, as one who listens, stood attentive, ruminating on the words which perhaps imported worse than might be uttered in their mutilated speech. If from answer he abstained, it was that his thought was occupied intent upon their error. When they were withdrawn from sight, his sense reviving, that had drooped with pity for the kindred creature, he would prostrate himself before his altar, and spend that whole night in prayer. These prayers of the recluse were those of the violent, who can by force take heaven. What might they not accomplish? St. Augustin appeals to their effects as proving the utility of the eremitical life. "These hermits," he says, "inhabit desert places, enjoying conversation with God, to whom they adhere with pure minds, most blessed in the contemplation of His beauty, which cannot be perceived unless by the intellect of the holy. They seem to some to have deserted human things more than was expedient, not understanding of what use to us is their mind in prayer, and how profitable as an example is the life of those

nic. S. Monast. Casinens. Lib. iii. 2. 5.
ier, Hist. de Blois, 241.

* Desguerrois, Hist. du Diocèse de Tr

whose bodies we are not able to behold."* Frederic Barbarossa, being told that the hermits of Camaldoli led a contemplative life in their cells, and offered prayers continually for the safety of the emperor and all men, sent a charge in 1164 to all the subjects of his empire, to respect their goods and possessions, and to preserve them from being oppressed.†

In estimating the use of such men, we must take into account also the extraordinary and prodigious power with which their words were invested when they exercised their pacific ministry, proclaiming in mortal ears the mysteries of heaven, with an authority almost visibly celestial. The old historians, speaking of the hermit St. Meinrad, who used to instruct the pilgrims who came to him, in the mysteries of the hidden life of Christ, and form them to sanctity, find no words so apt to describe his ministry as those of the Gospel, and say that he was the voice of one crying in the wilderness, "Prepare ye the way of the Lord."‡ No power, no authority could intimidate the hermit of the middle ages, or prevent him from denouncing evil with the force of that pure eloquence which brought to honour all who marked it well.

King Charles VI., returning from Languedoc, was accosted by an anachorite, who, with raised finger, bidding him take heed, proceeded freely and in great detail to expose the vices of the administration of his uncle: and the king listened to him patiently. But it was not only those who rule kingdoms, who might need the anachorite's reproof. There was another difficulty incident to the Church, which such men, perhaps, only could avert. For occasions might arise when the shepherd of the Church, amid the tangled labyrinth of civil broils, would lack a voice from the desert, to enable him to guide well the sheep and lambs. He who represents in synod high of ancient counsellors, under the Son of Mary, and of God, him to whom the keys were given first, in order to keep the bark in deep sea helmed to right point, riding triumphant through the shock of wars, might need confronting with one who had long taken his stand apart, who would not suffer any mind to subtilize with his, who so loved truth as to have left for its sake all the multitude admires; who ever in thought dwelt in Nazareth, where Gabriel opened his wings. The pontiff therefore might require the hermit. Then let the Vatican throw wide her gates, while kings and their ambassadors, frustrated in their sinister ends, shall be excluded, use what arts they may. It is the poor solitary wanderer through desert wilds whose sentence is to judge them. Let none attempt to bar his passage: he has a purpose to fulfil, commissioned by transcendent wisdom. Nor will abjectness of heart weigh down his eyelids for being by them despised; but boldly will he pursue his hard enterprize, and leave not a thought unspoken. And now whoever wishes to be present at this strange audience, may have his hope satisfied by hearing what Bartholomew de Neocastro thus records: but I premise that it is a scene at which only the faithful should be present, whose eyes are fully ripened in the flame of love. Avaunt all others! They can comprehend it not. "When it was proposed to the pope," says this old historian, "by some unworthy counsellors that Sicily should be recovered by the seizure of certain towns, the advisers assuring him that the enterprize must succeed, and that it could be effected without effusion of blood, promising to accomplish it if only they were permitted to act in the name of the Holy See; the pontiff replied, 'Friends, it is neither in your nor in our power to effect such things; but it is only for the Lord to do it, by whose permission all that has occurred has been done. Your project we esteem vain and impossible; nor doth a conversion of sinners please us, by which, what heaven forbid, an effusion of human blood should pollute the See of our holy mother, the Church. But we commit all things to the disposal of our Creator. Therefore depart, for it is by pious prayers that He can be bent to convert the Sicilian sinners to the grace of the church and to peace.' Nevertheless, these counsellors did not desist from their undertaking. By their persuasion an armament was fitted out, and they advanced to the walls of Augusta, where the aged Pachius remained to defend the town for King James. When that hero demanded, 'Who are ye?' and received for answer, 'Brother, you see the standard of the Church, and, lo! the legate and the brother preachers who come for the salvation of the Sicilians,' he replied, 'We fear the holy Church, and as Christians revere it as our mistress and our mother; but as for pastors, who hate t

* De Moribus Eccles. Cath. Lib. i. 31.
† Annal. Camald. Lib. xxxi.
‡ Tschudi Eiusied. Chronik.

without reason, through love of the French, we esteem them as our enemies. We believe that you are deceivers; for the arms of the Church are humility of head and the benediction of the holy cross. Therefore depart hence; for the angels of God, who love humanity and peace, will fight against you who bring war to a Christian people.' The pope, however, had espoused the cause of the French in Sicily, and as the king of Arragon had still possession, the prospect for the people was full of danger. In this crisis, on the 18th of September, 1288, Divine Providence visited Father Jerome, a venerable hermit, who had chosen to serve Christ in great asperity of life on Mount Ætna; to whom, when sleeping by night, He sent an angel, who said to him, 'The Lord commands you to take the staff of your old age, and proceed to the city of Syon, and there say to the chief pontiff, The Lord of thunders commands you to meditate on your ways, and to follow the God of virtues, lest the fury of the Lord should fall on you:' and he heard thunder, and the groans of mourners, and he asked him saying, 'What sounds are these?' and the angel said, 'I show you the rivers of blood which is shed on the earth, and the sheep which perish. That blood is shed contrary to the praise of God, and these sheep that cry cannot find their shepherd. Say to him that he must turn to the Lord, and not deny peace to those for whom the Lord shed his own blood.' And when the old man came to the city, he repaired to the pope, pale and in lowly guise, and said to him, 'Father, I am to declare to you what the Lord commands: lead me into your secret chamber, that I may say to you what no other ears but yours may hear.' And when he had led him into it, he asked him, saying, 'Who and whence are you?' and he said, 'An hermit am I, and a Sicilian:' and the pope said, 'Does the land of Sicily yield its fruit, and does pestilence abound? For the Sicilians obey not the commands of God; and I have besought the Lord that the rain and the dews may not fall upon it until they shall be converted from their perversity:' and he said, 'Father, if you reflect, you are not from God, for you are not with Him. If you were from God you would do what He did, for He made you his vicar to the children of men, but you keep not his commandments; and He being a good Father and the best Master, you are a wicked son and an evil disciple; for you do not the works of God. He loved the humble and the poor; you follow the proud: He preached peace, and gave it; you foment seditions and scandals, desolations and captivities: He loved the lives of men; you are a homicide, and cause groans and sorrows to the people of Christ. Therefore your prayers pass not the clouds. But Almighty God, looking down from on high, deserts not his Sicilians, but opens to them the treasures of his compassion and clemency, and saturates them with his graces. You know, father, that as often as arms have been taken up for the French, the invincible power of Christ has fought for the Sicilians. It is strange that having so often seen them conquer you should excite fresh efforts against them. When you shall come before the tribunal of Christ, what palm will you have to offer to God? Some fathers will have prudence, others humility, others mercy to the poor, but you, when you will stand in the sight of the Almighty, before his feet will flow rivers of blood, and swords will be moved by the face of your severity. Consider, father, that these are not the works of the Lord, who, putting on the robe of humility, suspended on the cross, washed away sins, and for the human deliverance endured death. Show, father, if you are from God, what black, what red standard you display for the people, as Christ; what pallid or white that you may vanquish the enemies of Christ, and save the just with an eternal redemption. Truly the Egyptians say, Cruel are to-day the rulers of the Church of Jesus Christ. But know that the providence of the pious Father, who holds the hearts of men in his hand, will renew his seat in the earth, where the Lord shall be glorified for ever; not in battles, not in camps: and the faithful people shall not perish from the face of the Lord. O how wonderful, how unsearchable, was the charity of the Lord God, who to redeem his servants delivered his only Son to death! Truly in all things you endeavour to destroy what He constructed. 'Convertere, Domine, convertere ad cor.' Make peace between discordant kings, and dispose all things that the Christian people may be saved.' The pope hearing these words with astonishment and admiration, interrogated him a second time, saying, 'My son, is it long that you have been in the desert?' and he said, 'Father, it is nearly sixty years since I commenced the eremitical life:' and he said, 'Tell me, what is your life?' and he said, 'Father, since the day I entered the

desert I have never left the cave of my prayers, unless for the sake of searching out wild herbs, or fruits of trees, and water for my sustenance. Thrice a-week I eat only bread and drink only water; other days I eat fresh or dried fruits according to the season. I have a monk for my companion, who twice a-year begs bread for us both. The branches of trees support my bed, and from November till the end of April, while the cold lasts on Mount Ætna, I sleep on straw, and the skin of a bear covers these old limbs. Day and night I adore God on bended knees, and with tears I pray the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost for all the Christian people, that He may rule our holy mother the Church, that He may give peace to kings and to all people, that He may give us the fruits of the earth, and may not desert our pontiff. I sing Gloria in excelsis Deo, Credo in unum Deum, Sanctus, sanctus, and Agnus Dei. I say with honour that revered salutation of the glorious Virgin Mary which the archangel Gabriel said to her. I say thrice each day, 'Miserere mei Deus, et confiteor;' and not being a clerk, I say always, 'Pater noster.' This is my life, father, and my rite; and because I think that what my simplicity has said must have displeased you, I beseech you, father, pardon me if I have sinned.' The pope, reflecting on all this, perceived that the hermit had been sent from heaven, and that the Holy Ghost spoke by the organ of the old man's simplicity. Then raising up his eyes to heaven, he wept, and after some space dismissed the old man benignly. Then he called the prelates and his counsellors, and after a solemn assembly he sent brother Raymund, a monk of Catalonia, to King James in Sicily, offering to the Sicilians the grace of the Church, and making him standard-bearer of the Church in the expedition which was to be directed to the defence of the Christians in the Holy Land. Shortly after he sent Benedict de Colonna and Gerard de Parma to arrange peace between the Apostolic See and the king of France on the one hand, and with Alphonso, king of Arragon, brother of King James of Sicily, on the other."*

Turning from this picture, copied faithfully from the life by a master's hand, we shall not be surprised to find these hermits addressing like words of admonition to the religious communities which their austere solitary lives had edified. Let us hear an instance recorded by Peter of Blois.

"In the year 1114," he says, "there slept in the Lord in the monastery of Evesham a venerable anachorite, St. Wulsinus, formerly a monk of Croyland, and in community with the chapter of Evesham, who, through dislike of the concourse of people to Croyland, and of his distractions at the time of the civil war between the sons of King Canute for the kingdom of England, transferred himself to Evesham, going all the way with a bandage over his eyes, lest he should behold vanity. The holy man coming into the chapel of St. Kenelm, which he had himself constructed in the seventy-fifth year of his retirement, spoke as follows to the assembled monks: 'My lords and dearest brethren in Christ, as well my venerable father and lord Maurice, as all my other fellow-soldiers in this monastery, let it not offend you that I who am a laic and illiterate should teach you who are so much more learned; for I being so much older, and now at the very gates of death, am drawn by the bonds of charity to attempt to give salutary counsels to my youngers. Although, as you well know, I do not know letters, yet instructed in the book of long experience I know the commandments of God to be holy, I believe that mutual charity will be of great avail hereafter, I always teach patience in adversity, prudence in prosperity, I prescribe obedience, continence, I praise every good work, and I forbid all evil. And with you, my learned lords, it is of no consequence if the letters be written on goat-skin, or sheep or calf-skin, provided the doctrine of the letters be edifying and divine. So my fathers, as my learning is but simple and asinine, yet an ass carried our Lord into the holy city, and in so celebrated a triumph, God did not choose any other palfry. Thus those things which I have learned concerning the state of our monastery, from the experience of a long life, I have resolved to relate to you, seeing that I draw near the end of life, and that God being gracious to me, I may be admitted among our fellow-citizens the angels, where I hope you may all meet those who, for having well administered the mammon of injustice, may receive you into eternal habitations. I was born and educated in this country, but choosing banishment into a remote region for eternal life, I followed the circle of the rule of St. Benedict in the monastery of Croyland; but being a la

* Bartol. de Neocastro, Hist. Sicilia, cap. 110—112, ap. Murat. Rer. It. Script. t. xiii.

and less skilled in letters, and altogether unqualified for the choir of the monks, and being ignorant even of the ministry of Martha, with many prayers I obtained permission from the venerable abbot of that monastery, by name Britmer, to lead the life of an anachorite, which I had always desired; and there I shut myself up in a cell, and day and night I prayed to God for the negligences of that whole congregation and for my own sins. Often, while thus employed, I thought as if I were present in the heavenly choir, speaking with the heavenly citizens, and comforted by the sweetest revelations from God. And now, behold, in the troubles which then afflicted the whole land, videlicet, after the death of the great King Canute, between Harold and Hardicanute, as to which of them should be the greater and more worthy of the paternal sceptre, such was the concourse of terrified people, who flocked to Croyland, and such was the crowd of native inhabitants, both men and women, who came upon me to consult me about their affairs, that there was as great a multitude of people daily sitting before the wicket of my poor hut as before the gates of a king's palace. Scarcely was I able to hasten over the divine office enjoined to me; scarcely could I hear one mass in the day; seldom, and not even in the night-time, could I observe my rule of silence: but I began daily to degenerate from ancient perfection, and, as if cast away from the face of the Lord, to be called the consoler of the poor, and now a most holy man. I should have sunk into the depths of evil, had not the Lord vouchsafed to send me the favour and counsels of Avicus, the prior of the monastery, who obtained leave for me to depart. With what tears I took leave of my holy abbot and of my other dear fellow monks, with what intimate sorrow I left that most beautiful place, is not now to be said; but at length departing, and coming hither, I have lived many years in this cell, a worthless and insignificant man, I confess, before the world as well as before God: nevertheless, perhaps, to the brethren, and neighbours, and people to whom I am known, considering my proportion, an example.' "*

But we must not linger here. The life and the discourse of hermits proclaimed a lesson which might be expressed in these two lines—

"Nothing is true but love, nor aught of worth.
Love is the incense that doth sweeten earth."*

Thus we see what important purposes the hermits answered in the economy of the Church of God, "within the range of whose unerring bow all is as level with the destined aim as ever mark to arrow's point opposed."† And now if we accompany the hooded man back to his retreat, and remain with him after the visitors have all withdrawn, to observe him in his solitary hours in his leafy house in the woods, we shall find that there is yet much to learn which can yield mysterious views of the relations which are influenced by peace with God. For mark, what new subject of amaze! The hermit is at peace with creatures, and with universal nature: these trees, these birds, these reptiles, are all companions to him; the freshness of the morning air, the fragrance of flowers and plants, the solemn obscurity of the pine forest, the beauty of animals, wild to other men, all seemed to be the hermit's own by a peculiar affinity of a supernatural alliance. O how redolent of paradise is this peaceful pre-eminence of man! and then on the morning of that blessed day with which each week begins in gladness, and when the mystery proclaims that there is no longer death, what an affiation of eternal bliss pervades him! Who can describe the peaceful joy of Sunday to hermits in the desert of Camaldoli, or to those who passed it in the woods with St. Francis, or amidst the perfumed rocks of Calabria with blessed Nilus, under the pure firmament, all roseate or azure, one deep and beautiful serene, prepared as if a vault to crown "the wondrous and angelic temple that hath for confine only light and love!" Heaven seemed open above such men, and their song to be "who doth not prune his wing to soar up thither, let him look from thence for tidings from the dumb."‡ Yet each day was bright and blessed; as it will ever be to all who follow their meek steps, though at a distance. Therefore, the hermit would advise every man to go out from time to time alone into the woods or deserts, and sit down calmly, with flowers to smile about his feet, exchanging rooms and books for the clear air and sweet face of nature, to enjoy the sights and sounds which have such power to cheer and to restore the mind. "Yes, my son, make the trial," he would say, "become a

* Pet. Bles. Contin. ad Hist. Ingulphi in Rer. Ang. Script. i.

* Trench. † Dante, Par. viii. ‡ Id. Par. x.

hermit, if not for a year, and month, and day, like the knight in Ariosto, who vowed to pass that space like an anachorite in lowly cell, at least for one day. Unless you enter the forest as the demon came into paradise, you will return from it a wiser and a gentler man; though you may begin with the frivolity of a child, solely attentive to the chirp and flutter of some single bird rustling in the brake, or to the game the busy mice may find among the withered leaves, or to the fairy circles on the grass, I shall not see cause to give up my hopes: only be still; caress the insects at your feet, for they have their little wants which a charitable hand may relieve; salute the birds as they alight near you, like blessed St. Francis; the play will end in reality; you will find what a new and marvellous felicity it is to feel at peace with all created things; you will love, you will see God."

Permit me, reader, to observe, that I, for one, have often sat alone in forests in France, Italy, and Germany, reclining on a mossy trunk, and though not skilled to trace the progeny of flowers, or to read nature with a scientific eye, always with fresh pleasure. How many little animals, never before remarked, have come forth to peep at me! how many strange, faint cries have then been audible! One cannot sit for an hour thus without observing something that seems new and admirable; how much store of this kind then must old hermits have treasured up who passed thirty and forty years in such a school? How intense must have been their rapture when this alliance with creatures entered even into their mystic visions! as when the old anachorite in the desert, falling into an ecstasy at the communion, saw two white doves with closed wings approach to drink from the chalice; to commemorate which dream the insignia of Camaldoli was adopted, which, in abbreviation, was borne by all its filial churches.* What an earnest of the future rest to issue out of this brief life, as many of the hermits did, while in the actual enjoyment of this universal peace without one tear being shed, but with all things smiling round them to the last! The poet seems to admire, but to tremble, thinking of their end; who thus—

——— "in forests dwelt, prepared to try
Privation's worst extremities, and die
With no one near, save the omnipresent God.

Verily, so to live was an awful choice—

A choice that wears the aspect of a doom;
But in the mould of mercy all is cast
For souls familiar with the eternal voice."

"I have read of no one," says Petrarch, "but Paul the first hermit, and Romuald, who concluded a life of solitude with a solitary end. Romuald, in his one hundred and twentieth year, perceiving that his last hour was come, ordered the brethren who were present to go out and return to him early the next morning, deceiving them by a pious fraud, that he who had served Christ solitarily might pass solitarily to Christ, unattended by men, but in the company of angels depart to eternal life." However, many hermits died thus. In the year 1000, John, who had been archbishop of Ravenna before becoming a hermit, made a similar end, remote from human eye, near the monastery of St. Michael of Clusis; and in 1004 Venerius Tiburtinus, a disciple of Romuald, died in the same manner.* At Vallombrosa the death of the hermit who slept in the chasm of the rock for forty years was only known by the silence of his bell that morning. Thomasio de Costacciario, who lived for sixty-five years in a deep obscure wood and cavern, called after St. Jerome, on the mountain of Cacchi, in the second year of the fourteenth century, passed to Christ in solitude. So also died Adam, a monk of St. Justina of Padua, who had retired into the mountains of Venda, and constructed a cell for himself amidst vast rocks, where he lived with a certain soldier who, for the love of God, faithfully served him, but who died first. This was in the time of the Emperor Frederic Barbarossa, who destroyed Milan. More than eighty years after this hermit's death his bones were found in a cavern, where he had laid them down ere he departed solitary. A church was afterwards erected on the spot, under the title of St. Michael, by Gerard Pomedella, bishop of Padua, in 1169.† In 714, when the Moors overran Spain, some nobles of Castille fled to the mountains of Asturia, and many knights of Arragon to the Pyrenæans, where a good man, named John, in a cave in a rock, called Penna, built a little hut, as if in the wilderness, and dedicated it to St. John the Baptist, where he lived and ended his life in absolute solitude. Long after his death to this spot among the mountains came a

* Annal. Cam. Lib. xxxiii.

* Annal. Camald. Lib. xi. † Id. Lib. xxxi.

certain good knight of Saragossa, by name Votus, while hunting a stag, who, piercing his way through the bushes, discovered the cell in which lay the body of the hermit, unburied, before the altar; and near it he found engraven, with an iron style, these words; "I, John, founder, and first inhabitant of this house, desiring to serve God as if in the wilderness, erected this chapel, and dedicated it to St. John the Baptist, in which I lived long, and now die to rest in the Lord." Votus, on deciphering the inscription, was moved to tears; giving thanks to God, he buried the hermit, returned to Saragossa, sold his goods, gave the price to the poor, and then, with his brother Felix, returned, and lived in great sanctity in this hermitage, multitudes flocking to them for counsel. It was by their advice that Garsias Ximenes was chosen general, who, at the head of not more than six hundred knights, gave many battles to the Moors, and at length rescued a great part of Navarre, restoring it to the Christian religion.* Whether it arose from their habits of long familiarity with all divine agencies, or from a particular inspiration of God, we cannot say; but the fact unquestionably is, that many hermits, so far from deprecating, desired this secret, solitary death. When St. Cuthbert felt that his end was approaching, he resolved to die in his beloved island of Farne, where he had been a hermit before being a bishop. As he stepped into the boat which was to carry him over, the monks, crowding around him, asked when he would re-visit his cathedral. When my corpse is brought to it, was is reply. This was soon after Christmas, and in about three weeks he was assailed by the illness which proved fatal. On the morning of that day the island was visited by Herefrid, abbot of Lindisfarne, who desired to profit by his exhortations and benediction, but who, at his request, returned to the abbey. So fierce a storm raged during five days, that the passage was impossible. No sooner did the weather permit than the monks hastily put out to sea. They found him at the point of death, ready to get free without a witness.

But let us now hear what history can attest respecting this peace and close alliance, in which hermits lived, with all created things. Here then, reader, be assured is a wondrous page; and philosophers themselves have studied it. Cornelius Agrippa, in his books on occult philosophy, attempts to explain the phenomenon of which he assumes the fact as beyond dispute. "It is proved," he says, "by experience, that there is in the nature of man a certain dominating and restraining power; for, as Pliny observes, all animals have an instinctive fear of him: so that a tigress having seen a man, removes her cubs. This character is impressed on man by his Creator; similarly he has been given a character to cause him to be loved: which was seen when all creatures came to Adam to receive names from him; but after his prevarication he lost that dignity, though not wholly: but only in proportion to the grievousness of his sins does a man lose those divine characters, and become himself afraid of creatures—which Cain experienced, saying, 'Omnis qui inveniet me, occidet me;' for he feared beasts and demons, not men, who were then few. Formerly, many men who lived in innocence enjoyed this power; as did Samson, David, and Daniel, Elisha, Paul, and many anachorites, living in the desert, in caverns and woods, not fearing wild creatures from the divine character being in part restored to them through their interior purification."* There is, in fact, no reasonable ground for doubting the truth of the early relations attesting the intercourse between hermits and the animals of the desert. However extraordinary these may now appear, they rest upon the testimony of eye-witnesses. It is true that some of them admit of a natural explanation, and present no great difficulty, as persons accustomed to watch those creatures will admit. Appion declares that he witnessed with his own eyes the scene between Androcles and the lion in the great circus; incredible as it must have appeared to men who only saw lions when assembled to be slaughtered before them six hundred at a time in the circus, while, as an interlude, their emperors displayed their skill by cutting off the heads of ostriches as they ran by them.

Goërres treats upon the marvellous power of holy men over the animal creation, attested by so many instances in which the force of sanctity could quell ferocious beasts. Pachomius, as Palladius relates, past a night in a cave into which two hyenas came after sunset, who licked him from head to foot without injuring him, and then went out, and left him in peace. An old hermit, Theon, travelling by night through the desert, was followed by many wild beasts; the tracks of buffaloes, gazelles, and wild asses, used to be found at his cell. Sulpitius

* Lucii Marinei de Rel. Hispan. Lib. viii. 1.

* De Occult. Phil. Lib. iii. c. 40.

and Cassianus visited a hermit twelve miles from the Nile on a desert mountain, whom they saw pluck some fruit from a palm tree and give it to a lion, who took it out of his hand and then went his way. The Abbot Paulus Helladius, during seven months, gave bread twice every day to a lion. The Abbot Pardus found a lion on his path going to drink, and the beast sprang over him without hurting him. Of Hilarion, Helenius, Didymus, and other holy fathers, similar instances are recorded.* Sophronius makes mention of one old hermit who used to live in the same cave with lions.† The Abbot Polichronius told of another old man who once returned to the Laura from the banks of the Jordan with two young lions in his cloak.‡ "In the monastery of Gerasimus," he says, "one mile from the Jordan, an old monk told us that the Abbot Gerasimus had once found a lion with a wounded foot, which he cured, and the lion ever after followed him. In the service of that monastery there was an ass, and when this ass used to go to feed on the banks of the Jordan the lion would always go with him. One day while there, a camel-driver from Arabia seized the ass and drove him off. The lion returned alone to the monastery. The abbot thought that the lion had killed him, and asked him, saying, 'Where is the ass?' The lion stood looking back. The old man said, 'You have eaten him. Well, whatever the ass used to do, you must now do;' and, in fact, from that day the lion used to bear the water-vessels to the monastery. After some time the lion met the ass and the camel-driver returning. The man fled, and the lion brought back the ass to the abbot. It is said, that on the abbot's death the lion lay down over his grave, and would eat nothing, but pined away and died."§ The universality of the attestations to the familiarity between hermits and the creatures around them would be inexplicable if we were to reject them all as incredible; and it is worthy of remark, that experience seems still to confirm the fact: for, in India, as I have often heard the Venerable Abbé Du Bois remark, after a residence of thirty-two years in that region, no Catholic missionary has ever been wounded by a tiger or stung by a serpent during a space of more than three-hundred years, though they are more exposed than other men, as they pass continually through the most dangerous parts unprotected. However, all through the long interval of the middle ages, we have testimonies presented from time to time to prove the continuance of the same intercourse in all parts of Europe between creatures and these pacific men. Let us hear a few of them as they may occur.

Orderic Vitalis relates, that Roger de Haute-Rive, retiring into the desert of Hendricourt, built an oratory there with the branches of trees, and that he has often heard him say, that during the night while he sung matins in this chapel of boughs, a wolf used to come near peaceably and respond, as it were, to his psalmody by its moans.* Notker Labeo, the learned monk of St. Gall, before his death, made a public confession, as if of a great sin, that he had once in the cloistral habit killed a wolf. Bede relates that the marine animals used to fawn upon St. Cuthbert while he prayed alone by night upon his desert isle.† Brother Baitheneus proposing to navigate from Iona to the Isle of Ethica, it was told him that a whale of immense size had been seen that night rising out of the sea between the two islands; but he replied, "I and that animal are under the dominion of God." "Go then in peace," said Columba; "thy faith in Christ will defend thee." Then Baitheneus having received the saint's blessing, put out to sea. Before they had gone far, lo, the whale rose up near them. The sailors were terrified, but he preserved the utmost tranquillity. Raising up both hands, he blessed the whale, and the same moment that monster dived under the waters and appeared no more.‡ St. Aventine, in the time of Clovis, having left his country of Aquitaine and travelled to Troyes, was recognised there as an eminent servant of God, and received by the bishop, St. Camelien, into the common house of the clergy, but at length he begged permission to retire into some solitude as a hermit; so leaving the city he found a little fountain at the foot of a desert chapel, and there he raised a hut, and lived like an angel, till the people came to him in such numbers that he left it, and retired into an island in the Seine, about two leagues from Troyes, where the Oze flows into it; and there he made a cell of oziers, and passed his time in prayer and studying the holy Scriptures. Being afterwards ordained priest, he used to celebrate the divine mysteries with great devotion; he lived upon coarse bread and roots, and drank

* Vita S. Ant. Mag. Paladii Hist. Lauriaca, Goërres die Christliche Mystik. i. 202.
† Prat. Spirituale, ii. ‡ Id. 18.
§ Cap. cvii.

* Lib. iii.
† Beda de S. Cuth. ap. Canisii Lect. Antiq. ii.
‡ Adamnani Scoti de S. Columb. ap. Id. i.

ıter. The Oze was but a rivulet, so s cell was exposed to attacks from easts. Once, in the silence of the ı bear came to the door and made the orrible cries, dashing its head against nks, and seeming resolved to break he man of God betook himself to and besought deliverance from this east that was become so furious. At of day he opened his wicket, and ıe found the bear lying down quite ınd gentle, and licking one of its Then he observed that a great thorn erced it; so he took it and drew out inter, and the beast showed no desire him, but retired into the forest and en no more. Another time a deer, l by hounds, took refuge in his cell, kept it till the danger was passed. r time while St. Aventin had a monk with him, this brother went to the de and caught some fish, which he t back alive, thinking to relieve the y of his fare; but who does not the benignity and simplicity of this of God? he took them into his hands ew them back into the river, saying, ittle creatures, return to your element ment in full liberty to live there; for ement and aliment are Jesus Christ, m I wish also to return, that in Him live for ever." "We may learn from oly man," says the writer, "many virtues: as the spirit of retreat from rld; the avoidance of vain glory; the f souls; the assistance of captives; o the poor; and benignity to poor s." On the spot of his first retreat ishop of Troyes built a little church, is now the parish of St. Aventin the walls of Troyes, as the city has o much enlarged since then.* We ıany beautiful instances recorded of ection for the common animals, with their solitary life brought hermits ıtercourse; which was free from all e of that absurd sensibility of the t philosophers, who, like Hortensius, weep and put on mourning for the of a mullet; while, at the same time, read of others, they would have no in throwing their servants into their nds to fatten their fish, as a punish- or breaking a plate while they were ining Augustus. "Turning to crea- says St. Bonaventura, "is not a sin, be not a turning away from God. We can be delighted without sin in creatures, as when we are pleased at remarking their beauty; and we can be delighted with them meritoriously when that beauty is referred to God, as the Psalmist says, 'Delectasti me, Domine, in factura tua.'"* All beautiful things, said the hermits, bear witness that God is most beautiful; all sweet things, that He is most sweet; and so of the rest. In the greatness of creatures is seen the power of the Father; in their disposition the wisdom of the Son; in their beauty the goodness of the Holy Ghost.† Such were their reflections. "All creatures," they said with Denis the Carthusian, "are beautiful, as all are good: all partake of the divine eternal and uncreated beauty."‡ But how can any one describe the peace and harmony which existed between the sons of God and all these innocent and lovely creatures!

"No longer now the winged inhabitants
That in the woods their sweet lives sing away
Flee from the form of man; but gather round
And prune their sunny feathers on the hands
Which holy hermits stretch in friendly sport
Towards these dreadless partners of their play.
All things are void of terror. Man has lost
His terrible prerogative, and stands
At peace with nature."

On Montserrat the birds used to fly round the hermits, and feed out of their hands. When in the forests of Luxeuil the wild animals used to fawn upon St. Columban, Iona says, "I have often heard Chamnvaldus, bishop of Lyons, who had been his minister and disciple, relate that when in the woods with him, he used to see beasts and birds coming to him. The little animal which men call squirrel used often to leap down from the high branches, jump on his neck, creep into his bosom, and eat out of his hand.§ Thus the text of old historians justifies the poet's fancy.

"——— He would linger long
In lonesome vales, making the wild his home,
Until the doves and squirrels would partake
From his innocuous hand his bloodless food,
Lured by the gentle meaning of his looks;
And the wild antelope, that starts whene'er
The dry leaf rustles in the brake, suspend
Her timid steps to gaze upon his form."‖

Orderic Vitalis says, that at the voice of St. Guthlac, the hermit of Croyland, the

sguerrois, Hist. du Diocèse de Troyes, t. :

* S. Bon. Compend. Theol. Verit. Lib. iii. c. 2.
† Id. Lib. i. c. 1.
‡ Dion. Carthus. de Venustate Mundi, i.
§ Vita S. Columb. Auct. Iona Bobiensi ap. Act. S. Ord. S. Ben. tom. ii.
‖ Shelley.

birds of that uncultivated solitude, and the fish wandering through the stagnant waters, used to hasten to receive food from his hand: in the presence of the venerable Wilfrid two swallows perched and sang upon his arms, knees, and breast: he used to place straws in the spots of his cell where he wished the birds to build their nests.* St. Hugo, after he was bishop of Lincoln and until his death, retained the qualities of the solitary religious man. There was a wild swan in the marshes which used to fly round him, eat out of his hand, and put its neck in his bosom. When he was absent it used to signify his return three or four days before, by an unusual mode of flying and crying over the waters. The bird continued these habits for fifteen years; but on the death of the saint it resumed its wildness and its dolorous notes; and though it survived him many years, it would never again seem to know any one.† Friar Vincent of Flaviano, a holy Capuchin, was remarked for his tenderness to birds and beasts. When at Cortona he found a bird in the woods with its legs broken; and he contrived with quills to bind them up, and then covered them with some of his juniper oil, which he used as a medicine for sick persons; and when he had restored the poor bird to soundness, he set it free again. It was often observed how animals used to fawn upon him, as if recognising their especial friend.‡ From the inclemency of the weather diverse creatures seemed instinctively to seek shelter with the hermit, who so well had marked how God remembered the animals that were with Noah in the ark. When evening came and the storm gathered from the mountains, many of the tribe of birds would hide themselves near him in the woods, while dogs howled and hideous tempests tore down trees. Herons, exhausted by their flight across the sea from Ireland, used to be received by St. Columbia on Iona, and nourished till they had strength to fly away again.§ St. Bartholomew of Whitby was a hermit on the island of Farne. In such reverence was he held, that the mariners would at any time embark if he encouraged them. From the time of St. Cuthbert down to the thirteenth century, when it became the site of a Benedictine cell, this island was never without hermits, chiefly from the convent of Durham. "From the most ancient times," says the old historian, "this island has been frequented by a certain species of bird. At the time of nest-building there they congregate. Such is the tameness they derive from the sanctity of the place, or rather from those who by their residence in it have sanctified it, that they will allow themselves to be seen and touched by man. They love quiet, yet are not disturbed by a noise: they prepare their nests remote from the islanders. Some hatch their eggs close by the altar; and nobody presumes to hurt them, or even to touch their eggs without permission. With their mates they seek their sustenance in the deep. Their young as soon as hatched follow their mothers; and when once they have swum over their hereditary waves, they never return to the nest: the mothers, too, forget all their recent tameness, and recover their wildness with their genial element. Once as a duck was leading her new-hatched offspring towards the sea, a young one fell into the fissure of a rock. The bird stood still in such sorrow that no one could then doubt of her having feeling. Instantly she returned to Bartholomew and began to pull at his tunic with her beak, and he rose, thinking that she was seeking her nest under the place where he was sitting. But the bird still continuing to pull at his garment, he was at length convinced that she had some meaning which she wanted organs to express. So he went before and she followed, until they came to the rock, and moving to the brink he saw the young duck adhering with its wings to the side of the rock, and descending he restored it to its mother. Whereupon being much delighted she looked as if she were thanking him. Then with her young she entered the water, and Bartholomew returned to his oratory."* "The eider, or, as the islanders call it, St. Cuthbert's duck, is still found there. In the summer of 1818," says a late writer, "I saw one of them hatching her eggs in a stone coffin overhung with nettles, among the ruins of his hermitage. It grieves me to state, that since that time their numbers have been considerably diminished, their eggs have been broken, the soft lining of their nests taken away prematurely, their young destroyed, and they themselves wantonly shot by the crowds of idlers who every summer visit Farne and its sister island."

Alas! then it seems that the whole creation has suffered from the banishment of the holy men to whom it was so dear. The

* Lib. iv.
† Dorlandi Chronic. Cartus. Lib. iii. c. 6.
‡ Annal. Capucinorum, 1573.
§ Adamni Scoti de S. Columb.

* Apud Bollandist. Acta Sanct. Junii.

unerring text proclaims that the creature groaneth and travaileth with pain through the effects of man's first fall; and here is a corroborating fact, attested by experience, that it has inherited increase of misery from his last prevarication; for now abandoned by all protectors, cared for by none except for gain, stript of the inviolable character with which it was so long invested by men restored to grace, it is the unpitied victim to that "detested sport that feeds upon the sobs and dying shrieks of harmless nature." Truly, in relation to the war against all monks and hermits, which has ended nearly in their extirpation, one may exclaim with the poet,

> "Garden of God, how terrible the change
> Thy groves and lawns then witness'd."

From partial cruelty they had been never, indeed, wholly free, since the bitter fruit was eaten; but while hermits could be found in the woods, animals had protectors somewhere; while there was such a thing existing as a hermit's cell, there was a spot in which every hunted creature might have peace. Albertus of Sienna, the celebrated anachorite of the twelfth century, on the mountain of Turricellana, from whose family the most noble houses of Sienna date their origin, is represented in old miniature paintings caressing a hare which he holds in his arms; for he used often to save hares when pursued by hunters. He died in 1161, after spending twenty-seven years in solitude.* The persecution and the pain that man inflicts on all inferior kinds was always a theme descanted on to ears attentive by the gentle anachorite, who is represented moralizing the spectacle, like melancholy Jacques weeping and commenting upon the sobbing deer. The seraph of Assisi used to expostulate even with those who plied the slaughterer's trade, and say, "Why do you torture my little brothers the lambs, binding and suspending them so?" It is strictly hermit's language which our poet speaks to one who answers, "I have but killed a fly."

> "But? How if that fly had a father, a mother?
> How would they hang their slender gilded wings,
> And buzz lamenting dolings in the air?
> Poor harmless fly—
> That with his pretty buzzing melody
> Came here to make us merry,
> And thou hast kill'd him."†

* Annal. Camaldul. Lib. xxix. † Tit. And.

Goërres remarks, that the power and protection of these holy men extended even sometimes over plants and flowers.* But we must depart. In fine, the whole world experienced their sympathy; sounds in the air they heard, which spoke the love of all articulate beings: gems and minerals, or the fruits and flowers of the earth were in some degree related to them, as having been created by the common Father from the dust of the ground: they loved, they admired, they discerned a soul of goodness in all things round them. Such men our mountains and our forests saw—visited by angels and shaded by the boughs of paradise. O scenes surpassing fable, and yet true, scenes of accomplished peace?

"I deem it superfluous," says St. Augustin, speaking of the hermits, "to prolong this discourse; for if such an eminent degree of sanctity does not appear worthy of respect and admiration, how can my words persuade men to the contrary?"† It is a curious fact, that even the Sarassins evinced reverence for the Christian hermits, as the edict of the false prophet Mahomet Adallah can bear witness. "If a Christian priest or hermit," says the decree, "should retire to any mountain, grotto, plain, or desert, I will be in person behind him, as his protector against all enemies." But in addressing Christians in the middle ages, one might well say with St. Augustin, that it would be superfluous to exhort them to venerate solitary religious men. When it was rumoured that Pope Innocent XI. intended to suppress the hermits of Camaldoli in Poland, and to employ their funds in carrying on the war against the Turks, a solemn letter of remonstrance was addressed to him by the princes Palatine and nobles of Poland, interceding for these hermits. "It cannot be expressed, holy Father," say they, "what a sensation this rumour has caused throughout the kingdom; for such is the affinity between the Poles and the white-robed children of St. Romuald, that they cannot be torn from these hermits, without the most cruel wound being inflicted on themselves; for the fewer hermitages there are in this kingdom, so much the dearer are they to us. It would be grievous that the mildest of men, the most modest of religious persons, separate from human society, and not even enemies to the beasts in the woods, should be driven away; and, indeed, the army would not receive their spoils without horror." This remonstrance is signed by

* Die Christliche Mystik, ii. 222.
† De Moribus Eccles. Cath. 31.

Stanislaus, Prince Lubomirski, Grand Mareschal of Poland, Christopher Pazzi, Grand Chamberlain of the Duke of Lithuania, Michael Pac, General of the Lithuanian army, Stanislaus Potoschi, Casimir Sapieska, and many other nobles, besides bishops.*

Let us hear how Andreas Mugnotius, a Spaniard, describes the desert and hermits of Camaldoli, on the Tuscan mountains; for his language respecting them, when writing to Pope St. Pius V., is but a faithful expression of the impressions which such scenes and such men produced upon all former Christian generations. This desert of hermits appeared to him one of the most admirable things in Italy. "The cells of the hermits," he says, "are decently provided with all things necessary to life. O with what delight do they cultivate their little gardens, sweet with the odour of flowers! How one is soothed by the solemn beauty of the surrounding forest! This is, indeed, the generation of those who seek God, who serve Him assiduously on His holy mountains. These men, enkindled by the zeal of the Christian religion, direct all their deeds and words to one object,—God, the supreme diffusive good. These are true adorers of Christ, without guile, imbued with the simplicity of the dove and the prudence of the serpent,—men of most profound humility, thinking themselves the most abject of all; for he who is the greatest among them esteems himself the least. No discord or inequality can be found amongst them. To others, humane and gentle, lovers of charity, true in word, clean in heart, just in conscience, and eminent in all discipline of virtue. Far are they removed from all seditions, loquacity, mockery, murmurs, lies, adulations, irreverences, immodesty, dissimulation, detraction, hatred, intemperance, idleness, sloth, vain glory, hypocrisy, profane conversation, curiosity, effeminacy. O sacred desert, desert of deserts! more than five hundred years have elapsed from thy erection to these times, and with wondrous immutability, thou continuest to bear the fruits of immortal life! O fruitful mother, that dost produce such a long successive line of holy children, heirs of the kingdom of God! Amongst the saints now dwelling in this place, many are aged sires, with venerable beards, white as the driven snow, whose looks alone are enough to induce the beholder to enter upon the way of heavenly life. Two, especially eminent, have of late been here,—two great lights of the desert, Samuel and Silvanus: the latter profound in sacred erudition, and both admirable in holiness; under whose discipline Ambrose Moncata, a youth of that most ancient and illustrious ducal family of Moncata and Cardona of Spain, despising the pleasures and riches and honours of the world, in the flower of his age, has chosen this solitude as his place of rest. Here, too, Father John Baptist, of Novara, who had formerly been an illustrious warrior amongst the nobles of the world, became a true soldier of Christ, and spends his life in the desert. Cornelius has past more than twenty years in solitude here, with whom, when it was permitted me to speak, such delight did I receive from his venerable aspect and from his pious and affecting admonitions to a Christian life, that I thought I should have not heard any thing more impressive from the tongue of the holy Serapion himself. All the others, too, are men mindful of the celestial beatitude. Seven times each day and night they meet together in the church, to offer prayers and hymns to God, with holy ceremonies and seraphic devotion. No showers, or snows, or wild tempest, or vehement cold, can prevent them. And, oh! on seeing them leaving their cells, and passing in the obscure night, carrying torches in their hands, to say matins in the church, who would not suppose that he beheld the ancient fathers of the desert that we read about! I was told that Catherine de Medicis, through desire of seeing this sacred place, disguised herself in man's apparel, and, with one of her intimate associates, entered and inspected the place; but that being struck with remorse on seeing that she had incurred an anathema, she went to Rome and confessed what she had done to the pope, who granted her absolution, on condition that she would, at her expense, cause to be erected a splendid little cell in the desert; which she did, and had it adorned with magnificent stones. Silvanus told me that Eleonora, the wife of Cosmo de Medicis, had obtained permission from Pius IV. to see and behold the place; but that he had gone down to meet her as far as the first of the wooden crosses, and had prevailed upon her to abandon her resolution, and not transgress so ancient and venerable an institution. Nevertheless she offered them precious cloths to adorn their church."

In the sixteenth century, Christopher Marcellus, patriarch of Venice, describes his visit to this desert in an eloquent letter to a friend. "Certainly," he says, "there never was a place which entices men more

* Annal. Camaldul. Lib. lxxviii.

strongly to newness of life than this desert. I can say what I experienced myself: for to you I cannot pass it over in silence. When I began to ascend the mountain, and the whole aspect of the wilderness developed itself before me, I call God to witness that my heart was struck and moved to compunction; and I felt as if a divine voice had sounded in my ears, saying, 'This place is holy: put away thy sins.' Now, if the place itself hath a divine power thus of converting souls to the blessed life, and of inducing them to renounce the ways of the blind world, what shall we say of the most holy customs of the men inhabiting it,—of their most chaste manner of life, of their most pure discourse, of their most holy prayers? No; I cannot adequately express to you what love I felt for the place at the first sight,—how I was soothed at the aspect of these vast obscure woods of pine, and how I seemed to inhale from the air of the place religion and innocence: for these objects of the natural divine order move men to meditate on mysteries, and confirm them in the blessed life. Methinks one might moralize on the fir-tree itself, which seems in every part of its construction a fit emblem to teach perfection to the humble. Here I considered the changes of the right hand of the Most High: here I saw men who had once enjoyed all that riches, honours, nobility, pleasure, art, and fame, could yield, who were now humble, poor, and stripped of every thing. Amongst whom that Petrus Quirinus came into my mind,—one of the first men in letters and genius, and now no less eminent for sanctity, whose pious and blessed memory moved me to tears. A companion of his solitude was Paulus Justinianus, a man of equal nobility, not much inferior to him in genius; but in wealth, before his conversion, greatly his superior. He, through desire of a better life, dwelt in this happy desert. This is what I have to say to you, my dearest friend, respecting the joy and tranquillity of mind which I experienced on visiting this most sacred and celebrated desert of Camaldoli."*

Thus, with all the heart, and with that tongue which speaks the same in all, men used to extol this life of holy solitude, the tranquillity of eremites, the calm of the desert. Michael Angelo says, writing to Vasari, "I have felt, my dear George, such pleasure on the mountains of Spoleto, visiting the hermitages which are scattered there, that I have brought back to Rome, as it were, only the half of myself. Ah, truly it is in the woods alone that we can find freedom, felicity, and peace!"

Thus wrote philosophers during ages of faith,—when, led by a lofty genius and profound, they repaired to hermits upon mountains, down whose hallowed steps none ever descended without mounting them again,—such was the urgent will of all, that they might receive some sprinkling from the influence of their sacred dews. Never were hearts in such devotion bound, and with such absolute complacency disposed to render up themselves to God, as when the holy anachorite was visited: for then the everlasting pleasure that did shine so fully in their countenances contented the gladdened soul, —then sweet love, apparelled thus in smiles, diffused through the intelligence those sparkles which are enkindled by holy thoughts, to which men gratefully referred whatever genius lifted them above the vulgar. So entire the love with which they held those lives of hermits,—for writing which, St. Jerome said that Homer would have envied him,—that it eclipsed in oblivion the creations of the artist, and the sciences of the school. St. Thomas used to study their history, and meditate on their conferences, as related by Cassien; saying, that the memory of their spirit inspired him with devotion, and enabled him to rise more easily to speculation. "Ego in hac lectione devotionem colligo," said he, "ex qua facilius in speculationem consurgo." But the esteem for this kind of holy life gradually diminished in proportion as faith declined, and the character of men, as of nations, lost its strength. "So long," says the last historian of St. Gall, "as the people were conscious of possessing themselves an interior moral force, they believed the possibility of its existence in other men; and valued this mode of dying to the world, partly as an example of high self-command of taking up the cross to follow Christ, and partly as the operation of a deep conviction, and of an all-subduing faith. But when they no longer felt themselves strong for moral efforts, they ceased to believe that others were capable of making them, and loved rather to persuade themselves that such strength had its origin in an aberration of the intellect."* They no longer knew or could be made to feel what it is to have heaven thus brought down to earth, to live in the presence of God, and to share the sympathies of all his creatures.

* Annal. Camaldul. tom. i. Append.

* Geschichte des S. Gall, ii. 205.

But we are now clear of the forest; and the present age comes back to us with all its lawlessness and contempt for ancient things in consonance with the peaceful order everlastingly ordained. Blame me not if I have no longer words that are not borrowed from the bard,* who had a heart and vigour to endure all great transitions; for down through the world of infinite mourning lies straight the way before us. Already we can hear the noise and discern the dust in whirlwinds, of which Plato spoke, along the broad and public way. The banners of the world's monarch do come forth towards us from the great city heaped with envy to the brim, which now we may not enter without grief; for how will the din of earth grate harshly on our ears when we have once heard plain the harmony of heaven? The arch-heretics are here, accompanied by every sect of their followers, equivocating to darken and perplex the way of peace; while others, sensual, denying and blaspheming God's high power, and nature, with her kindly laws, contemning, restlessly are driven about, as if that she-wolf which Dante saw, was at their heels, which, in her leanness, seemed full of all wants; as if their lot was to be haunted by that fell beast, and never to enjoy peace; for not all the gold that is beneath the moon, or ever hath been, of these toil-worn souls, may purchase rest for one. Methinks we are now eyed by each, as at even-tide one eyes another under a new moon. Now we truly how brief, how vain, are all the g committed into fortune's hands, for w the human race keep such a coil. A the question here is not of tranquillity order, of deeper and deeper calm; b am unwilling to cast a gloom over termination of this course, which hitherto only led us towards all that is nocent and serene, by alluding to causes which, after disturbing the relig state of the Christian republic, destr the sanctuaries of peace every where by bringing into comparison with the pe ful men of secular and monastic life du ages of faith, with whom we have b conversing in these two last books, society of later times. This must, ind be done hereafter; but now I am as that makes no pause, but presses on road, whate'er betide him. Reader, a c pany with whom we may not sort as approaches. I commend these recol tions to thee, wherein monks and hern may survive. Some reflections on sad contrast will form an appropriate c mencement for the next book, where force we must become acquainted with discord of the actual world, and all ignoble work beneath the sun; while m ing those who never cease from troubl the faithful, either by insinuating diso under all the ever-shifting phases of rebellious principle, or by persecut them, like those who first diffused the cious seed, unrelentingly for their justi

* Dante, Carey's translat.

END OF THE TENTH BOOK.

Mores Catholici:

OR,

AGES OF FAITH.

BOOK XI.

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MDCCCXLVII.

SUMMARY.

SUMMARY.

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MORES CATHOLICI;

OR,

AGES OF FAITH.

THE ELEVENTH BOOK.

CHAP. I.

O conflicts now descending from the hills of peace, towards which many beside have with delight looked back, we cross the last circle; and those who marked my late promise egin discourse upon the sad contrasts ch await us in the life below of recent s, will have cause to wonder at my ace; for I am as one, "who unresolves t he hath late resolved, and with new ights changes his purpose, from his intent removed." Journeying contemive and mute from the bright serene, re, at the monastery and on the rocks w it at the hermit's seat, we left that joychanting in the sky, our hearts so sunk in us, that we felt envy of the eagle wheeling in his aëry tour, soared unructed back to visit them. As if bered, looking on the crowd that waited elow, we seemed of further gladness to lost all hope, deeming to have entered hat "road of sighs" once trod by Dante, ch was to continue to the end, drawforth only such regrets as Spenser felt aiming,

> "whither dost thou now, thou greater muse
> From these woods and pleasing forests bring?"

we judged falsely; and already the iferous air wafted over this encircled mound, from the spirits that are therein perfected, suffices to dispel the thoughts which rose out of discouragement. There will be a time for such reflections; there will be shadows as we advance to suit them, but they would ill become the gleams and balmy breath of this the last morning, when we shall stray together, reader, within the paradise which faith had made on earth. And now as if with joy restored, conducted full of confidence and hope on this new way, on entering, a song most sweet rings through all the sphere, and though it tells of persecution accordant with the joyful inspirations we have felt before; for I hear chanted, "Sanctorum meritis inclyta gaudia," and the rest which paints the felicity of those burning splendours of the Holy Spirit whom the Church denominates "Victorum genus optimum." I hear too of the mystic desires satisfied, as in the one voice that issues from them all, "In virtute tua, Domine, lætabitur justus, et super salutare tuum exultabit vehementer: desiderium animæ ejus tribuisti ei. Quoniam prævenisti eum in benedictionibus dulcedinis: posuisti in capite ejus coronam de lapide pretioso." Such the sounds that hail us from within a radiant light; and then, as if to tell the aim of these desires, "Viri sancti gloriosum sanguinem fuderunt pro Domino," is sung, and "amaverunt Christum in vita sua, imitati sunt eum in morte

sua: et ideo coronas triumphales meruerunt." O ye elect of God! whose woes such hope and fervour mitigated, direct towards the new rising, our uncertain way. Lo! the sun that darts his beam upon our foreheads. Lo! the unwithering lilies which this circle of itself pours forth profuse. Think, reader, if thou didst miss the sequel of this vision, to know the rest, how sorely thou wouldest crave.

St. Augustin says "this eighth beatitude is probative and consummative of the former; for the first seven perfect men, but the eighth glorifies and demonstrates them perfect, when for the sake of preserving and propagating the others, they willingly suffer death and all kinds of confusion and pain."* "It is said to return to the head," observes Albertus Magnus, "because it proves from the first to the last of them, whether they are true; for when contumely is endured for each of them, then what each man is secretly within himself is known."† St. Chrysostom, to show why the beatitude of persecution immediately follows that of peace, says, "lest any one should think it good to seek peace, always and at any price," therefore, it is added, "beati qui persecutionem patiuntur;" but St. Bonaventura argues that it is only a continuation of the preceding circle. "The eighth beatitude, which is the endurance of persecution, is annexed to peace; for," he continues, "when the pacific has no contradiction from the flesh, the world, or the devil, it follows that he is ready to conquer death and the temptation of death. Therefore, the endurance of death for Christ is in the same degree with peace; and it is on this account, we say, that there are eight beatitudes as to essence, but only seven as to distinctions of degree. For above peace there is no virtue, since peace, as St. Augustin says, is the end and consummation of all virtues."‡

Thus serene and bright will be our course unto the end, not embittered even when we shall view the children of perdition, and mark the instrumentality of human crimes, by any base remembrances or sad complaints opposed to the universal smile of charity; since the endurance of persecution for justice, of which, to use the words of Albertus Magnus,§ the end as of fortitude is delectation, is but a ci of the great illumined glory of wi Heaven must be joyous, a tone of melodious harmony which rises from e act that faith inspires, a ray in the c position of that one whole and per beatitude which is our end. Ruper therefore, compares the sermon of our L to a melodious hymn, sung to the sv music of a harp, which thought, as otl say, occurred to him from observing t harps of old were constructed with ei cords, of which the first and last emit the same tone, and that similarly of th beatitudes, the end accords with the ginning.* Consequently, of this hist illustrating its action, the tone must respond with that spirit of joy and gr tude belonging essentially to the relig which inspired it. St. Augustin comm ing on the Psalm which has relatio this eighth way of paradise, observes t "in that captivity, in that servitude, that chariot, under that yoke, there thousands, not of the sorrowful who w but of the glad who rejoice."† And, deed, if we mark it well, the holy litu of Catholics can teach us with what joy should pursue our task; for do you observe how the offices of the Church martyrs and confessors breathe exulta and gladness? "Lætificas,—gaudean —lætabitur—exultabit vehementer inc gaudia—alleluja,"—such are the wo and sounds they leave, echoing as it v over us. These martyrs are comme rated as having been like sister L anointed with the oil of gladness ab their fellows; they are introduced v joy and exultation. Of them as in a sion to Marius, Martha, Audiface, Abachum, the Church exclaims, "J epulentur, et exultent in conspectu et delectentur in lætitia." There are regrets or sad expressions of discour ment:

"Non murmur resonat, non querimonia:"

but as in the matin him:

"Æterna Christi munera
Et martyrum victorias,
Laudes canentes debitas,
Lætis canamus mentibus."

Moreover, this course will leave no mories to chill that generous affection

* Serm. xii.
† Albert. Mag. Compend. Theologic. Veritatis, Lib. v. c. 55.
‡ Compend. Theologicæ Veritatis, Lib. v. c. 55.
§ Lib. Ethicorum, Lib. 11. xi.

* Pierre Doré, les Voyes de Paradis.
† In Ps. lxvii.

ce of men, beginning perhaps with for individuals, and thence passing a few to all, which would suffer from miration directed to objects naturally erving of love, or too narrowly con-ted. For among those whom the lic religion regards as the blessed uted, will be found none of those able and revolting figures which before us in history and in life, who rather suffer from men than not them; no grim, ill-tempered, and y self-styled martyrs, who paint the infinite benevolence with a frown, mplaining of imagined wrongs, with nd spasms at command, and tragic outraged dignity, to torture others he eternal profession of their own uited merit, as if patterns of meek nce and patient resignation, while hour indulging in the flights of un-lled perversity: the men we shall t with here, were such as seemed to eye created with full capacity for all ladness that could glow in human s, who beheld in the great book of all things not in black and sombre but in bright and glowing tints; who its music not in sighs and groans, songs and cheerful sounds; and in every return of day awakened the of hope, and gratitude, and joy. We find too, that those whose acts are emorated within this circle, as those the world had with bloody stain ed, are sufficiently numerous to oc-all our sympathy; we shall find this space of ample radiance, mil-of creatures now for ever blessed, hom the youthful heart would have o sympathize—perhaps, indeed, all rom our earth have to the skies re-l, so wide the leaves extending from ose which blooms with beauty from me enlightener; for here shine those ere prized as the amiable, the brave, nerous, the young, the fair, the , the natural,—in fine, the best and st of the human race. And after all, t subscribing to the theory of one pher, that only those to whom these in strict material sense belong are e, who has not observed from expe-of others and from what he reads his own heart, that the class which love is the class that labours, and oo often under stern and unjust s—the class that in its simplicity without murmuring—the class in-sweat, and hardship, and privations, and sacrifice, that has no time to speculate as to who are amiable; the class still as it were under the rod; the class that obeys in all common relations, overlooked by the proud, or trampled on by brute force, which is content with a moment of ease, and as it were, the recreation of a boy: in a word, the class that the world persecutes, and that enjoys in spite of it the pleasures which are denied to its oppressors? It is with such as these, however exalted, still little and self-humiliated, that we shall consort: for the spirit of Christ's beatitudes is to embrace the generality who seem born to serve as He came to serve, while that of the world is to prize the few who aspire to be masters, and exempt from what belongs to others; and in thus extending our sympathies to the common class, we shall enjoy all the sweets of fellowship which nature can desire; for nature speaks in favour, not of those who are masters, but of those who serve. If we were to be removed from sympathy with these by the tenour of our history, we might have reason to complain and doubt; but it will not put our souls miserably out of tune to hear that, excepting for animadversion, our way will lead us far from these unjust masters, from these pampered rich men, from these cruel oppressors, from this world which persecutes, including among the tyrants whom knowledge obliges us to consider as the enemies of Christ, of his Church, and of his members, those from whom every eye would naturally turn in disgust, the proud and merciless, the artful and cowardly, the hideous, the unnatural, who deliver up the just, with Judas, through avarice, or with the chief priests through envy, or with Pilate through fear. Such figures, indeed, must remain excluded, bearing their true titles, as when Mezentius is never named by the great Mantuan without the epithet "contemtorque Deûm:" but ought they not to be excluded? "If there was not a root of iniquity in the heart," says St. Augustin, "there would not be all this opposition against Christ."* And have we ever considered what must be that iniquity? The aspect of martyrs appeased the ferocity of tigers and leopards, which used to show compassion and sympathy for the saints of God; not alone animated beings, but fire and the other elements respected them; only men could consummate the sacrifice. To witness such contrasts then, and such iniquity consigned

* In Ps. lxiv.

to an exclusion, will wound no generous heart: they belong in fact to every view of human life, whether we only consort with those who deserve love on earth, or rise to the contemplation of the saints and troops angelical.

Distinct from the supernatural brightness of this way, a certain reflected light illuminates it as if from objects of human and earthly splendour. Nor if the Greek poet could discern that even calamity well endured was happiness:

——λέγω γὰρ καὶ τὰ δύσφορ' εἰ τύχοι
κατ' ὀρθὸν ἐξελθόντα, πάντ' ἂν εὐτυχεῖν.*

and if the orator could define the summit of prosperity as the state of him who obtains the most honourable fate, or the most noble subject of grief,† what must be the glory consequent on the trials of the martyrs, and of those who suffered persecution for sake of justice? What spirit yet encompassed with weeds of flesh, can without trembling speak of deeds so worthy? Yet with eyes bent downward, attentive only to the human side, desire to know the actions subjected to mortal sense may draw us onward. If the inherent reverence of heroes which exists in the human mind, be indeed a fact so inexpressibly precious, as a late eloquent observer says; if there be an everlasting hope in it for the world, here and here alone we have the certainty of their having been heroes within the sphere of the intelligence given to the world; here alone we have foundations for hope, that they may again appear in it, for here in that comprehensive sense were the only true heroes, and only in resembling them can the race return: it is in vain to look for any other.

This course, therefore, brings us back to the paths of that ideal chivalry in which so many youthful feet have loved to wander,—to those broad domains of heroic honour, which so essentially belong to the true life of faith; for, as St. Augustin says, "Arcta omnis malitia, sola innocentia lata est."‡ We are about to hear, as he says elsewhere, of things great and beautiful, desirable, and full of joy and gladness. Honour, true-honour becomes thus all the subject of our closing history; as if to comply with this advice of Schiller, "Tell him, that when he is a man, he must reverence the dreams of his youth." brings us back to the old "seigne books," that were most loved in youth the high noble themes that fascinated smiling age of man's life, when as a he did so burn to devote his strengt truth and justice. But all the mig standard yet had wrought, of which have seen proofs, throughout the mo kingdoms which it swayed, falls in app ance, dwindled and obscured, if one v steady eye and perfect thought look the splendour of the eighth beatitu This will lead us, therefore, gloriously a bright triumphant end; for if we m speak now of dangers, of combating an killing, our theme will also be of glory of victory. The sum will be to show h

"——— Pride has
Met with severe reward; and that high just
That governs all, though envy break with h
Own poison, calls the amazed world to see
What blessings wait upon humility."

We shall hear, indeed, of sorrow; the crafty race of persecutors will find h proof of that order of Divine Provide which decrees that in spite of them by them should be accomplished the nunciations of Jesus Christ, "væ mund —woe to the world! But a spirit of finite consolation moves over the water this deluge of suffering and death. shall find changed, perhaps, some which we have before seen innocently g as the poet says,

"We have seen it, when it was less sad; but
The richer jewel set in black,"

and we may repeat his words, address each of these bright figures as they pas

"You ne'er wore garments did so well bec
you.
Your voice has better music too, it sounds
As some religious melancholy struck
Upon your heart; you've prayed lately, I
tinguish
A tear upon your cheek still; 'tis well."

So carefully have I refrained in preceding books from introducing ma foreign from the special limits to wh each related, that some who have follo me through them will be surprised, p haps, to hear that there can be found the historical monuments of the mid ages ample illustrations to explain state of those who suffer persecution account of justice. It is true the ages

* Œd. Tyr. 87. † Thucyd. ii. 44.
‡ In. Ps. c.

ng that middle period, enjoyed
ular exemptions. The pheno-
ich Socrates thought would be
strange if it could be realised—
philosophers instead of being
and despised should be hon-
exalted by states,* was then
As for men who wonder why
rs are not honoured in the state,
iem, said the sage, ὅτι πολὺ ἂν
ον ἦν εἰ ἐτιμῶντο. They were
ired. Just men were not obliged
to feign themselves insane in
fer their advice without restraint
hment. When they undertook
ut the danger of future judg-
were not always as Socrates
ney would become, necessarily
contempt and hatred.† Even
st moments, while some kings
g themselves and some rulers
nsel together against the Lord,
st his Christ, saying, "Let us
bonds asunder, and cast away
from us," the multitudes were
nd adoring, and whole nations
co-operating with Christ. The
id supernatural institution of
eemed to have been designed,
cient guilds of the tenth century,
a the number of those who were
sed by enduring persecutions;
ct was to abolish persecution for
s by the statutes of the guilds
rotherhood was bound to defend
cause whenever any member
ed;‡ so, by this latter confe-
he whole city of God was to be
The church, in its character
essed, was to have a defender,
each member of the mystical
e church, as a French religious
es, "was the mother, the spouse,
f every knight, of every one who
a sword." Kings derived their
le from their zeal to defend her.
ing of Apulia, lies buried at
nce the year 1285, with these
is tomb—

lypeus jacet hic, Fideique trophæus:
ipse reus. Propitiare Deus."§

artyr of Canterbury made many
this principle of his age. Writ-
nry, bishop of Winchester, to

ub. vi. † Plato Theætetus.
Thesaur. Linguar. Septent. ii. Thier-
ur l'Histoire de France.
. Parmense ap. Muratori, ix.

thank him for his courage and charity in his necessities, St. Thomas says, "Thus it became a man of generous blood, having kings for his ancestors, to adorn the nobility of his family by deeds of virtue and religion,"* and in a letter to Roger, bishop of Worcester, he says, "It became your nobility to honour your ministry by standing bravely unto blood, as we were confident that you would do if it were only through regard to the generosity of your race."† Thus wrote the martyr to that illustrious son of the earl of Gloucester, who shines so bright a star in the history of his woes. A column of justice was he, and, in regard to constancy, an impenetrable adamant, young in years and old in virtue, never forsaking him in his adversity, but keeping fidelity unto his own loss, and proscription, and peril, thinking, as he said, "that it would be disgraceful to enjoy luxuries at home with women, while his commander was in the camp."‡ "Your father, Earl Robert," says St. Thomas, writing to him, "loved you above all his sons. Consider how prudent, how faithful, how magnanimous, how constant he was, who resisted, and even conquered, a flourishing, warlike, gracious, and opulent king, duke of Normandy and count of Bologne, who afterwards so despised all peril that he preferred imprisonment rather than consent to injustice. The contemplation of that beloved man should animate you; and he who bequeathed to you the title of generous blood, should be imitated in your manners."§ Besides, it is certain from history, that the voice of the ancient world, bearing testimony to its experience, would no longer represent the consequences of virtue among men; for these ages frequently beheld the work of justice conducted without violence and without resentment. The great and marvellous reform, effected by St. Dunstan, of the clergy and laity, seems to have exposed him to no persecution, but, on the contrary, to have conduced only to his greater earthly as well as eternal glory. Even under the sway of Fredegonde, and the sons of Clotaire, St. Germain, bishop of Paris, though he had much internal pain to suffer, while he spared neither exhortations nor reproofs, suffered no violence; for God gave him such authority among the barbarous chiefs, that he had no ex-

* St. Thom. Epist. clxxxviii.
† Ib. Epist. cxc.
‡ Heribert, Hist. quadr. i. 16.
§ Ep. cclxxiii.

ternal persecutions to endure. White crowns, indeed, were multiplied, for the merits of justice in these times of spiritual peace, as when Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob were honoured for the merits of faith without having been slain for justice, and presented with the purple crowns of passion; but those who are sent to study the history of the middle ages in relation to this beatitude, cannot, on the whole, but experience astonishment at the happy change which had been effected in regard to the reception given to justice generally, which, at the first glance, at least, might justify them in bearing a testimony like that of the angelic voices in the vision of the prophet. "Perambulavimus terram, et omnis terra habitatur, et quiescit."*

Nevertheless, such impressions would lead to great error, if they were not subsequently submitted to correction. The middle ages enjoyed exemptions from evils which existed during earlier and later times of faith; but they were far from being without experience of those which God can turn to the benefit of his elect. As the words of Christ, that many choose the broad way and the wide gate, are always verified, it follows that in ages of greatest faith, as in Catholic countries still, there must be a multitude of persons who either reject or pervert religion, from whom, consequently, the faithful must expect to suffer persecution; for so the generations of the just are saved.

"Never," as St. Leo says, "is there wanting the tribulation of persecution, if there be not wanting the observance of piety. As the whole body of the Church must live piously, so the whole body must bear the cross, each member according to its needs and capacity."

"In some one part or other," says St. Augustin, "the whole Church suffers persecution. If it does not suffer from the fury of the emperor, it suffers from that of an evil people. What devastations by the people! What evils inflicted on the Church by wicked Christians, by those who are caught in that net!"† "The whole earth is red with the blood of martyrs; heaven is brightened with the crowns of martyrs; the churches are adorned with the memorials of martyrs; the seasons are rendered holy by the nativities of the martyrs; the sick are cured by the merits of the martyrs."‡ "I say that there are persecutions every where," says Hugo of St. Victor, "because daily in the secret places of the holy Church, Cain persecutes Abel, Ismael Isaac, Esau Jacob, that is, the impious the just: and if one does not suffer persecution from strangers, one suffers it from false brethren."*

"When you enter a cathedral of the middle ages, and contemplate in the evening that army of saints and doctors, in a sweet act, so sculptured to the life, they look not silent images, kneeling, praying, or exhorting in their niches of stone—with such countenances of calm repose—as if motionless for eternity, you are led to suppose that these were ages of peace without struggles and without disorder. Such an impression," continues Michelet, "would however mislead. True, the intellectual life of man—the conscience in an infinite number of men was calm as summer midnight; but the exterior was strangely and in sadly wise disturbed. Nay, the middle ages were precisely the ages of struggle—alas! in our time," he adds, "men contend no more as they did then—for then there was the vehement struggle between the religious spirit and the spirit of the world—the human nature fallen—that was their dignity, that their glory. Yes, these saints of stone represent men who were troubled, who had struggles almost unceasing from without, and from within too; for men were the same as now, and if you interrogate them they will tell you as much."†

In our time, men contend no more thus. Reader, did you mark that? It is even so. In languid times, as a late writer justly observes, with their unbelief and perplexity, with their weak doubting characters and embarrassed circumstances, promoting a kind of general spiritual paralysis, amidst an effete sceptical world, wherein wonder, greatness, sincerity, and faith, are rarely found, where truth for most men means plausibility, to be measured by the number of votes that can be procured, where men live not by believing, but by doubting, debating, and arguing,—the struggles of an age of faith, of sincere and earnest men are impossible or unnecessary. To produce martyrs and confessors, there must be faith. If a man has to ask at every turn the world's suffrage; if he cannot dispense with it and make his own suffrage serve, how can he be expected to struggle as the saints did, or

* Zacharia, c. i. † In Ps. xxx. ‡ Id. cxviii.

* In. Ps. Sermo xxviii. † Michelet.

resigned to share in their sufferings? ıe ages of faith there was no necessity olling, and voting, and "setting up t-boxes in every street." There are ore struggles now, because minds are ated. The nerves of men's arms are ut as in the legend of the sons of s in Jumièges, but their moral energy estroyed; their intelligence is ex-ed, so that they will not give them-s the trouble to think, for fear of ring the responsibility of a conviction. ıore sufferings for justice now, because generally understood that men are elled to act as they do by irresistible lse, or by circumstance, or if they do ıccuse Satan, by their fate, which no hey affirm can withstand; and, indeed, t. Augustin says, if Satan spoke and were silent, or if Satan or fate had power of compelling, they might be ed. So they deem it a folly to come ırd and maintain a just cause if they have to suffer for it. This is what Augustin termed, wishing to precede st, and to teach Him. In ages of men believed in Him and followed . Yet, from the first there were traces ıe modern spirit; for Peter, as St. ıstin says, wished to precede Christ; hen the Saviour spoke of His passion, r, who a little before confessed Him, was therefore called a rock on which church was built, replied, "Absit, ine, non fiet istud;" and observe here, the holy doctor, how before it was atus es, Simon,"—and now, "Redi me, Satanas." Therefore we who wish elebrate rightly the nativities of the yrs, should desire to imitate them. us not precede them, and wish to ı to be wiser than they are by avoiding rings for justice and for faith, which did not avoid. Let those who have thoughts, and who nourish their ts in luxury, be turned back and put hame.* "This silent army," says ıelet, "represents men who struggled combated." He may well say so; and impossible to recall their memories out having the mind's eye arrested, as re, by the solemn banners and trophies ıeir long and glorious warfare. They ı to come forward at first one by one, s to be separately distinguished, and collectively in a crowd that no one number, as in the sublime procession osed by the Church in her Litany of the saints, when invoking John the Baptist, and St. Joseph, and all the patriarchs and prophets—St. Peter, St. Paul, St. Andrew, St. John, and all the holy apostles and evangelists; St. Stephen, St. Laurence, St. Vincent, and all the holy martyrs; St. Sylvester, St. Gregory, St. Augustin, and all holy pontiffs and confessors; St. Anthony, St. Benedict, St. Dominic, St. Francis, and all holy monks and hermits; St. Agnes, St. Cæcilia, St. Agatha, St. Anastasia, and all holy virgins and widows, with all the holy saints of God: and their voice seems to be with one accord, from contradiction and persecution, from martyrdom and exile came we to this peace.

The world forgets, if it ever knew, the silent sufferings, the silent struggles and sorrows of the men of faith and their long persecutions. All through the ages involved in this history the world pursued the Church collectively, as well as its members one by one. Still was it, as we shall have occasion to show, the Church militant, often the Church persecuted, the Church oppressed. "Vita Christiani est benefacere et male pati."* Such was the maxim then on every tongue.

Considering the number even of kings and queens who were then prepared to suffer for justice, a pious writer exclaims, "O, how seldom are such examples to be witnessed in these days that are styled enlightened! How seldom is the resolution of a king, or queen, or even of any of the higher nobility, so exemplary as to be worthy of being held out to the people as an inducement to walk in their footsteps in order to save their souls! O, truly, in these times is the world made desolate because there is no one that thinketh in the heart. May what are called the dark ages return again, that there may be another harvest of souls for heaven!"†

Ages of faith, as we have often been obliged to observe, were earnest times: good and evil far more than charters were truths and realities for them. Men were heartily in earnest. They possessed the sincerity of children with the depth of wisdom. They met injustice "with a great-hearted simplicity in an unfearing way." Theirs was "not the sincerity that calls itself sincere which is often mainly self-conceit, but that of which they did not speak, and were not themselves conscious."‡

Let us endeavour to form a just estimate

* In Ps. lxix.

* Bona de Discret. Spirit. 13.
† Peach. ‡ Carlyle.

of the force and character of this resolution of men in ages of faith to suffer persecution on account of justice. In the preceding books we have seen their humility, their meekness, their aptitude to mourn, their purity, their thirst for justice, their compassion, their love of holy peace—it remains for us to observe the complement of all these graces, that firmness and constancy which so eminently characterised their actions; that intimate energy arising from faith; that calm sustained enthusiasm; the religious devotion to what is immortal, and that silent modesty in presence of injustice, which seem rather to be ignorant than disdainful of its existence. As the Church sings in her office of many martyrs, "Sancti qui sperant in Domino, habebunt fortitudinem, assument pennas ut aquilæ, volabant et non deficient." Would you observe this verified? then hear the words of Tertullian to the martyrs: "Let us change the name of prison, and call it a retreat. Although the body be enclosed, although the flesh be detained, all places are open to spirit. Wander, then, in spirit: perambulate in spirit; not proposing to yourself shaded woods or long porticoes, but that way which leads to God. As often as you walk thus in spirit, you will escape from your prison. The limb feels nothing in the nerve when the mind is in heaven. The mind carries with it the whole man, and removes it to wherever it wishes."* The same spirit breathes in the high mysticism of the middle ages. "Nothing is contrary to me but myself," says Hugo of St. Victor.† What can be more brave than such a heart? Ages of faith, indeed, of necessity were ages of valour. It was indispensable to be brave. The men who are to pass before us in this book had subdued fear, so far as being perfectly resolved; and, to use the words of a late writer, Agamemnon's was of small audacity and of small fruit in the world compared to theirs. "Felix quem non gladius terret," sing the Franciscan friars in their office of St. Anthony of Padua, alluding to his glorious constancy. Vico wrote a treatise on the heroism of intelligence—"De mente heroica," as evinced by the undaunted preachers of the middle ages. It is to the development of this spirit which fitted men of every state for the best of all victories, that we should now direct our attention. And certes for whoever wishes to study the history of religious and philosophic doctrines in the middle ages, there will be found here curious and profitable information respecting the direction and the state of minds, an object of which we have endeavoured never to lose sight in any book of the present history.

"Duo sunt," says Peter of Blois, "justitia et libertas, pro quibus quisque fidelis usque ad sanguinem stare debet."‡ Such was the maxim of men in the ages of faith, than whom no generations ever observed more strictly the poet's counsel:

——"vivite fortes,
Fortiaque adversis opponite pectora rebus."

"Love and fortitude," such are two of the qualities necessary to the young man according to Dante,† which prepared him for the martyr's grace. The very standard itself of knightly honour supposed a readiness to suffer persecution on account of justice, for without such suffering how could men pass through life without reproach? "Not without sin I confess," as the old Baron would add, "distinguishing, (for we all sin, and continually ask God to efface our sins,) but without reproach," "sans reproche."

Albert de Ripalta, speaking of his father, Antonio, who began the annals of Placentia, which he completed, says, that he had often declared "his wish to write nothing but what might conduce to the honour of Almighty God, and the utility of his neighbour, especially what might excite the minds of young men to live virtuously, and endure all perils for the love of virtue."‡ This will and capacity to endure formed the great criterion in estimating the respective merits of different men. "They who wish to suffer many things for Christ," says Cardan, "shine in all kinds of virtue, and, therefore, are the best for constituting and maintaining a republic."§

So Pope Martin IV. creating the archbishop of Arles a cardinal, says, "that according to ancient example, he must collect from all nations, to assist him in governing the flock committed to him, men potent in deed and in word, to instruct the people by their example, and to inform them by their doctrine; men who so fear God, that they never fear the face of man; so hate avarice, that they go not after gold, and hope not in the multiplicity of riches, but follow truth, that is,

* Ad Martyr. † De Claustro Animæ, Lib. v. 12.

* De Institut. Episcop. † Convito, c. 26.
‡ Annales Placentini ap. Murat. Rer. It. tom. xx. § De Utilitate ex Advers. Cap. Lib. iii. 10

st, who is the way, and the truth, and life, declining neither to the right l nor to the left."* God is wonderful is saints, exclaims the holy Church. us Israel ipse dabit virtutem," she con- es, "et fortitudinem plebi suæ, bene- is Deus."

'e shall see what fearless magnani- belonged to meek, humble, and deep ng men, who could know more misery reap more joy than all; to each of m might be addressed the words of illes to Priam, when the latter dared ter his tent,

—— σιδήρειόν νύ τοι ἦτορ.†

mo sapiens, nisi fortis," said the Roman osopher,‡ "no one wise who is not e;" yet, if we will hear Balthasar, ian, sages have been always bad suf- s; for impatience increases, he says, ng with science, and it is hard to con- a great knowledge,"§ but the Catholic ion recognised not such men as sages. proclaimed the necessity of valour in ring, and she declared that fortitude, lbertus Magnus observes, "magis est nendo quam audendo,"‖ so that her seemed to re-echo the maxim of the ks,

Παθήματα, μαθήματα,

at still deeper wisdom,

ος κράτιστός ἐστ' ἀνὴρ
τις ἀδικεῖσθαι πλεῖστ' ἐπίσταται βροτῶν.¶

ecution for justice according to her was doctrine. Whoever wept and for Jesus Christ, had the learning h best proved the sage.

The world in vain decries the Christian as a life of subjection and servitude. reign of justice," continues Massillon, a reign of liberty. The soul faithful subject to God becomes mistress of reatures; the just man is above every g, because he is detached from every g: he is master of the world, because espises the world; he depends neither is masters, because he serves them for God's sake; nor on his friends, use he loves them only in the order harity; neither on his inferiors, be- e he requires from them no unjust pliance, nor on his fortune, because he fears it; nor on the judgments of men, because he fears only those of God; nor on events, because he regards them in the order of Providence; nor on his passions, because charity is their rule. The just man alone then enjoys perfect freedom; superior to the world, to himself, to all creatures, to all events, he begins in this life to reign with Jesus Christ. All things are subject to him, and he is subject to God alone."

"Justum et tenacem propositi virum
Non civium ardor prava jubentium,
Non vultus instantis tyranni
Mente quatit solida."*

Such was the Catholic mind in ages of faith: no one possessed it, "who feared death, or exile, or poverty, who preferred," as Cicero says,† "their contraries to equity," or who pronounced the word necessity with a view to its ordinary meaning. When told that nature was become necessity, they who cherished it exclaimed with St. Bernard, "O quam necesse esset hanc necessitatem evelli!"‡ When urged to regard it for their own interest, they again replied with him, "necessitas multorum est virtus paucorum."§ So in the third nocturn of the office of St. Anthony of Padua, the friars sing,

"Pereunt pericula, cessat et necessitas"

Religion addressed men in words, like those of the Greek poet, when Agamemnon is represented fearing the people, and Hecuba says to him,

ἐπεὶ δὲ ταρβεῖς, τῷ τ' ὄχλῳ πλέον νέμεις,
ἐγώ σε θήσω τοῦδ' ἐλεύθερον φόβου.

Gundobadus, king of the Burgundians, having been converted from the Arian heresy by St. Avitus, was one of those who feared the multitude; and the holy bishop sought thus to deliver him, reminding him that it was not sufficient to be a Catholic in secret, and that persecution for justice was the lot to be expected by all Christians. "You being a king," he said to him, "and having no reason to fear any penalty, are afraid to confess the Creator of all publicly, lest there should be a sedition of the people. Relinque hanc stultitiam, et quod corde te dicis credere, ore profer in plebe; for the apostle says, With the heart we believe to justice, but with

Ap. Martene, Vet. Script. ii. p. 1283.
xxiv. 521. ‡ Lact. iii.
Courtier, 159.
Lib. Ethicor. iii. t. 2. ¶ Menander.

* Hor. Od. iii. 3. † De Off. ii. 11.
‡ Ep. cclxxiii. § Id. cxiii.

the mouth is confession to salvation; and so the prophet also says, Confitebor tibi, Domine, in ecclesia magna. In populo gravi laudabo te; and again, Confitebor tibi in populis, Domine; psalmum dicam nomini tuo inter gentes. But, O king, fearing the people, you are ignorant that it is better the people should follow your faith, than that you should favour their infirmity; for you are the head of the people, and, therefore, if you proceed to war, you precede the host, and they follow whither you lead. Wherefore, it is better that by your going first, they should come to the truth, than that by your perishing, they should remain in error. For God is not mocked, and he doth not love him, who on account of an earthly kingdom, does not confess Him in the present life." St. Gregory of Tours relates however, that the king could never be prevailed upon to confess the equality of the Trinity in public, but persisted in his pusillanimity to the end of his life.*

This was nothing but the old weakness before the formation of the new creature. The wisest of the Greeks was obliged to give his friend a clue to distinguish his real opinion from that which he professed, through compliance with the popular superstition, telling him that his letters which expressed the former, would begin with the word Θεὸς, and the latter with *θεοί*.† Here then was a great contrast to the Catholic spirit of the ages of faith, which enabled men to live superior to all fear of the judgments of the crowd, which now under the title of society again exercise so fatal an influence on those who resolve to be at peace with the enemies of Christ, who appear following our Lord at a distance from afar faintly, as old writers say, only to add to his ignominy by denying Him. In the middle ages, the state of manners did not resemble that which Seneca describes. "Pendemus toti ex alienis judiciis; et id optimum nobis videtur quod petitores laudatoresque multos habet, non id quod laudandum petendumque est. Nec viam bonam ac malam per se æstimamus, sed turba vestigiorum, in quibus nulla sunt redeuntium."‡ Very far otherwise.

As Polyeucte says to Felix in that noble tragedy of Corneille, "The man of faith feared nothing, dissembled nothing, and in the eyes of all the world, was always the same." I am a Christian, would be his reply, after the examples of the martyrs of the first age of the Church. I am a Christian,

—— "hinc atque hinc vocibus heros
Tunditur, et magno persentit pectore curas:
Mens immota manet; lacrymæ volvuntur inanes."*

Yet to antiquity we must ascribe the honour which is its due. Homer's old men, though pacific, are determined enemies of injustice; and in this respect again, Catholic manners possessed the charm of Homeric energy. "Shall wickedness be strong in punishment, and we not be as valiant in our suffering?" Such was the answer to each tyrant. But how can we describe the high disdain of yielding to dishonour, which characterized these ages of faith? When the terrible King Chilperic, persecuting Prætextatus, bishop of Rouen, demanded why he dared to ask some great nobles to befriend his son, the Prince Merowig, whom the bishop loved with a mother's love, from having held him on the font, that holy man, though far from firm, replied, "I acknowledge it, I entreated them to stand his friends, and I would have called to his aid not only men, but the angels of heaven, if I had power over them; for he was, as I said before, my spiritual son by baptism."†

St. Thomas of Canterbury being exiled, St. Gilbert, founder of the Gilbertins, and the other superiors of his order, were accused of having sent him assistance. The charge was false; but the holy abbot chose rather to be sent to prison, and to incur the risk of seeing his order suppressed, than to justify himself, lest he should seem to condemn an action which would have been meritorious.

Truly the chivalrous spirit belonged to those who suffered persecution for justice during these heroic ages. "It has been a question this year," writes John of Salisbury to Hunfrid Boni, "of making my peace with the king, that I might return to England. They solicited me to give security that I would not in any thing assist the archbishop, and on those terms I should return into favour with the king. But though I am not bound to the archbishop by homage, or oath, or obligation of faith, and though I owe him no obedience, unless that which is due to every bishop, nevertheless as I believed it would be a base act to deny

* Lib. ii. Hist. Francorum.
† Plat. Epist. xiii. ‡ De Otio Sapient.

* Æn. iv. 438.
† S. Greg. Turon. Hist. Franc. Lib. v.

him, and renounce obedience to him, I could not accept the condition."*

"Summum crede nefas animam præferre pudori
Et propter vitam vivendi perdere causas."

"Even the heathen gave this sentence, therefore I earnestly entreat that such forms may not be provided for me. If it be a question respecting the past, I do not deny that I have always obsequiously and devotedly served the archbishop as my lord and my father; and I wish it might have been efficaciously; nor will I ever, with God's help, for any utility or through fear of any loss, by abjuring and denying Him, stain my life, yea and the memory of my name and race, before God and man."† Thus as far as spurning the specious world's control, and cherishing this unconquerable devotion of the mind to truth, men never bid adieu to boyhood. They carried on the freshness and feelings of youth into the powers of maturer age. Each could bear to himself the testimony of the poet,

"I am prepared, in truth, with no proud joy,
To do, or suffer aught, as when a boy
I did devote to justice, and to love,
My nature, worthless now."

"He would talk to his wife and children," says Roper of Sir Thomas More, "of the lives of holy martyrs, of their grievous pains endured for the love of God, and of their passion and death undergone, rather than offend Him; and he would add, what a happy and blessed thing it was to suffer privation of goods, imprisonment, loss of lands, and even of life itself, in the cause of Heaven!" After being long imprisoned in the Tower, he wrote to them saying, "I find no cause, I thank God, to reckon myself in worse case here, than at home; for methinks God maketh me a wanton, and setteth me on his lap and dandleth me." "O glorious God," he prayed, "take from me all sinful sorrow and pensiveness." In fact, cheerfulness and composure, even mirth sometimes, resting on earnestness and sadness, "as the rainbow on black tempest," distinguished men of this beatitude in all ages. Celebrated are the instances of Sir Thomas More disencumbering himself of the courtier, who recommended him to change his mind, by replying that he had done so, meaning only that he had resolved not to change his apparel that morning, and his saying at the foot of the scaffold, "I pray you, sir, see me safe up; as for my coming down, I may shift for myself," —words which may recall those of the great confessor of our times, Droste de Vischering, archbishop of Cologne, who on being carried off violently from his palace, only asked the officer who secured him, whether the candles in the carriage-lamps were long enough to last them through the night.

The courage and calm resolution of the martyrs sometimes extorted the admiration of even the most cruel persecutors; as when the emperor Decius, having read the examination of St. Acacius, gave him his liberty and suffered him to profess the Christian religion.

"The philosophers," says Philemon, "as I have heard, consume much time in seeking what is the supreme good, and no one has yet discovered what it is."

Νῦν εὗρον· εἰρήνη 'στίν.*

If this were the solution of the difficulty in ages of faith, there were distinctions added to reconcile it with the felicity of enduring persecution; for, as Hugo of St. Victor says, "there are two kinds of peace; one which Christ gives, the other which the world gives. The peace of the world is, that you recede from God, and consent to the devil; but the peace of Christ is, that you expel the devil, and love God: the peace of the world is, that the world may please you, and you the world, that thus satiated with earthly pleasures, you may succumb for ever; the peace of Christ is, that you may patiently bear the adverse things of the world unto death, in order that after death you may obtain the felicity of the future life."† This latter was enjoyed by all the just, amidst their persecutions. Within their heart was their sabbath, "while many," as St. Augustin says, "were at rest in their limbs, and in a tumult in their conscience."‡ As the lights of heaven direct their course with all patience, and care not what men might say of them, so these cared not what flesh could do.§ "There is a peace," observes Peter of Blois, "of which men say, Peace, peace; and there is no peace; for in such peace

* Joan. Saresb. Epist. xxv. † Id. xxxii.

* Ap. Stobæum, Flor. tit. lv.
† De Claustro Animæ, iv. 21.
‡ In Ps. lxii. § In Ps. xciii.

there is the most bitter bitterness, when the handmaiden reposes, and the mistress is in bondage."* There being always men whose study and labour it is to resist their superiors. "It is manifest," as he says elsewhere, "that persons in authority, who must necessarily offend many, cannot please all, nor can they nor should they satisfy the will of all."† It throws much light upon the history of these ages, to bear in mind that the casuists who exercised such an influence upon manners, had ranked what the school terms acedia among deadly sins, as opposed to divine hope. Many who now pass for very liberal, would in the middle ages have been ranked with the libellatici, who by causing themselves to be enregistered along with those who sacrificed to the gods, were considered as tacitly denying the faith. The love of ease, which prompts men to yield always, step by step, till at last they speak like the minister of Geneva, who now says that "the divinity of Christ, as understood by Catholics, hinders a great number of individuals from embracing Christianity," was expelled by the spirit of beatitude. That spirit made men even shrink from the thought of being honoured in a world where God is dishonoured, and of obtaining, even by honourable means, what is refused to him. "Quo modo," exclaims St. Bonaventura, "non abhorrebo mihi attribui, quod est Dei? Quis ergo renuet se odire, et ab omnibus conculcari?"‡ "Would to God," cries St. Jerome, "that all infidels might rise up at once against me! I wish that the whole world would unite to blame my conduct, in order that I might obtain by that the approbation of Jesus Christ. You deceive yourself if you think that a Christian can live without persecution. The greatest that one can suffer is not to have any."

"Do not imitate those," says the great St. Anthony, "who apply themselves to have rest in this world, for they never make a progress; but emulate those who wander in mountains and solitudes for God, in order that virtue from on high may come on you."§ The children of this beatitude, therefore, in a particular manner, might be distinguished among the blessed poor in spirit:

"Che per neente avete
Terra, oro e argento:"

as Brunetto Latini in his Tesoretto says; for their hearts were detached from all earthly possessions, in order to follow Christ with more alacrity, as it is the naked swimmer who passes the river with greatest ease; so that St. Francis among his reasons for requiring poverty in his order, specifies their obligation to preach without fear. "They knew," as St. Augustin says, "that a man cannot always remain here, cannot always have his gold and silver, cannot always rejoice even in this light. They had learned to rejoice in that light which has no setting, which had no yesterday nor to-morrow, and thus no persecutor could ever deprive them of the treasure on which they had set their hearts. They felt themselves to be strangers upon earth, so that they used their riches as a traveller in a stable uses what he finds, knowing that it is not his own, unless for the time he stops there."* There was in them what an old French writer styles "courage invincible, contentement certain, asseurance parfaicte, desprisement incroyable de tout ce pourquoy les humains tant veiglent, courent, travaillent, navigent et battaillent." Thus Georges d'Amboise, the cherished minister of Louis XII., of whom the king used to say, "let George do whatever pleaseth him," never had but one benefice at a time, and of that he only retained a third part for himself, the rest being for the churches and the poor. Thus, to cite another instance in the words of an ancient writer, "was the virtuous and ghostly mind of Sir Thomas More rid from all corrupt love of worldly things, and fast knit only in the love of God and desire of heaven, as becometh a very true worshipper, and a faithful servant of God." "Tell me," said he to his wife, who advised him to avoid persecution, "how long you think one might live to enjoy this right-fair house of ours? Perhaps some twenty years. Well now, if you had said some thousand, nay some hundred years even, it had been somewhat; and yet he were a very bad calculator that would risk the losing of an eternity for some hundred or thousand years. But what, if we are not sure of enjoying our possessions a single day? I hear he said again that my Lord Audley reckoneth me among the fools, but surely among those that long to be rulers. God and my conscience know, that no man can reckon me. But whomsoever my Lord mean by the fools and the wise, I beseech our Lord to

* Epist. cxxxviii. † Id. clxv.
‡ S. Bonavent. Stimul. Amoris, pars ii. ap. 6.
§ S. Antonii Sermo.

* In Ps. xciii.

:e us all so wise, that we may, every
, rule ourselves wisely in this time of
s, this vale of miseries, this simple
:ched world, that when we shall hence
iaste, we be not taken as sleepers, nor
shut out of heaven among the foolish
ins." "To his children and grand-
dren," he said, "I have been brought up
)xford, at an inn of chancery, at Lin-
's-inn, and also in the king's court, from
lowest degree to the highest, and yet I
: at present left but little above a hun-
l pounds a year, so that now we must
to the lowest fare, and if our ability
tch not to maintain it, then may we with
and wallets go a begging together, and
ing for charity, sing a salve regina at
y man's door, and so still keep company
be merry together." In fact, after the
gnation of his office of chancellor, he
not able for the maintenance of himself
family, sufficiently to find meat, drink,
, apparel, and such other necessaries,
was compelled for lack of other fuel in
:er before he went to bed, to cause a
dle of fern to be brought into his chamber,
with the blaze thereof to warm them,
so without any other fire to go to their
. The Catholic mind was not therefore
which Seneca defends, which professes
ntempt for riches, and is never ready to
iquish them; which proclaims that exile
n empty word, while firmly resolved to
r old amidst the enjoyments of home,
of one's native country. "Non desino
l istos, qui nunc dominantur, cœnitare,"
Cicero, excusing himself to Varro, for
plying with Cæsar. "Quid faciam? :ori serviendum est."* This was what
Greek poet termed the placing one's
always on the windward side of the
el when the other is under water, the
of all heretics and schismatics in every
in whom the nature of Theramenes
survives, however they may boast of
pendence.

Ταῦτα μὲν πρὸς ἀνδρός ἐστι
Νοῦν ἔχοντος καὶ φρένας, καὶ
Πολλὰ περιπεπλευκότος,
Μετακυλινδεῖν αὑτὸν ἀεὶ
Πρὸς τὸν εὖ πράττοντα τοῖχον,
Μᾶλλον ἢ γεγραμμένην
Εἰκόν' ἑστάναι, λαβόνθ' ἓν
Σχῆμα.†

Thus Sir Thomas More was condemned
many for not complying with the king.
The Lord Chancellor Audley marvelled that he should be so obstinate in his own conceit, in that every body took the oath, save only the blind bishop and he. He said, "he would not have him so scrupulous of his conscience." Others wrote to him, saying, that "one of the highest estates of the realm, and a man learned too, accounteth his conscience in this matter for a right simple scruple; and he saith when Sir Thomas says his conscience moveth him, all the nobles of the realm, and almost all other men too, go boldly forth with the contrary, and none stick thereat, save only himself and one other man, who though he be right good or very learned, yet few that love him give him the counsel against all other men to cleave to his mind alone." Others said, "he ought to change his own conscience by conforming it to the conscience of so many others; and that since it was also by a law made by the parliament commanded, they thought that he was, upon the peril of his soul, bound to change and reform his conscience, and conform it to other men's."* "Thus," as he says, "some might act through favour, and some through fear; some might happen to frame themselves a conscience, and think that while they did it for fear, God would forgive it; and some might peradventure, think that they would repent and be shriven, and that so God would remit their sin; and some might be of the mind that if they said one thing, and thought the while the contrary, God would more regard their heart than their tongue."

Alas! how many have adopted this wisdom, when the flatteries of this world have chained their sense! how many self-loving natures, as the poet says,

"Prison'd in mists and errors, cannot see
The way abroad that leads to happiness
Or truth, whose beamy hand should guide us in it.
What a poor value do men set of heaven!
Heaven, the perfection of all that can
Be said or thought, riches, delight, or harmony,
Health, beauty, and all these not subject to
The waste of time, but in their height eternal.
Lost for a pension, or poor spot of earth,
Favour of greatness, or an hour's faint pleasure;
As men in scorn of a true flame that's near,
Should run to light their taper at a glowworm."†

There is another state of peace too, against which men were armed by Catholicism: for there is a mode of reasoning which places men too high above all thoughts that lead

Ep. Fam. vii. † Aristoph. Ran. 536.

* Walter's Life of Sir Thomas More.
† Shirley.

to action, when they discover, as Fontenelle observes, "the little importance of all human occupation, eliciting," as he says, "from nature her secret, and so becoming too wise and unwilling to act more." There is then need of another mode of reasoning to recall them to action, and that can be furnished by divine faith alone. The offices of the church on the annual commemoration of the martyrs, sufficiently indicated the perpetual obligation of the faithful to cherish the same spirit which had animated them. Thus she prays, in allusion to the martyr Prisca, that we may profit by the example of such faith; to the martyr Canute, that, as he was an imitator of our Lord's passion, so we, walking in his footsteps, should attain eternal joys; to the martyr Agnes, that we may follow the example of her whom we venerate; to the martyr Agatha, that we may walk according to her example to God; to the martyr Hermenegild, that we may learn from his example to despise perishable, and follow everlasting things; to the martyrs Tiburtius, Valerian, and Maximus, that we may imitate the virtues of those whom we commemorate; to the martyr Fidelis of Sigmaringa, that we too may be found faithful unto death; to the martyr Venantius, that we may imitate the constancy of his faith; to the martyrs Marcellinus, Peter, and Erasmus, that we may be kindled by the examples of those in whose merits we rejoice; to the martyrs Cyriac, Largus, and Smaragdus, that we may imitate the virtue of their passion; to the martyr Zephyrinus, that we may be instructed by his example; to the martyr Gorgonius, that the eternal sweetness may encompass the family of God, which in his martyr feeds upon the good odour of Christ; to the martyr Thecla, that we may profit by the example of such faith; to the martyr Callistus, that we may be restored to the love of God by the examples of his saints; to the martyr Cæcilia, that we may follow her footsteps; to the martyr St. Denis, that we may learn, by imitating him, to fear not the adversity of the world, which last invocation Joinville takes care to mention, was one of those which the king St. Louis repeated devoutly at his death. Now that these prayers were not in vain, we have demonstration; for throughout the history of the middle ages we find proof that the spirit of martyrdom was widely diffused. In almost each page of their annals we find traces of that perfect will, "such as once upon the bars held Laurence firm." Men never doubted that their friends were ready to act heroically, and offer themselves to death for a noble cause. "When I heard of the death of the blessed martyr," says Petrus Cellensis, abbot of St. Remy, in a letter to John and Richard, two brothers, who were monks in Canterbury in the time of St. Thomas, "I thought at first that my John and Richard were buried with him, for various and vague reports left us in suspense; but whatever has happened to you after the glorification of the holy martyr, has no doubt turned to your advantage; so that whether you have been afflicted with him or comforted, I doubt not but that all has been received in augmentation of your faith; for I do not suppose you to be of so little faith as to have any fear of drinking the cup of the Lord in passion, which you frequently drink in the remembrance of Christ."* Men advised each other to pray for this spirit. Thus St. Thomas of Canterbury concludes his letter to the archbishop of York with these words, "May the Most High lead your fraternity by right ways, and make it participate with those to whom the kingdom of Heaven is promised in the Gospel."† "May God give you a right heart," says a legate of Pope Alexander III., to those who were shunning persecution, "and induce you to make more account of Him than of the will of man."‡ That martyrdom was even an object of desire to innumerable persons, we find, likewise, proof.

The Legate Pierre de Castelnau, who used often to say, that religion would never revive in Languedoc until that country had been moistened with a martyr's blood, used ardently to pray to God, that he might himself be the victim. His prayers were heard. "May God pardon you! as for me, I pardon you," were his last words addressed to the two assassins. St. Radegonde, while receiving her education in one of the palaces of Neustria, used often to say to her young companions, that she desired martydom.§ St. Peter martyr never offered on the altar the blood of the Lamb without feeling a fresh desire to shed his own. The desire, in his instance, indeed, was fulfilled; but of course, in general, circumstances did not allow of its literal accomplishment. Still as Sulpicius Severus says of St. Martin, all these men "are to be counted among the martyrs who washed their stoles in the blood of the Lamb; for although the times did not permit them to gain martyrdom, yet,

* Lib. v. 14. † S. Thom. Ep. cclxxix.
‡ Id. ccxxiii.
§ Vita S. Rad. auctore Fortunato.

in desire and glory, they had the crown. Had they lived in the days of Nero and Decian, no one can doubt that they would have mounted the pile; and though not called to shed their blood, yet, through faith, they suffered a passion, the opprobrium of the envious, and the persecutions of the wicked."* "Now, since there is no persecution," says an Italian writer who lived under Cosmo de Medicis, "there is no opportunity left of martyrdom; but if at present any force of the enemies of Christ should prevail, without other mode of escape, saving faith, I think, indubitably, that the number would be immense of those who would suffer for it death and all possible tortures; for who knows not that even pirates, so far from being just men, when taken by the infidels, prefer death to denying Christ; and if in men of this kind there be found such constancy, what testimonies think you would be furnished by men of virtue and innocence?"† When St. Ignatius of Loyola wished to express the consolations he had derived from God, his words were, that, if the sacred Scriptures had not existed, yet, in consequence of what had been revealed to him at Manresa, he was prepared to die for the faith. "O truly blessed man," cries St. Bonaventura, alluding to St. Francis of Assisi, "who though his flesh was not torn with the iron of the tyrant, yet lost not the resemblance to the Lamb that was slain. O truly blessed, who without falling by the sword of the persecutor, gained no less the palm of martyrdom." So the antiphon of the Benedictus in the office of St. Francis begins with "O martyr desiderio Francisce," and in the Litanee of the friars the same expression is used. In the first nocturn of the office of St. Anthony of Padua they sing, "Fervet ad martyrium, dum rex terræ sævit; sed hoc desiderium suum non implevit, de quo rex regnantium aliud decrevit." To him also they apply the words "martyr desiderio," and in the hymn commemorating his joys they sing,

"Gaude quod martyrium
Tanto ardore flagitasti,
Et regulam tuam mutasti
Ut ires ad supplicium."

But much remains to be observed with regard to Catholic manners during these ages, in regard to the spirit of martyrdom; for besides the cause and the desire, it was the disposition of mind also which then proclaimed the martyr. In the first place, there was a reliance on things not seen, on the great truths of the eternal world. Hence there was much in men that lay hid, like roots, and forces working under ground. Catholics were to confess God rather like the holy innocents, "non loquendo sed moriendo;" that is, as the Church in her collect for the day intimates, to confess the faith which is on the tongue, by those manners which almost ensure persecution. The spirit of the great mass of the faithful, in all ages of the Church, was that ascribed by St. Cyprian to his contemporaries, "sciebant mori, non sciebant disputare." "Speech is great, but silence is greater." Death, judgment, and eternity, not the world's favour or men's opinion, lay in the background of whatsoever men did in opposition to others. As a late writer observes, "Their souls, homeless on earth, made their home in the other world, like Dante saying to himself, Florence thou mayest never see; but hell, or purgatory, or heaven thou shalt surely see."*

Hence they sought not that their voice should be heard on earth, but as the Church says on the vigil of St. Laurence, that place should be given to it in heaven. "Oratio mea mundo est:" they repeated after her, "et ideo peto, ut detur locus voci meæ in cœlo: quia ibi est judex meus, et conscius meus in excelsis: ascendat ad Dominum deprecatio mea."†

Again, when men suffered thus for justice, there was to be a voluntary sacrifice, which alone pleases God, as a correspondent of St. Thomas observes, not a mere compromise with necessity. St. Gregory the Great, preaching on the festival of Saints Nereus and Achilles, Domitilla, and Pancras, says, "These saints, before whose tomb we are assembled, despised the world, and trampled it under their feet, when peace, plenty, riches, and health gave it charms." Such were the martyrs and confessors of the middle ages.

Further, there was no vapouring affectation of independence and defiance of death along with secret provision for security. Here was a great contrast to the mind of those who rose up against truth in the latter years. Luther used often to declare, that he stood alone, and that he would descend to martyrdom from his Sinaï and his Sion, though he remained quietly in his fortress.

* Sulp. Sev. Epist.
† Bened. Accolti Aretini de præstantia virorum suæ ævi.—Ap. Thes. Antiq. vi.

* Carlyle.
† Offert. Vig. S. Laur.

"When he said that," observes a French philosopher, "so far from being alone, he was behind the dukes of Mecklenbourg and Brunswick, behind the grand master of the Teutonic order, behind the elector of Saxony and the landgrave of Hesse; he had before him the fire kindled by himself, a barricade of flames across which it was not possible to reach him."* Those who are acquainted with the history of manners in subsequent times, need not be told that within the camp of enemies to Rome it was difficult to find the union of meeknoss, patience, and resolution. Their great men were generally all fighters and wranglers, lauded even still chiefly for their valour, for their having had "the bravest hearts in the world." Thus Richter says of Luther—"His words are half battles:" and another says, "The essential quality of him was that he could fight and conquer; that he was a right piece of human valour:" and valiant he was assuredly, if we understand by it what our fathers in their old books style, "wicked courage." Whereas the spirit of the ages of faith was that which the Venerable Bede ascribes to the persecuted Church, in the lesson read at All Saints; which is strengthened, he says, more and more, "non resistendo, sed perferendo:" for all through these ages we find verified, within certain limits, what St. Augustin says, that the city of Christ on earth in its pilgrimage does not contend against its impious persecutors for temporal safety, but rather declines to combat, that it may obtain eternal. Its members are bound, imprisoned, slain, tortured, burnt, torn, slaughtered, and multiplied. It is not for them to fight for safety, but to despise safety for the Saviour.† "Patientia Domini in Malcho vulnerata est," says Tertullian, "itaque et gladii opera maledixit in posterum." Such was the old observation: and here in consequence it is impossible not to be struck with the contrast between Catholic manners and those adopted by the founders and followers of the modern religions who rejected it, and yet professed to suffer as martyrs for the cause of God. Many of these, like the ministers of the Vaudois, were avowed warriors, boasting even of their titles of captains and pastors, as when Leger, captain and pastor, wrote an eloquent history of the sufferings of his party, and Arnaud, colonel and pastor, the narrative entitled "The Glorious Entry," in which he called upon his party to massacre their enemies. They were, no doubt, brave men, and, in the world's acceptation, heroes; but assuredly it is not easy to trace a resemblance in them to those who directed their lives by the rule of this eighth beatitude. In Protestantism every where there was bravery enough, fierce fighting in abundance; but not braver or fiercer than that of the old Scandinavian ancestors of its abettors, whose exploits were not exactly a fitting preparation for the Gospel. Those who witnessed its first outbreak, did not overlook this difference. "Compare Catholic recusants with the recusant Huguenots of France, who are brethren with ours in England," says the author of Jerusalem and Babel; "you would think our Catholic gentlemen here to be all priests in respect of their sober, humble, and Christian carriage of themselves, whensoever they fall under question for religion; their very ministers there you would take to be all swordsmen, captains, sons of Mars, so much fury and rage breathes out in every word or action of theirs which relates to the public. Catholics here are persons, of all others, most unwilling to offend. Recusants there most unwilling to obey. These defend their religion with their swords, and by resistance of the civil magistrate: ours only with the pen and with their prayers. Ours endure, and a Scio Cui credidi, with St. Paul, is all their comfort. These endure nothing, will trust nobody with their cause but themselves, and their cautionary towns; they have their Bezas, their Marlorates, Chamiers, and other firebrands, swarming thick in all parts of the kingdom, ready to incense and set on fire the distempered multitude against their lawful governors. They have their Montaubans, their Rochelles, Saumurs, Montpelliers, places of refuge and retreat, strong and well-fortified to shelter themselves when they cannot make good their designs in the field. Catholics here have none of all these. They have no preachers but preachers of penance and mortification; they have no sermons at any time but such as teach them obedience, patience, resignation to the will of God, and to be willing to suffer whatsoever the will of God is; they have no places of security but their own unarmed houses, which, if they change, it is always for the fleet, Gatehouse, Newgate, or some other prison and place of restraint. See them under the persecutions of Edward and Elizabeth, giving an example of the patience of true Israelites. The arms they took up were not Zuinglius's sword nor Beza's pistols, but the ancient and most

* Chateaubriand.
† De Civitate Dei, xxii. 6.

proper arms of true Christians, prayers and tears, submission, resignation, patience under the rod of God and of a wicked king."* "As for the English Catholic clergy," says Cardinal Allen, "all they have done has been done only by the power of priesthood, in a spiritual, silent, and peaceable manner, not with riots, tumults, or warlike concourse. They have done it, as the apostles and other holy men did in the primitive Church, by travels, watchings, fastings, perils at the ports, perils on the sea, perils on the land, perils of open enemies, perils of false brethren, fears of the laws, fears of hurting their friends, fears of scandalizing the weak, by contumelies, disgraces, poverty, prisonments, fetters, dungeons, racks, deaths."†

Let us hear the sentiments of the ages of faith respecting the necessity of cultivating such manners. "Patience by beatitude," says St. Bernardine of Sienna, "is more excellent than by moral virtue."‡ He alludes to the grace which enabled men to suffer for justice in the true spirit of this eighth circle of the happy life—to that divine patience proposed to the imitation of the faithful by the Church in her collect for Palm Sunday: the presence of which, as Drexelius observes, is synonymous with the presence of God,§ and of which every history of the middle ages contains such wonderful examples. The rule was universal, to the observance of which each instance is ascribed, as where we read of Everacle, bishop of Liege, in the time of the first Otho, that this learned man endured many persecutions, but conquered by patience, rendering to no one evil for evil.|| "Without patience," said Tertullian, "no one can gain beatitude, no one can be poor in spirit, or meek, no one can mourn as the blessed, or suffer persecution for justice. Non licet nobis una die sine patientia manere."

"As patience is in God, so impatience reigns in his adversary and our adversary, whence it appears how especially it is contrary to faith. Man fell by impatience; and to say all in one word, every sin is to be ascribed to impatience. Malum impatientia est boni. Formerly the rule was eye for eye; for patience was not yet on earth, because faith was not. But when the Lord and master of patience had come, it was not lawful even to use the tongue, insomuch that one could not say, 'Thou fool,' without danger of the judgment."*

"Patience," says St. Cyprian, "is that which commends us to God. It is this which restrains anger, bridles the tongue, governs the mind, represses violence, teaches men to be mild against injuries and insults, and ready to forgive enemies: it is patience which firmly guards the foundations of our faith. This patience the philosophers also professed to follow. Theirs was a false patience, as well as a false wisdom; for how could he be either wise or patient who knew neither the wisdom nor the patience of God."†

Cervantes, describing the habits of a nomadic tribe, says that those who compose it can be martyrs, though never confessors; but he forgot the distinction which made patience and discipline not more needful for those who sought the white than for the claimants of the purple crown. In the Catholic mind, with all its heroism, there was found that temperance of judgment which belongs to men accustomed to meet with resistance; while in that which rejected the holy discipline, there was petulance and defiance, as when a rivulet rushes with noise into the sea, and bubbles on madly, though sure the next moment to have its noisy little wave recoil before the unruffled ocean, which heeds not its entry.

St. Bonaventura, indeed, says expressly that patience is the eighth and last beatitude. "The shield of patience," saith he, "ought to be triangular: in the lower angle ought to be the fear of divine punishment; in the right-hand angle the love of one's neighbour, and in the left the Passion of Christ!"‡ Such is the blazon of those who suffered persecution for justice during the middle ages. Hence we find that men who showed the most undaunted resolution were precisely those who were the most gentle and pacific; men like those of whom St. Hilary of Arles said, "Nunquam in ore nisi pax, nisi castitas, nisi pietas, nisi caritas;" who seemed to have ever in their ears the admonition of the great St. Anthony: "Cura ut omnes homines te benedicant;"—"My son, be meek, long-suffering, patient, and a lover of men;"§ who evinced in all their words and actions that amiable suavity which could often disarm the most hostile prejudice; for every indication of a subtle ambition was alien to the blessed state of

* Jerusalem and Babel.
† Apology for the Engl. Seminaries.
‡ Serm. xii.
§ Gymnasium Patientiæ.
|| Gesta Episcop. Leodiens. ap. Martene, Vet. Script. iv. 861.

* De Patientia.
† S. Cypr. Tract. de Bono Patientiæ.
‡ Dietæ Salutis, c. 7.
§ Regula S. Antonii.

sufferers for justice, who knew well that as the ancient moralist observed, "Satis ipsum nomen philosophiæ, etiam si modeste tractetur, invidiosum est."* What we shall witness therefore in the succeeding pages will be a supernatural heroism, resistance, not from a coarse disobedient obstinacy of disposition, but from that sense of duty in a mildly understanding heart, of which every expression is soft and great, and which requires always loyal submission to legitimate authority. "It will be the fortitude, which," as Albertus Magnus distinguishes, "is of hope without presumption; not the blind fortitude, which is of ignorance from the absence of thought; not the fortitude of fury, as of animals or of furious men,"† like those of old who thought it a shame and misery not to die in battle; but that learned in the confessional, where that grain of seed is sown, which so multiplies in the martyrs, as St. Augustin says: "for that grain," he adds, "is contempt of the world;" of which St. Anselm, in later ages, sings,—

"Mens tua terrenis non hæreat atque caducis:
Labitur et transit quicquid in orbe vides.
Vita quid est præsens? tentatio, pugna molesta:
Hic acies semper, semper et hostis adest."‡

That grain is the love of God, by which spirits have been sometimes suddenly transformed; as when donna Sancha Carilla, daughter of don Louis Fernandez of Cordova, seigneur of Guadalcazar, being on the point of going to court as lady of honour to the queen, went previously to confession to St. John of Avila, and on her return from church found all changed within her; so that, instead of proceeding to the court, she resolved to renounce the vanities of the world. The resolution imbibed was therefore not that of men, in whom any thing of the savage enters; men whose physical energy alone might explain their constancy in resistance; but it was the firmness of the placid and serene, the sacrifice often of the weak, and delicate, and faint-hearted, whose normal disposition was to yield and to acquiesce; who were sustained by no passion or animal excitement; for they were impressed with a conviction of what St. John Climacus says, "Tutum non est cum passione aliqua theologiam attingere;"§ and of men, so humble, so humiliated in their own esteem, that they feared even to aspire at martyrdom lest it was a prize too great for them. When the Manichæans vo with loud cries to shed his blood, St. Do nick, presenting his breast to them, s "No, no, I am not worthy of martyrdo I have not merited that death."

"It was said unto me," says Sir Tho More, "that if I had as lief be out of world as in it, why did I not before sp plain out against the statute? It appea well I was not content to die, though I so. Whereto I answered, as the truth that I have not been a man of such h living, as I might be bold to offer myself death, lest God for my presumption mi suffer me to fall; and, therefore, I put myself forward, but drew back. And alt I wot well my lewdness hath been su that I know myself well worthy that G should let me slip: yet can I not but tr in his merciful goodness, that as his gr hath strengthened me hitherto, and m me content in my heart to lose goods, lan and life too, rather than to swear against conscience, so He will continue to give strength; and if He suffers me to play Peter, who began to sink through fea trust He will hold me up. Yea, and if suffer me to swear and forswear Him (which our Lord of his tender passion k me from, and let me lose if it so fall, never win thereby!) yet after shall I t that His goodness will cast upon me a t der and piteous eye, as He did upon fallen Apostle, and make me stand up ag and confess the truth of my conscie afresh, and abide the shame and the harm my fault here." Thus did he exemplify words of St. Augustin, that "all fortitud in humility, because all pride is fragile in humilitate est tota fortitudo." "Th fore," adds the holy doctor, "fear not proud."* Again, "love, the cause of crimes," as St. Augustin says, "being direc with the same impulse which moved sc to the world, moved others to the Cre of the world,† so as to make them will to leave all for His sake. Love was t master to lead them on the way to heave "If any one," says St. Thomas, "exer an act of fortitude for the sake of the lov God, that act is materially one of fortitu but formally it is an act of charity."‡ N as St. Augustin says, "He who wishe understand the force of this city sho understand the force of charity; that the force which no one conquers. No flo of this world, no rivers of temptation,

* Seneca, Epist. v.
† Lib. Ethicor. iii. t. ii. 8, 9.
‡ Carmen de Contemptu Mundi.
§ Scala Parad. 27.

* In Ps. xcii.
† In Ps. xxxi.
‡ xiii. a. 1.

extinguish this fire; for love is strong as death; and as death cannot be resisted when it comes by any arts or medicines, since you are born mortal, so against the violence of charity the world can do nothing. With this charity the martyrs were enkindled, when they were led by the love of Christ and of truth to their passion."* "Why do some," he asks, "wither away in persecution, who had received the word with joy? Because they have no deep root. What is that root? Charity."†

Of this remark a memorable illustration had been furnished in the third century:—Sapricius, the priest of Antioch, had refused to be reconciled to Nicephorus the layman, though the latter had implored forgiveness for Christ's sake. Afterwards, as he was led to martyrdom under the persecution of Valerian and Gallien, on being again implored by him to forgive him, he refused so much as to look at him; suddenly, when arrived at the place of execution, he declared himself ready to sacrifice to the gods, and so lost the victory which was then eagerly sought for by Nicephorus, who was immediately put to death for declaring himself a Christian, and who thus received the three immortal crowns of faith, humility, and charity, of which Sapricius had made himself unworthy.

That divine love was the strength of martyrs appeared also on a most affecting occasion in the life of Sir Thomas More. After he had taken leave of his wife and children at the garden-gate of his house at Chelsea, on the river's bank, and entered the boat with his son-in-law Roper, to proceed to Westminster, to attend the summons which he had received, his countenance bespoke a heavy heart, and for some time he sat wrapped in silent thought. It was evident that the internal conflict was strong; but, at last, his mind being lightened and relieved by those high principles to which, with him, every low consideration yielded, he pressed Roper's arm, and said to him in a significant whisper, "Son Roper, I thank our Lord, the field is won!" "What he meant thereby," continues Roper, "I knew not at the time; but, being loth to appear ignorant, I answered, 'Sir, I am very glad thereof.' But, as I conjectured, it was the love he had to God which wrought in him so effectually as to conquer all his animal affections."

Catholics, in suffering persecution, were to imitate what they worshipped, as the Church prays in her collect on the day of St. Stephen; they were consequently "to love their enemies, after the example of him who knew how to pray for his persecutors."

The letter of St. Leger, to announce the prospect of his martyrdom, to Sigrade, his mother, who was a nun in the abbey of our Lady at Soissons, is still extant. After speaking of his desire to suffer, fearing lest she should give way to any sentiment of hatred against his persecutors, he reminds her of the necessity of our following the example of Christ in forgiving them and praying for them. Such were invariably the dispositions of those martyrs of the middle ages. Thus, among the reflections written in the tower by Sir Thomas More, we read,—"Bear no malice nor ill-will to any man living; for either the man is good or naught; if he be good, and I hate him, then am I naught; if he be naught, either he shall amend, and die good and go to God; or abide naught, and die naught, and so be lost. If he be saved, he shall not fail, if I be saved too, as I trust to be, to love me heartily, and I shall then love him likewise. And why then should I now hate one who is to love me for evermore? On the other side, if he shall continue naught, and be lost, that is so terrible and eternal a sorrow to him, that I should think myself a cruel wretch, if I did not now rather pity his pain than malign his person."

In the mystery of the Passion lay the secret of all this strength, as the old architect, Ervin von Steinbach, intimates in the sculpture on the portal of the cathedral of Strasbourg, where the church is represented by a woman holding in one hand a chalice full of hosts, and in the other a cross, with these words inscribed over her: "The blood of Christ enables me to triumph."* "For what Christian," says Louis of Blois, "will not feel himself full of courage to support patiently outrages and injuries, if he consider with attention how our Lord Jesus has supported with sweetness, with humility, with patience, the unheard-of bitterness and pains of his passion? He heard himself treated as a demoniac and a seducer; he was seized by impious men and sinners; he saw himself loaded with chains, led away, accused, struck, mocked, despised, torn with stripes, crowned with thorns, presented with gall and vinegar, fastened to a cross with great nails, assailed with all kinds of blasphemy; and during these horrible scenes he preserved all the calm of an unalterable patience. This innocent Lamb opened not

* In Ps. xlvii. † In Ps. xc.

* Audin, Hist. de Calvin. 1.

his mouth, excepting that from the height of the fatal instrument he prayed his Father for his persecutors. Woe to us if we ever lose sight of these noble and fine examples which our divine Redeemer has left us!"*

"You know," says St. Bernard, "that I speak often of the passion of Christ, and God knows that I carry it in my heart. My highest philosophy is to know Jesus and him crucified. As long as I live I shall have in mind the outrages and buffets, the derisions, the nails, and all the griefs which he endured, in order that I may have courage to walk in his footsteps and resemble Him."†

"As sharp wine," says St. Bonaventura, "becomes pleasant if it is poured through aromatics, so the tribulations of the world grow sweet, if they pass through the memory of the passion of Jesus."‡

In the prose of the office of St. Francis, his desire of martyrdom is represented as the result of compassion for the sufferings of our Lord,

> "Jesu passo compatiens
> Exponit crucem sitiens
> Se genti paganorum."

"Let not, therefore," says St. Basil, "the calumny of lies terrify you, nor the threats of the powerful disturb you, nor the laughter and insult of your familiar acquaintances afflict you, nor the condemnation of men cast you down, of men who apply themselves to deceit, in pretending to give you counsel; against all these let right reason contend, calling to aid as a protector in the war, our Lord and Master, Jesus Christ, for whose sake to be afflicted is sweet, and to die is gain."§ "In die tribulationis meæ Deum exquisivi. In the day of your tribulations," asks St. Augustin, "what do you seek? If it be imprisonment which causes tribulation, you seek deliverance from prison; if it be a fever, you seek health; if it be hunger, you seek abundance; if it be losses, you seek gain; if it be a journey, you seek to return to the home of your flesh. Do you wish to be victorious in your tribulation? seek God, not something else by God, but by tribulation, God."‖

"Domine, pati et contemni pro te!" Such was the recompense that St. John of the Cross desired, when he replied to the unearthly voice which addressed hi the monastery of Segovia. Hence we of many holy persons, that like St. A gonde, while governing her conven Maubeuge, they received not indee glory, according to the boast of the p sopher, but as a gift of God, the calum which sought to blacken their reputa "O what a brave armour is an inno soul! How like a rock it bids defian a storm, against whose ribs the inso waves but dash themselves in pieces, fall and hide their heads in passio foam!"* The saints of God feared the stripes of the executioners, dying the name of Christ, that they might heirs in the house of the Lord. T delivered their bodies to death for Go

The mother of St. Symphorien, in city of Autun, in the second century, holding her son who had been baptize St. Benigne, one of the apostles of B gundy, going to martyrdom, exclai "Nate, nate, memento æternæ vitæ, cœl respice, et ibi regnantem intuere; enim vita non eripitur, sed in melius tatur."† The youth thought only of s fice and fidelity; the mother's tender was consoled with the prospect of the reserved for her child.

"I have lived, methinks, long enou said Sir Thomas More, "nor do I loo live much longer. I have, since I c in the Tower, looked once or twice to h given up the ghost; and, in good faith, heart waxed the lighter with the h thereof. I have a long reckoning to g but I put my trust in God, and in merits of his bitter passion; and I bes Him to give me the mind to long to be of this world, and to be with Him."

"The good that I expect is so gr that all pain to me is pleasure," said Francis, commencing his memorable mon at the castle of Montefeltro, to wh he had repaired to be present at the c mony of conferring knighthood on young count, saying to brother Leon accompanied him, "Let us go to this fe with God's help we shall make ther spiritual knight. E tanto il ben ch' asp che ogni pena m'è diletto, and then spoke of the martyrs who exposed th selves for the sake of heaven, to torme and death." What were persecutions death to minds so tempered! The Cath poet does but express their feelings, w he says,

* B. Louis de Blois, Instruct. de Vit. Christian. Appendix.
† Serm. de Pass. Dom. fer. iv. hebd. sanct.
‡ Diet. Salutis, 7.
§ S. Basil, Epist, lxxix. et ccxl.
‖ In Ps. lxxvi.

* Shirley. † Act. S. Symph.

will be easy to die;
l life is but a walk in misery."

made you afraid to die?

'hen our souls shall leave their dwelling,
of one fair and virtuous action
l the scutcheons on our tomb
anners over us."

s there, as I have already said, no
r defiance of dangers. "I forget
l Sir Thomas, "the counsel of
iat ere I should begin to build
e for the safeguard of mine own
hould sit and reckon what the
ould be. I counted, Margaret,
y many a restless night, while my
, and weighed, ere I slept, what
ght befal me: so far that I am
e came no care above mine. And
g thereupon, daughter, I had a full
irt. But yet, I thank our Lord,
ll that, I never thought to change
ie very uttermost should happen
t my fear ran upon. I know my
y full well, and the natural faint-
ıy own heart; and if I had not
iat God would give me strength,
be very sure I should not have
e; for, in faith, I know few so
ted as myself." So true to his
s the poet, saying,

I have a sense of what
se, a life: but I am so fortified
int thoughts and innocence, I shall
last breath is giving up, to lose
e air, be so remote from fear
ll cast my face into one smile,
ll when I am dead, acquit all trembling
story to the world, how free
ness I took leave of earth."

hese lines:

have not lived
ate to fear another world.
from nothing into life, a time
ire with a short breath, and that often
ous too with our own cares that fill it,
e so many atoms in a sunbeam
. and jostle one another. All
adored purple to the hair-cloth
e in a shade, and they that have
es to wait on them, bravely mock
l storms, that so much fright them here,
r soul's launch'd by death into a sea
r calm."*

et perhaps in these latter lines
r into a strain of human rheto-
it in the genuine expressions of
e ages the inflexibility is wholly

* Shirley.

supernatural. In the old mystery of the Passion, the language of those who suffer persecution on account of justice is faithfully copied. There in reply to the cries of nature emitted by the holy mother, her divine Son observes, they are

"Sweet and humane, sprung from blessed charity,
But the holy will provides that the result should other be."

To her petition

"At least vouchsafe of heavenly grace,
To die without pain in briefest space,"

he replies,

"My death will be filled with bitterness."

She continues,

"Wait for old age still teaching truth."

He answers,

"In the flower of my youth;"

and when she adds,

"Your answers have my heart's blood chill'd,"

he replies,

"The book of God must be fulfill'd."

"Ne donnez que réponses dures.
Accomplir fault les Escriptures."

Of the constancy and heroism of the devout female sex in suffering for justice, so wonderfully displayed in primitive times, the history of the ages of faith continues to furnish memorable instances. Indeed, in all persecutions for a holy cause, women were almost of necessity involved, in consequence of that devoted ardour for justice and faith, which ever distinguishes their sex. The Church is styled in Scripture a woman, according to Albertus Magnus, on account of her zeal for the salvation of souls. Innumerable women in the middle ages resembled in their suffering St. Olympias, that glory of the widows of the eastern church, so respected by all the bishops of the age, and yet who, as St. Chrysostom says, "was perpetually the butt of injuries, outrages, and calumnies;" who afterwards suffered persecution as the friend of St. Chrysostom, from whose cause no force could ever separate her. Such were the devout women of the ages of faith, whose

invocation the holy church implores, proclaiming in her prayer to God, as on the festival which recalls St. Jane, that they "had been granted to walk through all the paths of life in a spirit of admirable fortitude," meek but unconquerable, like her whose court they loved, established in Sion, resting in the holy city, having their power in Jerusalem, their root in the portion of their God, and their abode in the full assembly of the saints. "Better than women weep," said one who persecuted the church in Scotland, "than that bearded men be forced to weep," a reply, breathing the spirit of the cause he advocated, as far from wisdom as from love. Ah! with their tears, as with those of the queen of angels, may it ever be my wish to mingle mine. It excited no surprise in the middle ages to see women pre-eminent in fortitude, exercising its especial act, which was adhering inseparably to God; for as Albertus Magnus says, "that mother of grace, whose words they oft repeated as their own, and who in all her actions was their type, possessed it to a degree transcendent, proving herself stronger than the three strongest of the strong,—stronger than God, death, and Satan. For the humility of the blessed Virgin conquered God; and she was stronger than death; for as death entered by a woman, so life, which destroyed it, entered by her; and she was stronger than Satan, for she fulfilled the promise—ipsa conteret caput."*

The devotion and generous heart's love with which the memory of the first examples was cherished during the middle ages, shows with what ardour the weakest were prepared to imitate their constancy, in their patience possessing their souls, and like sister Lucy, the spouse of Christ, to conquer the enemy with their own blood. Some like myself, who daily witness in those who shed domestic bliss around them, the noble virtues of the olden time, may be able to appreciate those portraits of the mother and the wife, which illuminate so many pages of the ancient books; but others less privileged can hardly now form an idea of the transhuman power over hearts that was then inherent in such names as recalled the victories of martyrdom conceded to the weaker sex, and of the unceasing devotion with which their palms were venerated. St. Eulalia at Barcelona, St. Leocadia at Toledo, St. Lucy at Syracuse, St. Ursula at Cologne, in whose honour was constructed the college of the Sorbonne at Paris, St. Agatha, the glory of whose birth was disputed by the cities of Palermo and Catana, in which latter she received the crown in the persecution of Decius, whose last words were, "Lord, my Creator, thou hast always protected me from the cradle; thou hast taken from me the love of the world, and given me patience to suffer.—Receive now my soul,"—St. Agnes, who suffered under Diocletian, in whose praises, as St. Jerome says, the tongues and pens of all nations were employed, who overcame both the cruelty of the tyrant and the tenderness of her age, being only thirteen years of age at the time of her victory, of which Rome was the theatre, whose festival was of obligation in England for women, as appears from the decree of a council of Worcester in 1240,—St. Thecla, called the first martyr of her sex by St. Isidore, and by all the Greeks, whose name was never more honoured in the Church than during the middle ages, as many monuments attest,—such were the patterns of female constancy that were studied with a love which, perhaps, only a woman could describe, by the daughters and mothers of the ages of faith, who, by their manner of welcoming their memories, of appreciating and receiving these traditions of their sex's heroism, gave an insight into the spiritual condition of their own hearts, of which the mysteries, as a commentator on Dante says, have never yet, perhaps, been all disclosed. O with what meek reverence did they pray for grace to celebrate with a worthy mind their yearly festivals, that they, too, might be always ready, through holy desire, to relinquish the felicity they had on earth, to forsake their weeping children like cruel mothers, and to forget human pity while hastening to a divine crown! for they desired to sing before the angels of God; they desired to enjoy their pure and holy friendship as denizens of the skies, where they should die no more, where they would find true happiness that would last unchanged for ever.* But the middle ages were not left to these memories alone. St. Nunillon and St. Alodia of Castille, St. Flora of Seville, St. Mary of Estremadura, St. Columba of Cordova, these virgin martyrs of Spain in the eighth and ninth centuries, during the reigns of Abdalasisa and of Abderamen, evinced the

* Albert. Mag. Quæst. super Missas lxvi. tom. xx.

* St. August. in Ps. cxxxvii.

ır and heroism of the primitive mar-
St. Dympne, in the eighth century,
abant; St. Pomposa of Cordova, in
inth; St. Guiborat of Suabia, in the
, martyred by the Huns at St. Gall—
recent examples to prove the perpe-
of the same graces among this favoured
ın of the Church of Christ. Min-
y itself aspired to sing these sacri-
for faith rendered them familiar to
ıaunts of chivalry. Then sung the
r of Eudocia, whose lover had em-
d the creed of Mahomet, who in
quence refused his offers and fell in
ıassacre by the Mahometans on the
day after their departure from Da-
ıs. Such were oft his themes. There
mething in all the female figures
middle ages which, unsubdued by
ıuch of womanhood in them, or rather
ed by the innocent expression of its
hts, which is mystical and indescrib-
by word, constitutes a beauty that
in the act of passing into another
y, spiritual and immense, shedding
ıt of love which is hailed by angels.
not their shape, which yet hath so
sweetness, that some pale religious
it might suspect they were the blessed
he prayed to,*—'tis not the quiet
of their domestic virtues which made
ɔet say, that as wives they were the
man's paradise, and the bad's first
o heaven,†—'tis not that grace of in-
courtesy which shone in Beatrice,
at her salutation in the street of
nce, it seemed to Dante as if he
l all the delights of beatitude; but
he look which speaks of heaven, and
will to die for it: the look which
s a Thecla and Cecilia, and those
precious names repeated in the holy
.—something which no one can con-
ate without letting escape a sigh;
hing which kindles a flame of charity
to make the beholder pardon from
noment, whoever had offended him,
g him unable to utter in reply to any
on that might be asked, other word
love;" something to announce that
le of divine power which confers on
eaker sex the victory of martyrdom,
irginal sacrifice which surpasses the
of the human understanding, to
the reality of that love strong as
, which with a low, gentle voice of in-
tenderness speaks into our very heart
arts. Hear how the Catholic poet
it:

* Shirley. † Id

—"There I saw
So sweet a face, so harmless, so intent
Upon her prayers—
Her eye did seem to labour with a tear,
Which suddenly took birth, but, overweigh'd
With its own swelling, dropp'd upon her bosom,
Which, by reflection of her light, appear'd
As nature meant her sorrow for an ornament:
After, her looks grew cheerful, and I saw
A smile shoot graceful upward from her eyes,
As if they had gain'd a victory o'er grief.
And with it many beams twisted themselves,
Upon whose golden threads the angels walk
To and again from heaven."*

Again, who has not been struck at the instances recorded in the history of the middle ages, of the fervour and fortitude with which youths, like blessed Agapite, under Aurelian, a martyr in his fifteenth year, sought to suffer persecution, and even death, for the love of Christ, of which the crusade of the children, that strange, and to many inexplicable phenomenon, may have been, after all, nothing but an eccentric development?† "I saw a multitude in fury burning, slay with stones a stripling youth, and shout amain, Destroy, destroy!" Dante's vision was often realized on earth, and each century could furnish instances to which the words chanted by the Church on the festival of St. Laurence were no less applicable than to the holy Levite, "Nos quasi senes levioris pugnæ cursum recipimus, te autem quasi juvenem manet gloriosior de tyranno triumphus."

Of the constancy of boys and maidens in enduring the tortures of martyrdom, innumerable instances occur. In the early days of the Church we find those of Pergentinus and Laurentinus, at Arezzo; of St. Justus, at Auxerre; of Antoninus and Aristeus, at Capua; of Urban, Prilidian, and Epolonius, at Antioch; of Peter, at Lampsacus; of the eighty-four boys and maidens who suffered with St. Babylas; of Cantius, Cantianus, and Cantianilla, with their tutor, at Aquileia; of the four boys at Constantinople, with St. Lucillianus, of St. Prisca, at Rome; of the boy Barula, with St. Romanus, of St. Eulalia, at Barcelona; of the two boys, with St. Lucian, at Nicomedia; of St. Fausta, at Cyzicus; of St. Agnes; of the seven sons of St. Felicitas; of the seven sons of Symphorosa; of the many youths of Novara, with their tutor, St. Laurentius; of the boys who suffered with St. Rogatian, as mentioned by St. Cyprian. It was the

* Shirley.
† La Tradition de l'Eglise pour le Rachat des Esclaves, p. 114.

pleasure of the Lord of angels, that all through the ages of faith, similar examples should occur, of youthful constancy in suffering tortures and death for Christ, either from the idolaters, as in Japan, or from the Moors and Turks, as in Spain and Barbary, or from the heretics, as in all parts of Europe. Twenty-one boys of the Justiniani family were sent into the Tauric Chersonesus by Soliman, on the capture of Chio, in 1566, but ten of the finest lads were reserved for Constantinople, to be nourished as pages, not one of whom could be induced to deny the faith of Christ, nearly all dying under the scourge, rather than apostatize. One of them being near death, was advised to lift up his finger in token of abjuring the faith, when on the contrary, he closed his hand so firmly, that neither alive nor dead, could it ever again be opened.*

Truly in a young heart there is often a mysterious elevation which is sufficient to awaken thoughts beyond the reaches of our souls. Thomas Everard Digby, in the sixth year of his age, suffered intense agony from the falling of a marble table on his foot, from which the blood streamed in torrents. After writhing in torture for some time, repressing suddenly his phrenzied sorrow, he made an effort to assume his wonted tone of voice, and said gravely, "I dont bear this as patiently as St. Francis endured his stigmas for the love of Christ." He had been familiar with a picture of the seraphic father. When asked after some weeks, while still a sufferer, whether he would undergo the same pain in the other foot, if Christ or the holy Catholic church required such a sacrifice; after a pause, and with a look of tenderness, of a trembling, longing, pitying love, which moved to tears all who heard it, he replied, that he would willingly. They who would observe how the spirit of martyrs entered into children and youths during the ages of faith, should consult the "Paradisus Puerorum" of the jesuit Berlaymont, in which are most affecting histories collected.

So numerous are the parallel examples upon record, that one might suppose the preference of the cross to the jewels which St. Edburga, daughter of King Edward, evinced in her early age, was a general characteristic of youth in the middle ages.†

St. Theresa from her childhood aspired to martyrdom. She actually arranged with one of her brothers, whose stripling choice was like her own, to pass over to the Moors, begging their bread by the way, in order to die by their hands. The two holy children set out, fully determined to sacrifice their lives for God; but they were discovered before they had proceeded far from the town, and brought back to their parents, who reprehended them severely; when the brother, with more candour than discernment, threw all the blame on his little sister.

As in the infancy of the Church, when many young persons suffered from the Arians, so in later time a similar persecution was suffered from those who assailed the church. Thus in 1578, on the seventh of February, Thomas Scherodus, a boy of fourteen, was hanged in London, after a captivity of six months in chains and fasting, and other torments, for refusing to renounce the authority of the pope. Thomas, Robert, Richard, and John of Wortinthon, with their uncle, a priest, Thomas Wortinthon, the eldest seventeen, the youngest eleven years of age, were martyred in Lancashire in the time of Elizabeth. The glorious answers of these boys before the earl of Derby and the ministers of the new sect, recall the earliest pages of Christian history.*

William Ellis, a page to Sir Everard Digby, who might have escaped when his master was seized, for he offered him horse and money, but the youth refused, saying, "He would live and die with him," being taken and condemned, was offered his life if he would embrace the Anglican opinions; but he spurned the proposal, and in the end escaped to the Continent.

Similar examples were not wanting in other countries. "It is wonderful," says Berlaymont, "to hear what persecutions were endured joyfully by children in Germany from the heretics who followed Luther.† Parents, during these horrors, were often the murderers of their sons, while sons restored their parents to the true life by recalling them to faith."‡

So generally was the heroic spirit of martyrdom diffused during the middle ages, that instances repeatedly occur of parents evincing a supernatural joy from anticipating the sufferings of their children

* Hieron de Marinis de Genuensi Dignitate, Thesaur. Antiq. Italiæ, I.
† Paradisus Puerorum, 449—53.

† Ribbaden. in Append. ad Sanderum de Schismate Angl. 12.
‡ Paradisus Puerorum, 504. ‡ Id. 500.

e cause of justice. To use the ex-
on of the Greek poet, who describes
)rce of maternal love by ascribing to
f his matrons the line,

ταῖς ὔδ' ἦν μοι λοιπὸς, ὀφθαλμὸς βιου,*

other of the middle ages, who loved
nderly, was willing that the eye
r life should be made an offering to

delheyd de Mulberg, whom all the city
ile regards as a living saint, related to
says Berlaymont, "that her parents,
were simple peasants, had three
ren, a second daughter, Catherine,
bdy, John; and that it happened on
ain time, when they were removing to
er house to inhabit it, the three
ren immediately ran into the garden,
with child-like glee, each made choice
particular shrub to be its own, and
g that it would take care of it. When
)ring arrived, and the blossoms came
the shrubs by the two first selected
ıced a white flower, as if denoting the
r of the sisters who chose them, and
)oth embraced a religious life; while
ıird bore a red rose, as if prophetically
ıting that the boy who took it for

himself would attain to that love of justice which, by the sufferings it drew on him in his zeal to extend it, was doubtless equivalent to martyrdom."* A great French writer, who has drunk deeply of the spirit of the ages of faith, has generalized these facts, and affirmed that, under the influence of the Catholic religion, the desire of youth is to suffer or to die. "At the age of twenty-five," he says, "a generous soul only desires to give its life. It asks of heaven and earth but for a great cause, to serve it with a great devotion; and if this be true of a soul which has only received its character from a happy nature, how much more will it be so of one in which faith and nature flow like two rivers, of which not a drop is wasted in the indulgence of vain passions."† The preceding examples would have warranted his assertion, even if more extended: for they show that even those whose cheeks were scarce covered with the first down, were inspired by the heroic spirit of this eighth beatitude, and often permitted to exercise it to the supreme degree, during those ages of superhuman grace when angels might find a helpmate in each dwelling of the human kind, and the Lord of angels his fitting messenger in a boy.

CHAPTER II.

F manners, as of material edifices constructed in the middle ages, the foundations were very deep; so that, before deducing any examples of their operation from history, it is al- necessary to spend much time in g bare the principles from which they g. The study may be uninviting, but ndispensable. "Nam omnium magn artium," as Cicero says, "sicut um, altitudo nos delectat; radices sque non item: sed esse illa sine his non potest."‡ Hence it still remains for us to consider other distinctions which were laid down to determine what were the essential marks or qualifications required from all who sought admittance within this eighth circle; for in all ages there have been many candidates whose claims, however supported within the pale of their own party, were by the Catholic church, and the one voice of the faithful upon earth, pronounced to be inadmissible.

Who has not heard of the pretended

* Eurip. Androm. 406.

* Paradisus Puerorum, 148.
† Lacordaire, Vie de S. Dom.
‡ Orat.

martyrologies which record the execution of men who would have suffered by the civil laws of every country for practising against the established government? Who has not heard of the political and religious enthusiasts in later times, who suffered death for having put their king to death, and who all esteemed themselves martyrs? "I did it all in the fear of the Lord," said one, "desiring to make the revealed will of God in his holy Scriptures as a guide to me." Another said, "I can say, in the presence of the Lord, that I did it in obedience to his laws." Another said, "As to the blood of the king, I have not any guilt lying upon me; for the Lord hath assured me that the thing was of God." Another said, "I die not in the Lord only, but for the Lord; I shall receive a glorious crown from Christ for this work." Another said, "I have done all in faith; I bless the Lord; I have not the hundredth part of a dram on my conscience." Another said, "If I had a thousand lives I would lay them all down for the cause." Such were the English regicides; and where Catholic principles are unknown, society can never be secure from a recurrence of the same frightful delusion. It is not the low and ignorant alone that are liable to it. "Men, like Sir Vane Tempest, may equally evince this most alarming of all spectacles," as a Cambridge professor styles it, "this feebleness of human reason to withstand such impulses." But while the voice of the Church was heard and recognised, none could be thus deluded to their ruin. Let us observe the principles which were then universally admitted.

"Causa non pœna martyrem facit," says St. Augustin; conformably to which distinction St. Ambrose says, "Affectus tuus operi tuo nomen imponit."

"Many heretics," says St. Augustin in a passage which occurs in the office of the Octave of All Saints, "under the Christian name, deceiving their souls, suffer many things;

——— sed causa facit rem
Dissimilem ———,*

they are excluded from this reward, because it is not said only, Beati qui persecutionem patiuntur; but it is added, propter justitiam: but where there is not sound faith there cannot be justice, because

* Juv.

justus ex fide vivit: nor can schism promise to themselves any part of reward, because similarly where there charity there cannot be justice; for if had love they would not tear the of Christ, which is the Church. men," he continues, "may suffer in suance of the order of earthly princes; let them not extol themselves, or 'Behold the Psalm consoles me; worship God, who will avenge those suffer injury.' But is it for justice that suffer? Is it just to erect an altar of r lion? Is it justice to rend the Church divide the garment of Christ? I wil flatter them. If this be what they whatever they may suffer will be a punishment; for it is the Church w suffers injury, and it is they who are real persecutors by causing scandals evil persuasions and frauds, enticing weak from her bosom, by killing in t that by which they would have live ever."*

Further it was necessary that the c should be distinct from that which im confidence in man, "The heart was to be in a man," as St. Augustin "nor hope in a man, ashes in ash "You said that all who love me tell m to lean upon the mind of my lord of chester alone; and verily, daughter," tinues Sir Thomas More, "no more For albeit, of very truth I have him in reverend estimation, that I reckon in realm no one man, in wisdom, learn and long approved virtue, meet to matched with him; yet, in this matte was not led by him, and verily, daugh I never intended to pin my soul to ano man's back, not even the best man th know this day living, for I know whither he may happen to carry it." cause was to be clearly just, and the ligation indispensable. "I have t answered you," said Sir Thomas to daughter, "that if it were possible for to content the king's grace and not offe God, there hath no man taken this o already more gladly than I would do. since, standing my conscience, I can in wise do it; and that, for instructing conscience in this matter, I have slightly considered, but many years vised and studied, and never yet could nor hear the thing, nor, I think, ever sh that could induce my mind to think oth wise, I have no manner of remedy: (

* In Ps. cxlv. † In Ps. xciii.

laced me in this strait, that either I leadly displease Him, or abido any y harm that, for any other sins, He under the name of this thing, suffer upon me. I meddle not, you wot ith the conscience of any man that worn; nor do I take upon me to be udge. But you must pardon me for ding that the passing of my soul to passeth all good company; and my nscience in this matter is such as ell stand with mine own salvation; am I as sure as there is a God in !" He might be sure, who had an le guide.

a general rule, it was understood here any ambiguous element entered e cause for which men suffered per- n, the title to beatitude was forfeit- id hence the primitive Christians ith Lactantius, "nos tantummodo mus, ut ab hominibus nihil aliud in nisi sola justitia puniatur."* "It observable," says a modern historian, Sir Thomas More, in steering his through the intrigues and passions ourt, most warily retired from every ion but that which conscience ab- r required: he shunned unnecessary lience as much as unconscientious ance. If he had been influenced by prudential considerations, he ot have more cautiously shunned needless opposition."† The same tion may be made respecting St. s of Canterbury, and generally all fessors and martyrs of God, "who," Augustin says, "imitated the Lord ing on beauty and fortitude, and so ing the orb of the earth which shall moved. Thus our Lord, when He n the flesh, pleased some and dis- others: for some said He is a an, and others said No, but He s the people. Some praised, and detracted, lacerated, devoured Him. se whom He pleased He put on ; to those whom He displeased, for- Imitate your Lord therefore," adds gustin. "Be clothed with beauty e whom your good works please, be against your detractors. Thus Paul uty and fortitude; for to whom he odour of life unto life, he put on ; to whom he was an odour of death eath, fortitude. But if you rejoice men praise, and are discouraged hey vituperate you, and think you have lost the fruit of your labour because you have reprehenders; you do not stand immovable; you do not pertain to that orb of the earth, which shall not be moved. You must put on fortitude as well as beauty by the armour of justice on the right hand and on the left, by glory and by shame, by possessing all things and having nothing; and thus clothed with beauty to those who see your glory and your riches, and with fortitude to those who think you in shame and destitution, you will belong to that orb which shall stand immovable for ever."*

Let us hear St. Bernardine of Sienna, "On this beatitude," saith he, "Christ gives us a triple doctrine—general, special, and particular—for three things make man a martyr,—the pain, the cause, and perseverance in the reward, which is the kingdom of heaven. There is a triple justice, on account of which the just man suffers persecution,—the justice of faith, that of morality, and that of charity: for the first suffered the martyrs of the early church; for the second, Christians daily suffer in the discharge of the active duties of life; the third, of charity, is that patience which hath a perfect work, when, through love of God and man, no virtue is allowed to relax, but we persevere in every act and word and thought of justice in spite of all oppositions and trials. Persecution is not to be expected only in corporal relations; for it is a persecution when the just suffer from dissimilar manners and contradictions of men; for he suffers when he sees God dishonoured and his Church persecuted, and vice practised, and justice outraged; and of this the Psalmist says, Vidi prævaricantes, et tabescebam, quia eloquia tua non custodierunt. Secondly, our Lord gives us a special doctrine, for, in the preceding beatitudes, having spoken in the third person, in the explanation of the eighth beatitude He turns his discourse to his disciples, and says, Beati estis; which He did perhaps to show the great difficulty, which required more persuasion, or as speaking to the perfect, who were to go forth as lambs amidst wolves; these He exhorts to endure a triple suffering,—malediction, corporal persecution, and detraction. Finally, He gives us a particular doctrine, adding, Mentientes propter me."†

Before we enter on the ground which constitutes the proper domain of those

Justitia. † Sir J. Mackintosh.

* In Ps. xcii.
† St. Bernard, Sien. Serm. xii.

who enjoy a title to this beatitude, it will be necessary to observe that, in the judgment of the middle ages, those who suffered with the Christian spirit for any cause of natural justice, were to inherit the religious recompense held out by faith. The king St. Edmond, thus defending his people, and being defeated by the barbarous Danes, and refusing to purchase his life from them by agreeing to propositions which were contrary to religion and opposed to the duty which he owed his people, was canonized among those who shed their blood for Christ.

"I die my country's martyr, and ascend
Rich in my scarlet robe of blood; my name
Shall stain no chronicle, and my tomb be blest
With such a garland time shall never wither."*

The king St. Edwin, having been slain in the great battle at Hatfield in Yorkshire, was styled a martyr for the reason that it was on account of his being a Christian and zealous to propagate religion among his people, that he was attacked by Penda the Mercian, aided by Cadwallo, king of the Welsh.

Whoever, after living holily, perished by an unjust and violent death, was also considered as a martyr. St. Winefrede refusing the advances of Caradoc, and being murdered by him, is thus qualified in all calendars. The only event commemorated of the year 860 in the chronicle of Quedlinburg—"Meinrod the hermit martyred," is another instance, as his death was not suffered expressly for the faith.

Trifine, daughter of Guerch, of whom St. Gildas was director, having been barbarously murdered, along with her child, by her husband count Conomor, lieutenant of Childebert, both the mother and child were invoked as martyrs in Brittany, and in the English litanies of the seventh century.

St. Sigismond, king of Burgundy, being defeated in battle by Clodomir of Orleans, Childebert of Paris, and Clotaire of Soissons, and being murdered in prison along with his wife and children, by Clodomir, was likewise honoured as a martyr, as was similarly St. Evermer, a nobleman assassinated in a forest near Tongres, while making a pilgrimage with some companions.

St. Ethelbert, king of the East Saxons, murdered through a motive of political ambition, by Quendreda, the queen of Mercia, was another example.

* Shirley.

As we before remarked, all children that met with a violent death were deemed martyrs; and truly, in this judgment, we must discern another proof of the depth and tenderness of thought which belonged to men in the middle ages: for it was a divine wisdom, and a divine goodness to behold the sufferings of children thus with the eyes of God, as a mystery of innocence in pain.

Death incurred in the discharge of any duty of charity was formally equivalent to martyrdom. Thus, speaking of the Christians who died from the infection caught in attending the sick during the great pestilence in Alexandria in the third century, St. Dionysius says, "Thus the best of our brethren have departed this life, priests, deacons, and laics; and it is thought that this kind of death is in nothing different from martyrdom." In fact, the Church, as appears from the Roman martyrology, which celebrates their festival on the twenty-eighth of February, considered them as martyrs.

Fidelity to the lawful prince seems to have been considered also as a cause which merited for men the praise of martyrs, when they suffered for maintaining it. St. Leger furnished a memorable example in the seventh century. Exposed to the fury of Ebroin, name so terrible as a persecutor of the saints, having, on the return of his sovereign Dagobert, son of Sigebert, resumed the government of the see of Autun, he delivered himself up to the enemy, in order to spare the citizens, who were besieged on his account. Without a sigh he endured the putting out of his eyes rather than renounce fidelity to his prince; then he was dragged into a forest, where his lips and a part of his tongue were cut off; afterwards, having been deposed by a mock synod of suspended priests, he was led into the depth of the forest of Iveline in the diocese of Arras, that his death might be concealed; and there he was beheaded, leaving his name to that forest, which is called after him to this day.

Again, those who suffered persecution for wisdom and fortitude, in the government of states, were regarded as entitled to the promise of this beatitude, although their names might not be formally canonized by the Church.

It was the saying of an ancient philosopher, who recommended his disciples to refrain from all part in public affairs, that if we act virtuously we shall incense men; if unjustly, Heaven. To one who said,

praise you," Antisthenes replied, *κακὸν πεποίηκα*; "No man can be says Socrates, "if he honestly op- you, O Athenians! or any other in prohibiting the many unjust lawful deeds which take place in the The Grecian poet represents a ily impressed with this conviction; memnon in the Hecuba of Euri- s willing to discharge his duty, pro- he can first ascertain whether he so without incurring blame from ople, as, in that event, he declares could not do it. If the people wish lesires Hecuba to consider him as *ροσαρκέσαι, βραδὺν, δ', Ἀχαιοῖς εἰ δια- μαι*, which draws from her a burst ient indignation:

οὐκ ἔστι θνητῶν, ὅστις ἐστ' ἐλεύθερος·
μάτων γὰρ δοῦλός ἐστιν, ἢ τύχης,
βος αὐτὸν πόλεος, ἢ νόμων γράφαι
υσι χρῆσθαι μὴ κατὰ γνώμην τρόποις.

ere not the saintly kings and noble- the ages of faith, whose maxim was Antisthenes: *Βασιλικὸν, καλῶς ποι- ακῶς ἀκούειν*, and whose principle of entitles them to that highest praise ed by the philosopher, "Ea enim e virtus esse videtur præstantis viri," icero, "quæ est fructuosa aliis, ipsi laboriosa aut periculosa, aut certe a."† For their sense of all dignity le was expressed in these old Bene- lines, which had been impressed m in the abbeys where they had heir youth:

"Si honorem, non laborem,
Quæris, frustra niteris:
Si præesse, non prodesse,
Studes, nihil efficis."

as the state policy of Charlemagne Louis, of the Henrys and the Othos, ere such mighty marshals of the "In every affair, as St. Bernard iends, "they considered it a certain nt to put an end to doubts, that er course was pleasing to good, and sing to evil men ought to be pur- "Insensible," as Michaud says, atever concerned merely themselves, ere raised above all fear and every consideration, when it was a ques- hich interested religion, and the ess of the people. Dante saw storied in a rock one of these in the very act which merited such praise: "There was an emperor. A widow at his bridle stood in tears. Round about them troop'd full throng of knights; and overhead in gold the eagles floated struggling with the wind. The wretch appeared amid all these to say, 'Grant justice, sire! for, woe beshrew this heart, my son is murdered.' He replying seemed, Wait now till I return; and she, as one made hasty by her grief, 'O, sire! if thou dost not return?' He replies, 'Who then succeeds may right thee.' 'But what then to thee,' she asks, 'is others' virtue?' 'Now comfort thee,' at length he answers, 'it beseemeth well my duty be performed, ere I move hence: so justice wills, and pity bids me stay.'"*

Kings whom the Catholic religion swayed, had not heard the lessons of the sophist, who styled the people "that power which alone had no need of reason to authorize its acts."† They remembered, that Saul, excusing himself for not having obeyed God, by alleging the will of the people, Samuel declared that God had rejected him; and that Saul said, "I have sinned in having disobeyed the Lord and thee, from fearing the people, and yielding to their discourse. Because," adds Bossuet, "it is to be the enemy of God, and even of the people, not to resist when the people wishes and commits evil."‡ They did not, therefore, seek to avoid obloquy by saying, that they were ready to bow down to the majesty of the people, and that a nation should be governed by all that has tongue in the nation; for they observed, that if Moses, when he returned from the mount and found the people adoring the golden calf, and when Joshua heard the sound of the people shouting, had bowed down to the majesty of the people, he would have had to bow down also to the majesty of the calf. But that, on the contrary, he said aloud, "If any man be on the Lord's side, let him join with me"—when all the sons of Levi gathered themselves together unto him, by whose hands incontinent on the majesty of the people shame and destruction fell. Such obligations, no doubt, involved rulers in many sufferings and dangers, but they accepted them as the inseparable attendants on their station; for they had not adopted that policy of the just medium, as it is styled, which shrinks

log. † De Oratore, ii. 85.
Bern. Epist. cccxlviii.

* Purg. x.
† Ap. Bossuet, Avertissemens aux Protestans, v. 49. ‡ Polit.

from nothing but persecution for justice, following such counsels as Pothinus gave to Ptolemy, when he proposed to kill Pompey, adding,

"Sceptrorum vis tota perit, si pendere justa
Incipit; evertitque arces respectus honesti."*

"You will never be happy," said Petrarch, "never secure, if you give yourself up to be governed by the people."† Nevertheless, in reality, these high principles of action, grounded on the knowledge that justice elevates a nation, and that sin makes a people miserable,‡ were a fruitful source of persecution to just and honourable princes, even during the ages of that highest justice which results from the predominance of faith. The histories of the middle ages are here to furnish glorious examples of kings exposing themselves to perils and to death rather than swerve in the least circumstance from the maintenance of justice. How many sufferings must have resulted from practising that resolution, expressed by Louis XII., when he said that to shelter the weak from the injustice of the powerful was the most urgent desire of his heart? St. Stephen, king of Hungary, had a narrow escape from losing his life by the conspiracy of four palatines, who were irritated against him on account of the strictness with which he administered justice without distinction of persons. "'Tis time your prince were dead;" such are the complaints we often find, in consequence of this fidelity, "and when I am

"Companion to my father's dust, these tumults
Fomented by seditious men, that are
Weary of plenty, and delights of peace,
Shall not approach to interrupt the calm
Good princes after death enjoy."§

"The Empress Agnes governed the duchy of Bavaria during seven years in abundant peace. But because dissensions ensued in the kingdom, perturbations in the Church, destructions of monasteries, and the trampling down of all justice and religion, that noble woman, considering the disturbance of things, disgusted, or rather divinely smitten, abdicated the government in the year 1069, and for the love of Christ retired to the monastery of Fruteria, where she embraced a religious life, and finally removed to Rome."‖ That disturbance of the political and religious order constituted her persecution.

But, in the earliest and latest times, it was, above all, fidelity to religion which proved to rulers the most abundant source of honourable grief. A modern historian,* after mentioning the proposal of William of Holland to King James II., that his son should succeed to the throne of England on being educated as a Protestant, proceeds to say, "The same folly about religion, which made James lose his throne, lost the reversion of it to his son; for he refused the offer under pretence that his accepting of it would be an acknowledgment of his own abdication, but, in reality, because he would not permit the prince to be bred a Protestant." If this statement be correct, there can be no difficulty in admitting the claim of James to be received into the eighth circle of the blessed throng.

The mother of St. Wenceslas, the son of Uratislas, duke of Bohemia, was Drahomeis, a pagan. His grandmother Ludmilla, obtained as a great favour, that his education might be entrusted to her, and she formed his heart to devotion and the love of God: but the pagan mother retained her younger son Boleslas, whose mind she corrupted by her errors. The father dying while both were young, Wenceslas assumed the reins of government; and then the pagan mother conceiving that Ludmilla was the primary agent of all that he did for the advancement of religion, laid a plot to take away her life, and succeeded in having her strangled before the altar in her own chapel. The severity with which St. Wenceslas checked oppressions and other disorders in the nobility, caused some to join the faction of his unnatural mother, who conspired with her other son Boleslas to take his life. A son being born to Boleslas, the holy duke was invited to the rejoicings on that occasion, and he went without suspicions. After the banquet, at midnight, he went to offer his customary prayers in the church, whither Boleslas followed him, and there with his own hand he slew him, running him through the body with a lance. This was on the twenty-eighth of September, in 938.

St. Canut, king of Denmark, in the eleventh century, father of St. Charles the Good, count of Flanders, was another martyr in consequence of this holy zeal. On the shrine found at Odensee, in 1582,

* Lucan, viii.
† Epist. Fam. ii. 4.
‡ Prov. xiv. 34.
§ Shirley.
‖ Petz, tom. iii. Thesaur. Anecdot. p. iii. p. 188.

* Sir J. Dalrymple, vol. ii. p. 5.

h contained the body, were these words ibed: "In the year of Christ, 1086, e town of Odensee, the glorious king it, betrayed like Jesus Christ, on unt of his zeal for religion and his love stice, by Blancon, one of those who t his table, after confession and com- ion of the Lord's body, had his side ed, and fell to the ground before the , with his arms extended in the form ross. He died for the glory of Jesus st, and reposed in him on Friday, the th of June, in the basilica of St. n, martyr, whose relics he had a short before brought from England into nark."

s son Charles the Good, count of ders, whose mother was Alize of Flan- was martyred, as we observed in a r book, for defending the interests of oor. So tenderly he loved the people, he kept the price of corn low, and ed wise laws against the oppressions e great; for which reason he was sinated by order of one of them, named ul, as he repeated the penitential is in the church of Bruges, in 1124.

the chronicles of the middle ages, we nstances too in which the absence of tion, and the resolution to relinquish just pretension, to which they were led by others, have caused princes ffer persecution, reviving the exam- f the Greeks, despising Solon when laughed at him, as Plutarch wit- th, and said,

ὺν Σολὼν βαθύφρων, οὐδε βουληεὶς ἀνήρ· ι γὰρ Θεοῦ δίδοντος, αὐτὸς οὐκ ἐδέξατο.

Casimir, prince of Poland, in his ith year, being elected king of Hun- by the Palatines, and other nobles rished to depose Matthias Corvinus, der that he might rule over them, ng that the king had refused to com- nd that all differences were accom- ed between him and his people, and Pope Sixtus had sent an embassy father to divert him from the expe- which had already set out, returned ly with his army. But this act of erestedness and justice was so dis- ble to this father, that he dreaded ear before him, and so retired to the of Dobzki, where he spent three is in works of penance. Repeatedly the course of the preceding books, ve had occasion to admire the dig- nd justice of the ministerial charac- ter during those ages of faith, which never heard the modern error, "that all goes by self-interest and the checking and balanc- ing of greedy knaveries, and that, in short, there is nothing divine whatever in the as- sociation of men." What noble figures of this class have passed before us! wise ma- gistrates, such as Candelarius and L'Her- mite Souliers loved to paint,* wise courtiers, those jewels of a crown, as Shirley calls them,

"The columns and the ornaments of state
Fitted with parts, and piety to act,
They serve the power for justice, not themselves;
Their faith the cabinet, in which is laid
The prince's safety, and the nation's peace,
The oracles and the mysteries of empire;
Men born above the sordid guilt of avarice,
Free as the mountain air, and calm as mercy.
Born without eyes, when the poor man complains
Against the great oppressor; without hands,
To take the bloody price of man's undoing."†

Defenders of the Church, of women and widows, of the rights of the king and of the subject, sworn by the redemption which they expected from our Lord Jesus Christ in the day of judgment, as they hoped to escape damnation and to be judged as they would judge, to administer their office with loyalty and honour,‡ their whole lives grave, pure, mysterious, corresponded with that solemn engagement. Piety, austere virtue, profound learning, the administra- tion of justice from break of day to sunset, afterwards study and examination of causes in the silence of their humble and pacific dwellings, then some moments to the his- torians, orators, and poets, who had been the delight of their youth,—often to hold courts in other districts, leaving their homes and travelling, and all at their own ex- pense, actuated by the sentiment of duty— such was the type, and such in innume- rable instances the spectacle. Well such men, often martyrs of the state, as some were called by Henry the Fourth,§ swell the blessed throng of those who suffered persecution for the sake of justice, a prize for which they must have well prepared: for, as the old poet says,

"What man was ever fixed i' the sphere of honour
And precious to his sovereign, whose actions,
Nay very soul, were not exposed to every
Common and base dissection? and not only

* Virorum Consularium Rothomag. Senat. libri iv. Les Eloges de tous les premiers Présidents du Parlement de Paris, 1645.

† Honoria et Mammon.

‡ Floquet, Hist. du Parlement de Normandie, i. 271.

§ Pasquier, Lett. xx. 3.

That which in nature hath excuse, and in
Themselves is privileged by name of frailty,
But even virtues are made crimes, and doom'd
To the fate of treason."

In the solemn halls of assembly, these magistrates and senators had before their eyes paintings and inscriptions to inform and thus prepare their minds. One beheld martyrs of the ancient and of the evangelic law, kings and pontiff ministers mutually exhorting each other to virtue; "Pontifices, agite," the monarch saying; "Et vos, reges, dicite justa," the priest answering: both holding scrolls, on which were written, "Facite judicium et justitiam, et liberate vi oppressum de manu calumpniatoris;" and again, "Seminanti justitiam merces fidelis."* But what was this infallible recompense? The crown of the eighth beatitude. How often when the demon of discord had armed citizens against each other, has this crown been granted! Then when the sun has set, and all the ways are darkened, there is in the street a sound of horses and of arms: the leader has a stern commission: all windows are opened with a fearful whispering. Alas! who is to be the victim now? They halt. There is the devoted door. O God, it is the house of the just!

In regard to the brave defence of innocence against oppressors generally, whether kings or people, we should notice the heroic spirit of martyrdom which belonged to the judicial and legal character in ages of faith. The clergy, it is true, in early times, had generally to sustain such combats; and what undaunted advocates were they? With what noble courage did St. Gregory of Tours defend Prætextatus in presence of King Chilperic? And what alacrity did he evince to suffer all things for justice?† Afterwards the sage men of law, as Pierre des Fontaines styles them, though devoted to administer it, were not

"Chargés d'une haine étrangère,
Vendre aux querelles du vulgaire
Leur voix et leur tranquillité."

They were rather peacemakers, to finish causes by amicable arrangement, and to expose themselves to the resentment of the powerful by defending the oppressed. The decrees of the ancient exchequer seem rather the judgments of a family council, than decisions of a court,‡ and the noble courage of its counsellors frequently brought persecution on their heads. They were sworn, as we observed elsewhere, not to defend any causes which they did not believe in their consciences to be good, true, and loyal; to abandon such as they should find in the course of investigation to be unjust, and never to allege any custom, style, or usage, if they did not believe the objection reasonable and true.* Among the dangers to which they exposed themselves in the discharge of their duty, historians even remark their occasional collisions with the ruffian, the robber, and the man of blood, meeting them before light on winter's mornings as they rode on mules to the courts of justice.† The old registers attest that many while thus proceeding to discharge their office, were insulted, struck, and even slain. In times of greatest peril for them, their only concession was to wait till after sunrise, and to return from the tribunals before the ways were darkened. But danger and death for the manifest discharge of their office they would never decline. Would you witness an instance of this martyr spirit in an advocate of later times? Behold Chauveau Lagarde, defending Marie Antoinette, Elizabeth, and Charlotte de Corday, denouncing Marat in presence of the tigers of the revolutionary tribunal, as a monster, who saw crime every where, because crime accompanied him every where—resolving to die in thus combating, defending the Girondins, the Duke du Chatelet, the virgins of Verdun, the twenty-seven accused of Tonnerre, and the general Miranda: behold him thus defying danger for innocence, and when he could no longer hope for justice amidst that fearful butchery of illustrious victims, remaining to protest against such violations in the name of the judicial honour of his country. Accused of corrupting the public morals by proclaiming the virtue of these martyrs, and of betraying the people by defending their enemies, behold him during forty days in the dungeon of the Conciergerie, from which he saw pass to death twenty-three victims, his companions in that hell. Amidst these scenes, how great was his courage, how undaunted his magnanimity! Such was the type of the true Catholic advocate in ages of faith: "the law," said this great ornament of the French bar, speaking like Sir Thomas

* Floquet, Hist. du Parlement de Normandie, i. 398.
† Chroniques de S. Denis, Liv. iii. c. 8.
‡ Floquet, Hist. du Parlement de Norm. i. 27.

* Floquet, Hist. du Parlement de Norm. i. 57.
† Id. ii. 211.

"imposes on advocates a duty of
ın, and when necessary, the duty of
'dom."

› well, and beware," is the melan-
›roverb of the profound Spaniards,
Don Diego Savedra Faxardo as-
in his Christian Prince, to the
ɜnce of mankind, and also to the re-
rance of that divine charge of our
r, when he told his disciples to go
o the work of love, with the simpli-
the dove, and added "Cavete autem
ıinibus." It would be long to tell
se who verified the truth of this
in themselves. The fate of the
Boëthius was a familiar theme during
iddle ages. The sudden change in
tune arose from his condemning the
ive taxes imposed on the people by
oric, who in his old age gave his
ɜnce to two avaricious and perfidious

He undertook to convey to the
the throne the tears and groans of
ovinces, and his discourse was re-
by the king as an act of rebellion.
ıed by a decree of the senate, who
ɡained over to pronounce it, he was
fter thrown into prison, in the castle
ia, along with his father-in-law Sym-
s: the latter was beheaded on a
lless pretext of high treason. The
ng year beheld the martyrdom of
us, who was conveyed to a castle in
t, half-way between Pavia and Rome,
ıere barbarously tortured till he
l. "Imperante florenteque nequi-
ıid this noble sufferer in his prison,
ɜ non solum præmiis caret, verum
sceleratorum pedibus subjecta cal-
et in locum facinorum supplicia
"Under the dominion of our private
.ts," says the great chancellor D'Agu-
"we cannot believe that there are
o generous as to study the interests
public: we fear to find in others a
ess which we do not discover in our-

Its presence would be a continual
ch that would offend the proud deli-
f our self-love; and convinced that
ıre only false virtues, we never think
ıouring those that are true. Great
ıre therefore not understood by the
›n herd; they are either unobserved,
regarded with fear and displeasure."
w many examples might he have
d in the history of his own country

What was it but private malice on
.t of his virtues, which caused the
l death of Marigni, the inspector of
ɜs under Louis X.? How many noble stands for justice in the secret cabinets of kings, of which history only by chance drops an intimation! Hear an ancient chronicle.

"On the fifth of November this year, the justiciary came to the Emperor Frederic II. bearing seven hundred ounces of gold, as the result of the contribution, but the emperor was very angry at not receiving a greater sum. The justiciary then said, 'My lord, if my ministry doth not please you, seek in future some one else; for the citizens are reduced to poverty.' The emperor grew still more furious, and turning to Taddæus said, 'If it were not for sake of Don John, I would order him to be thrown into the sea.'"*

Guided by a contemporary writer, let us visit one of these great men in his prison, where he is suffering persecution on account of the justice of his administration. "When I arrived," says Paschasius, "I found the Abbot Wala in the prison cell, where nothing could have access but what was angelic, for such was the divine judgment. After mingling sweet with bitter words, I wished to persuade him to admit that he had exceeded a little, in order that he might appease the emperor, by admitting that he had gone too far; for Cæsar had intimated that he would restore him to his favour, if he would only admit himself in the wrong: but he replied to me, 'I am surprised that you should doubt my conscience, since I am conscious to myself of nothing more than what you know. You ought, therefore, rather to encourage me to contend for justice, than endeavour to persuade me to assent to any thing contrary to truth. Do you not fear the judgments of God? What if I should falsely accuse myself of any thing, and for the sake of any favour or honour, either through fear or hope, were to depart from truth, and bear false witness against myself, might I not fall into the hands of God, and by his just judgment be condemned out of my own mouth? and thus, through fear of increasing the light afflictions that are for a time, I might, by an ineffable dispensation of his judgment, suffer the penalty of eternal death. Therefore, my brother, let us stand in the way of truth on which we have entered, and let us have hope, because these things further us to everlasting life, which is Christ.' Having heard these words, I was

* Matth. Spinelli Ephemerides Neapolitanæ ab an. 1247 ad an. 1268. ap. Mur. Rer. It. tom. vii.

silent and confused. It was plain that there was in him no conscience, excepting according to God and for God, respecting the emperor and his sons, his country and the churches, the nobility and the people; that he sought not his own in any thing, but only what was Christ's. It was plain that he was of the blessed, who suffer persecution for the sake of justice, for he endeavoured to save both the emperor and his country: he drove all abominations from the palace of the sacred empire; he put adultery to flight; he condemned sortilege; he restored what was honest; he gave back a father to his sons, and sons to their father; he did not permit the monarchy to fall into parts; he forbad oaths to be violated: he wished to preserve what was good, and to remove the evil, that all might lead a safe and tranquil life according to God, to the honour and glory of the Christian religion. It is said by some, that he ought not to have taken thought about these things, which did not suit the employment of a monk; but no monk was ever greater or holier than John, who was beheaded for such things; no one more accepted than Elias; no one more religious than the other saints and prophets, who manfully withstood kings, and contended for justice unto death: for on account of such zeal was Zacharias slain, and Isaias sawed asunder, and Jeremiah immersed in the waters, and so was it also right that he should expose himself to pain, if not by resisting with arms, at least by exhortation, and counsel, and entreaties."

On a certain day, when the magnats and counsellors were at secret deliberation respecting the division of the empire, not regarding the prerogative of parents, or the co-equalities of the great, or the interests of the faithful, or, what is more, the dignity of the churches, or the reverence of God from the heart, the Abbot Wala suddenly appeared among them; and they, confused, because condemned by their own consciences, proposed to him the lots of distribution, and asked if there were any thing that displeased him. Then he, as sagacious in reply, made answer, "All things are well disposed by you, excepting that you have left nothing to God of his right, and have not ordained what is pleasing to the virtuous."*

Doubtless too were reckoned among those who suffered on account of justice, some whom civil or domestic troubles sent into banishment, to learn "how bitter is the stranger's bread, how hard it is to mount and to descend another's stairs."† Those sorrows and humiliations so keenly felt by Dante, when, for having wished to render service to his country, he was misinterpreted by his fellow-citizens, unjustly accused of an ignoble crime, deprived of his writings, and presecuted for having composed them, cast forth in poverty from the cherished bosom of that beauteous Florence in which he had been born and nourished, and where he desired so ardently to terminate his days. "It is certain," says his commentator Balbo, "that in heaven He, who from the beginning of the world has imposed labour upon man, and willed that each should cultivate his talent, will grant a more especial mercy to those who support the burden of the day, to obey his divine commands, and render service of any description to their country." Among those Guelfs so often driven from their home with cruelty, as were the poet's ancestors, what solemn examples do we find of high virtue! Italy, which furnishes so complete a history of the woe of banishment, presenting a series of examples of magnanimity in suffering a punishment which, above all, for its children, who knew what it was to be excluded from its charms, was felt more cruel than death,† might supply us with abundant proof that exile, while it gave occasion to some, as the noble Malaspinas, to exercise a generous and an immortal pity, enabled others to gain their true country, and to secure the faultless peace. There might again have been another class of sufferers within this order, to whom, in consideration of their calamities, religion would have offered her palm; for had those illustrious philosophers, whom later ages qualify as the martyrs of science, suffered persecution with the requisite dispositions, purely on account of their physical discoveries, and of their announcing them to the world, there is no doubt that the Catholic Church would have sanctioned their admission into this category; but men like Galileo, whom her pontiffs, princes, cardinals, and prelates honoured, who received from the states which she directed such proofs of large munificence; who however evinced recklessness, arrogance, and ingratitude, insisting in a tone of defiance on modes of

* Ap. Mabillon, Acta S. Ord. Ben.

* Par. xvii.
† Artaud de Montor, Hist. de Dante.

interpreting the Scriptures, from which Protestants, as Tycho Brahe, as well as Catholics, then shrunk; unlike Newton, who preferred peace to any shadow of greatness, panting for a struggle with those who sought not to oppose them on account of their discoveries; who, in their writings adopted the tone of enemies and satirists; who, like Kepler, admit that they were "troublesome and choleric in politics," and who notwithstanding, as Remus assured the latter, "had no ground for alarm either in Italy or Austria, if they kept themselves within bounds, and put a guard upon their own passions," can hardly be said to have fulfilled the conditions that were necessary to entitle them to a place in this blessed circle. In ages when every claim to martyrdom in a religious sense was investigated with such rigour, men could not expect to be regarded as martyrs of science, unless analogous dispositions existed in them also; and, indeed, the justice of requiring them, in respect to this latter, is admitted by the illustrious philosopher who has lately treated on their history, while acknowledging that religion, guided by the Roman pontiffs, was not jealous of philosophy, and that the church of Rome was willing to respect and foster even the genius of its enemies. Had Galileo meekly announced his dicoveries as the deductions of reason or the convictions of conscience, they would not have provoked hostility, and his system of the world might have stood in the library of the Vatican beside the cherished volume of Copernicus.* Whoever by superior merit alone incurred sufferings from the malignity of rivals, or even from the severity of a zeal to guard against dangers, which was more rigorous than enlightened, might have enjoyed the consoling assurance that of the truths of science which he defended, he was the martyr, deriving from his endurance of persecution not alone a claim to the sympathy of philosophers, but also a title to the especial benediction of God in the judgment of the Church, and of all who were directed by her wisdom.

But it was not alone the heroic fortitude of great men in resisting injustice, which in the judgment of the middle ages conferred a title to the beatitude of those who suffer persecution within the natural order. If our ancestors were inexorable in excluding all from that blessed number who were deficient either in regard to the justice of their cause or to the spirit with which they received sufferings, they evinced a disposition to extend prodigiously the limits within which occasions could be found of reaping these immortal fruits; in so much that to men of good will opportunity for gaining them, according to their view of human life, could hardly ever be wanting; that, as in the gymnastic combats, to use the words of St. Clement of Alexandria, "so in the church there might be crowns both for men and boys; for those that are men in wisdom and fortitude, and for those that are children in faith and love."* Indeed, the word persecution, from attending to the analogous disposition of sufferers, acquired an extension almost indefinite. The vessel on which Joinville was on board being in danger, a priest, the dean of Malrut, advised a procession, adding, that "whenever there was a persecution in his parish, whether by too little or too much rain, or other persecution, three such processions were made, and always with success, God sending them deliverance."† St. Louis also, conversing with the seneschal, speaks of tribulations and great maladies as persecutions sent for the good of men.

"It is not our blood that God requires," says St. Cyprian, "but our faith. Neither Abraham, nor Isaac, nor Jacob, were compelled to shed their blood, and yet their faith entitled them to be placed in the rank of the first patriarchs."‡ So St. Peter Damien observes: "Si non vales pro Deo mortem subire, vales tamen vitam placabilem Deo ducere: magnum quippe est mori pro Christo, sed non est inferius vivere Christo." Accordingly the life of Catholics, under many ordinary circumstances, was deemed, if not equivalent to martyrdom, at least subject to the persecution which confers a title to beatitude. In the first place, an obscure, humble, patient life for many souls was regarded in this light. "O how easy it is to be a Catholic," observes Fenelon, "on condition that one is to be a philosopher, a master, courageous, great, and eminent in every thing! but to be a Catholic, and only one of the fanatic poor, as they are called by those who revile the Church, to be weak, mean, and half-mad in the estimation of the proud,—that is a prospect which cannot be thought on by some persons without horror."§

"Multi pro Christo optant mori, qui pro Christo nolunt levia verba pati," says St.

* Sir David Brewster—the Martyrs of Science.

* Stromat. Lib. vii. c. 11.
† Hist. de S. Louis.
‡ On the Necessity of Dying.
§ Entretiens.

Bonaventura; "sed quem terret sonitus folii, quomodo sustineret ictum gladii?" "Calumny disturbs the wise man," says the Book of God, "and takes away the strength of his heart."* It involves him in such a battle of thoughts, that the Royal Prophet cried, "O Lord deliver me from the calumnies of men, that I may keep thy commandments."† "For it is not easy," adds St. Ambrose, "for him who is oppressed by calumny to observe faithfully the divine commandments: he yields as it were, in spite of himself, to a root of sadness and bitterness, and his soul is a prey to trouble."‡

Now here, say the guides of the middle age, is an occasion offered to innumerable persons in the common walks of life, of deriving beatitude from the natural consequences of piety. Again, the sufferings of men from youth to old age, from a severity or a mistaken sense of duty, which refuses to make allowance for the wants of each age and position, were regarded as conveying a similar title. Catholics in ages of faith were taught to look at human life, under all its different circumstances, not with official eyes, nor with the exclusive gaze of any particular class, but with a view to its beauty and goodness in the eyes of the Creator; "Qui finxit singillatim corda eorum; qui intelligit omnia opera eorum."§ Consequently they beheld it as never losing beauty, but as only changing its form of loveliness from childhood through the successive stages of youth and manhood to old age. They were taught to discern the amiable and loving traits of nature, which bespeak the hand of the great artist in the child, the boy, the young man, and the old—to admire the virtues and graces which spring out of the relations between different degrees and the conditions of sex—the joy derived from self-devotion and the endurance of pain—the generous heroic sentiments which, from their connection with the body, can prove that there are still traces left of the original innocence in which it was created.

The philosophy of the middle ages would never have sanctioned the shallow thought of Pope, that "every year of a wise man's life is but a censure or critique on the past; that those whose date is the shortest live long enough to laugh at one half of it; that the boy despises the infant, the man the boy, the philosopher both, and the Christian all."‖ Strange philosophers and strange Christians would such men have then been conside Fathers were not then like those of wh Clitipho complains:

"Quam iniqui sunt patres in omnis adolesce judices!
Qui æquom esse censent nos jam a pueris nasci senes."*

The paternal maxim and that of mas differed not from the advice of Juvenal:

"Indulge veniam pueris."†

Leave to play was justice, and to deny i a poor apprentice or a rude ship-boy pe cution. Mothers and mistresses of a fa too were kind; for how could they be ot wise who daily invoked her who is calle the Litany "most amiable;" who had before them pictures of that most sweet which expresses all that we can conceiv suavity of disposition, gentleness of nat and kindliness of manner?

We have seen in the last book that th were not wanting examples similar to of Anaxagoras, who, as Laertius rela being asked by the chief persons of La sacus whether he had not some desire wh they might gratify, ordered them to gi play-day every year, on the anniversar his death, to all young people.

In amusements pursued by the childre a town, against which, in our days, recurre would be had to the police, in the middle a the noblest and wisest men would deig take a part. Juniperus, of whom St. Fra said playfully that "he wished to hav forest of such men," was found on one oc sion without the gates of Rome, play amidst a group of children, and seated one end of a beam thrown across a w with a boy riding on the other, causin to rise and sink alternately. It was therefore so much that "each age had manner of viewing things," but that e could appreciate or make allowance for manner of the other; and as painters l to watch the play of light and shade u the cheek, and all the gracious harmonie colour and of form in each human figure they pass it by, so men who had dr deep of Catholic philosophy were plea to trace the changing beauties of the m world in the thousand innocent de and words, and songs of all around th whether denoting gladness, laughter, p or amaze. That wisdom, be it rem bered, did not desire to oppress ma

* Eccles. vii. † Ps. cxxiii.
‡ In Ps. cxviii. § Ps. xxxii.
‖ Letter to the Bishop of Rochester.

* Heautont. † Sat. vi

l has made, or forget the impor-
eality. As it made an immense
to the action of time by its prin-
›rescription, which ended in the
›n of all accomplished facts, so in
government of individuals it en-
the situation of each, proportioned
ions to his force, to his place and
ıce, and appreciated at its real
contingent element. It did not
ıen from the present scene so as
ıem impassible. It had observed
spel our Lord receiving the chil-
ticipating in the marriage feast,
ng over Lazarus: the flesh, which,
ıs to be submitted to a wise dis-
ıs one day to be glorified; and,
even at present, its just dignity was
intained in accordance with that
ɛtry, which is truth, prescribes.
ıerefore, was only recalled to its
type, not persecuted as evil in
ıtially. Justice, which, as Alber-
us says, "is not a part but the
virtue,"* was known to be con-
ith the will of God: therefore
›pposed his will, in regard to the
of his creatures, though it was
retting unnecessarily a boy, was
true persecutor; and in enduring
ty it taught that there might be
ude of suffering for the sake of
ıll opposition to humanity, accord-
s view of it, was deemed a perse-
justice; it was a persecution of
of the boy, of the youth, of the
of the aged. Above all, indiffer-
he wants of the poor was deemed
ı a peculiar manner, a persecution
d in person, as is expressed in the
ne lines:

"Viatores extra fores?
Christo claudis ostia:
Accedenti da gementi
Charitatis viscera."

ım execrated the principles that
›rive the poor of the pleasures and
ts of existence fitting for youth,
and age, in order to swell the
r widen the barrier desired by the
ribe of rich proprietors.
insulting distinctions, now so pre-
unded on the repugnance of the
ıne in contact with the poor, even
ıse of God, would have been re-
a persecution in ages when leprosy
e a sacred character, so that the

* Lib. Ethic. v. t. i. 4.

greatest personages sought to minister with their own hands to its afflicted victims; and in the same light would have been viewed all systems of relief which excluded indications of love and tenderness. The spirit of the ages of faith in this respect breaks forth in a charming manner in the remarks of Albertus Magnus upon a passage in the first chapter of Job, where he says, "By this text are confounded those who say that delicacies should not be given to the poor; for, though delicacies should not be continually given to them, lest they should be accustomed to them, yet it is cruel to say that delicacies should never be given to them, because wholly without delights human nature cannot live."* Therefore, alluding to the poorest hovel, was often heard in castles of the great, the gracious words of blessed Mary, "they have no wine;" for, in these castles, as in the convents of poor Clares might be found many who merited the title which Alexander IV. conferred upon their blessed founder, "The princess of the poor, and the duchess of the humble."

To this persecution then in general conduced false doctrines of religion like those of Manes and Calvin, the latter teaching that children guilty before the age of reason, need be only suspended on a gibbet for a moment, to show that they merit death;† among whose followers in France we read, as at the present day in Ireland, where "the powder for them is kept dry," "que le tiers estat est estimé comme la fange des rues, le fumier des estables, et la poudre de leurs souliers," that the people were styled as they are still by those who follow that banner, "la folle populace, le vulgaire ignorant."‡ To this persecution too conduced false notions of domestic rule ever breaking out in complaint and anger, false views of education, a mere sternness of nature and acerbity of temper, combining to enforce the maxim that no good can be done without stripes and bruises; false principles of administration of government, leading to the harsh enforcement of unjust laws, contrary to those charters desired by the Church and collected by Burchard, requiring "ut una

* "At hoc loco confunduntur qui dicunt pauperibus non esse danda delicata; quamvis enim non sint eis delicata porrigenda continuo, ne consuescant; tamen crudele est dicere, quod nihil unquam delicati debeat porrigi pauperibus: quia sine deliciis omnimodis non potest vivere natura humana" Albert Mag. in Evang. Luc. c. xiv. tom. x.

† Audin, Hist. de Calvin, ii. 123.

‡ 2e Advertissement des Catholiques Anglois aux François Cath. 122.

eademque lex diviti et pauperi ante oculos prænotata esset communis," as that great bishop says—false views of social amelioration, and false views of political economy, like those of later times,—advocated by the well-fed philosophers, "whose meat and drink turn to gall within them," worthy of that German leader, who exclaimed, "For the peasants, straw, and if they murmur, a halter or a bullet:"* so that there might be those who suffered persecution for justice, as men from the doctrines taught around them, as children, servants, and apprentices from parents and masters, as scholars from their teachers, as subjects from their rulers, as the poor from the higher classes, and as artisans in manufactures from the slavery attached to the system of commercial feudality, according to which the master whose blood is ice, and whose heart is iron, says in the tone of Louis XIV., "le but de l'orde social c'est moi." One need only open those collections of Burchard to see how paternal and benign was the tone adopted towards that rural society, which formed the family round each monastery, in which serfs were as eligible as freemen, though the civil laws of states often impeded their admission, and how every departure from it was regarded by the Church and by many holy proprietors of the middle age as a real persecution. How interesting to observe the Father of the scholastic philosophy exalting the dignity of the rural life, and preferring the rustic to the philosopher!

"Rusticus es; justus esto: beatus eris.
Philosophus Varro, Petrus Piscator; et ecce
Philosophus cinis est; nomen inane manet."†

"Religion," says Guizot, "spoke to the majority; she never forgot the people; she always knew how to arrive at them." Alluding to the Catholic religion he might well say so. To oppress them was to persecute her. That youth, in receiving severe treatment, without regard to its weakness, suffered persecution in reality for the sake of justice, is expressly taught by St. Anselm, and by innumerable great ornaments of the school. "The old monk who had treated Achatus with harshness, and who, on the death of that young man, obtained leave to build a cell near his tomb, spent there the remainder of his days in penitence, saying always, I have committed homicide."‡

The maxims of the great St. Anthony indicate the same views—for thus he says, "Fili mi, nulla major est impietas, quam mœrorem cuipiam inferre. Fili mi, omnes homines fac tibi amicos, sed non consiliarios. Do not lend your ears to hear evil, but be a lover of men and live. Pythagoras taught boys never to insult any one, and when reviled to make no reply."*

This was much; but the Catholic philosophy in ages of faith, taught servants and all persons either from age or station, under authority, that to endure harsh treatment with patience was equivalent to martyrdom.

An old Catholic poet represents the master conscious too that he has no right even to involve his servant in the painful consequences of his own peculiar temper, as where Sebastiano speaks as follows to a boy who seeks to be his page:

"'Tis no advantage to belong to me.
Besides, I shall afflict thy tenderness
With solitude and passion: for I am
Only in love with sorrow, never merry,
Wear out the day in telling of sad tales;
Delight in sighs and tears; sometimes I walk
To a wood or river, purposely to challenge
The boldest echo to send back my groans
I' the height I break them. Come, I shall
undo thee."†

We have seen elsewhere, that servants in ages of faith were generally kept in good order, as those of Sir Thomas More, by the mere force of kindness and sweetness of temper, rendering all as cheerful as if mirth were their employment, by persuading rather than commanding, by being familiar instead of being haughty, by treating them as members of the house, so as even to have them represented in pictures amidst the family group, as in that which Holbein has immortalized by his painting of Sir Thomas More's family, in which the servant, Harris, stands along with the son of the chancellor. But there were, of course, exceptions to this usage, and it is to these cases that we here allude.

St. Zita, a poor maiden of Italy, in the thirteenth century, is commemorated as suffering persecution with the spirit of a confessor, from the hardship and injustice of the master and mistress in whose family at Lucca she was a servant. Her fellow-servants ridiculed her as wanting spirit and sense. Her mistress was prepossessed against her; and her passionate master could not bear her in his sight without transports of rage. Thus, for several years unjustly despised

* Audin, Hist. de Luther.
† Carmen de contemptu mundi.
‡ S. Joan. Clim. iv.

* Jamblich. de Pyth. Vita, 10.
† Shirley.

verburdened, reviled, and often beaten, the ious servant yet never repined, nor lost er patience, nor abated any thing of her pplication to her duties, till at length the istre of her virtues began to be perceived, id from that time the remainder of her life as passed in uninterrupted peace and hon-ur, being entrusted with authority over all e other servants.

St. Nothburge, the daughter of a labourer Rothenbourg in the Tyrol, at the age of ghteen was placed as kitchen-maid in the stle of Rothenbourg. On the death of e seigneur's mother his avaricious wife ersecuted and dismissed her from the service n a charge of waste; and though her inno-ence was recognised and she resumed her lace, yet, in consideration of her gentleness nder suffering, joined with the graces of anctity, after her death in 1313, she was hosen by the Tyrolese as one of their patrons, nd a magnificent church was dedicated under er invocation.

Similarly in all domestic relations, the ndurance of severity was deemed equiva-ent to persecution for justice, of which the opular history of Griselda furnished an ex-mple at which all had often wept. St. odeliebe was the same sufferer in real life, hose long persecutions by her husband erton, described by his contemporary, rogon, a monk of Ghistel, were terminated 1070, when she was strangled during the ight by two assassins, whom he had hired r the purpose. Galeswinthe, the wife of hilperick, a beautiful and pious princess, hose fate was similar, furnished legends to en of the sixth century, of a profound ten-erness, which supplied the same consolation.

St. Sabas, when young, having to suffer om the wife of his uncle Hermias, from hose severity, in fine, after three years he id to escape by flight, was regarded as nother of those whom persecution rendered essed. St. Peter Damien, on the death of s father and mother, was likewise deemed titled to beatitude, in consequence of the eatment he received from his brother, who ployed him as a slave in tending the ine. This sort of persecution St. Monica uld have had to suffer from the choleric d hasty temper of her husband Patricius, it had not been for her unconquerable ntleness and discretion. In like manner, e empress Theodora, who defended holy ages, and had the glory of exterminating e Iconoclastic heresy, reaped beatitude om the sufferings she endured from the utal character of her husband, the Emperor heophilus. Another source of suffering to those who reaped eternal joy, consisted in the unfeeling haughty manners of the great, who, as we have before observed, were in consequence so little thought of, maugre their dust and heraldry. In heathen times loud and bitter were the complaints. Thus the nurse in the Medea exclaims:

> δεινὰ τυράννων λήματα, καὶ πῶς
> ὀλίγ' ἀρχόμενοι, πολλὰ κρατοῦντες,
> χαλεπῶς ὀργὰς μεταβάλλουσιν·

and hence she thinks it best to consort always with one's equals:

> τὸ δ' ἄρ' εἰθίσθαι ζῆν ἐπ' ἴσοισιν
> κρεῖσσον· ἐμοίγ' οὖν, εἰ μὴ μεγάλως,
> Ὀχυρῶς γ' εἴη καταγηράσκειν. (119.)

That in the rich there is always a strong tendency to return to this ancient type, sad proof is seldom wanting. A venerable French priest, whose body rests within ten miles of the schools where I first studied, told me that he had passed the first years of his emigration in the family of a certain English Catholic, who constrained him, he used to say cheerfully, to do penance for his many sins. But it was no uncommon desire to court the circumstances which exposed men to persecution of this kind. A memorable instance was seen in the choice of St. John of the cross, at his death; for it being necessary to remove him in his last sickness from the monastery of Pegnuela in the desert, to either of the two convents of Baece or Ubede, the choice being left to him, he refused to go to Baece, where the superior was his especial friend, and where he was respected as the founder, preferring to be conveyed to Ubede, of which new and ill-provided convent the prior was his enemy, and connected with those who had persecuted him.*

It remains to develop the proposition, that the endurance of tyranny or the action of unjust and cruel laws was regarded as conveying a similar title. In Merovingian times the cruelties and sacrileges committed by the armies of the sons of Clothaire were compared by the contemporary writers to the persecution of Diocletian, though the tears of the Church arose chiefly from the spectacle of horrors unconnected with the defence of faith."† "Persecution for justice," says Albertus Magnus, "is suffered by those who are unjustly judged against

* Dosithée, Liv. viii.
† St. Greg. Turon. Hist. Franc. iv.

the laws and justice of the kingdom—when they fall under the iniquitous power of tyrants, and are spoiled of their goods through the avarice of those reigning in the kingdom of the world. Of these is the kingdom of heaven, as of the blessed poor, and there is one reward for both."* Such were the Christians who suffered from the fiscal exactions of the Roman empire.

These, indeed, dated from earlier times; many provinces of the Roman empire paid a fifth of the pasture, and a tenth of the cultivated land. Antony and Cæsar required, in one year, the tribute of nine and ten years. When Julius Cæsar was slain, and arms taken up for liberty, each citizen was compelled to pay the twenty-fifth of all his goods, and all the senatorian order had to pay six asses for each tile on the roof of their houses. But, above all, the exactions in the Roman colonies, were terrible. The miserable inhabitants in a single day used to be spoiled of all their property. But let us hear Lactantius respecting the persecution in Gaul, by the Emperor Maximianus.

"That was a common grief and public calamity, when the census was made in the cities and provinces, the censors being sent in all directions, whence hostile tumults and horrible kinds of captivity. The lands were measured by glebe, the vines and trees were numbered, animals of all kinds inscribed, the heads of men noted: the citizens and rustics were assembled promiscuously in the cities, and all the forums filled with servants; every one being present with his children and servants: torture and stripes were inflicted, sons being examined against their fathers, servants against their masters, wives against their husbands. No excuse for age or sickness. The aged and sick were carried forth: the ages of all were written down; years were added to little ones, and taken from the old; all places were full of grief and sadness. What the ancient conquerors inflicted on the vanquished by law of war, this was now done by Romans ag Roman subjects: yet faith was not pl in the same censors, but others were after others, as if more could yet be fo Meanwhile the animals diminished, men died; and then tribute was requ for the dead; so that no one could even gratis. Beggars alone remained, and impious man had pity on their misery; he ordered them to be assembled and ported in ships and then thrown into sea."*

For several ages the Christian societ the Roman world was exposed to pers tions of this legal order, against which men continually protested, as when the a Sabas, being offered revenues by the emp for his monasteries, declined the gift, asked him to exempt the people of Pale from taxes for a certain time. The scription may be cited as another insta St. Martin, at the age of fifteen, was c pelled in consequence, by imperial ord to take the military oath and enter the ar The church had a long and difficult tas fulfil, in her endeavours to infuse gre mildness into the spirit of governm which was so inclined always to relaps its original pagan severity. Even so as the age of Dante, her struggle contin The Ghibeline views of the duty of subj as when the Emperor Albert required thing but courage from the soldier, la from the peasant, and servile submis from the wife, was denounced by her, by the philosophers of the middle ag the result of a proud and false opinion, tically at variance with faith, but no d capable of conducing to the eternal ha ness of those who suffered from them; in short, all sorrows arising from a viol of natural equity, were considered as co tuting one of the great powers of this w commissioned to instruct and raise to h tude the human race.

* Albert. Mag. in Matt. v. tom. ix.

* Lactantii liber de Mortibus Persecutor 23.

CHAPTER III.

"UNCERTAIN path of life," cries Camoens; "in our hopes how little security! in our joy what short duration! where can weak man find shelter? where in this short life peace?"*

Leaving now this ground of suffering within the natural order, let us advance to the immediate domain of Christian history; for which purpose we must resume our researches into the deepest foundations of the Catholic mind with respect to persecution on account of justice, and observe how profound was the conviction of its necessity in the present state of the Church militant upon earth. Here again, in accordance with the custom of the schools during ages of faith, to which we have always endeavoured to adhere, we must call to witness the philosophy of the ancient world, and remark its coincidence with the true wisdom taught in the middle ages, which proceeded immediately from God.

"Why are the supporters of error prosperous, and the followers of truth in adversity?" is a question proposed by the Chæronean sage; to which he replies, "Consider how difficult it is to understand even the laws and institutions of human legislators, and then you will cease to wonder why we should not be able to comprehend the decrees of heaven; why God punishes some men immediately, and others not till a long time after."† The Catholic philosophy condescended to sympathize with those who felt the difficulty, but left them not with strange surmisings and anxious doubts, in ignorance of the true solution. "Nimis profundæ factæ sunt cogitationes tuæ, Domine," truly adds St. Augustin; "there is no sea so deep as that thought of God, that the evil should prosper, and the good suffer. Nothing so profound as that: every infidel makes shipwreck in that depth, in that abyss. Do you wish to pass it in safety? Hold to the wood of the cross of Christ. He wished to suffer; wish then to suffer with him. Be patient as he is patient. Join your heart to the eternity of God, and with him you will be eternal. Wait then patiently with him, who waits because he is eternal."* "If your heart be in heaven, all the iniquities which are on earth, all the felicity of evil men, all the sufferings of the just, meditating on the law of God day and night, are as nothing, and you will patiently endure all."†

"It is a stupendous wonder," says Richard of St. Victor, "how God should constantly behold the evils of man, which he so greatly detests. For cannot the omnipotence of God prevent so many and such great evils, of which omnipotent wisdom cannot be ignorant, which omnipotent goodness can never love? To add to this subject of astonishment, he gives temporal good to the wicked, by means of which he seems to multiply their wickedness: for by temporal goods the wicked are rendered still more evil and separate from God. Cannot that penetration of divine knowledge discern that the evil will abuse his gifts? See then in what perplexity is the solution of this maze involved."‡

The same astonishment is expressed by later theologians. "The moral order is perverted," says Veith; "justice is despised, innocence oppressed: and yet the physical world proceeds on its course. How mysterious is the omnipresence of God, which, acting secretly through the creation, gives to all things their essence and being! But more mysterious far is the seeming absence of God from that horizon, within which men move. God was essentially, yea personally present in Jesus Christ; and behold! during the awful night of his sacred passion in the house of Caiphas, all that cruelty and rage could devise was inflicted upon him."§

Richard of St. Victor proceeds to solve the difficulty by showing to what important purposes in the œconomy of Providence, the persecution of just men conduces. "I

* Lusiad, i. 105.
† De sera Numinis Vindicta.

* In. Ps. xci. † In Ps. xciii.
‡ De Contemplatione, I. Lib. ii. c. 22.
§ Words of the Enemies of Christ.

beseech you," he says, "mark and admire in what manner the love of God fails in the wicked when they receive benefits, and how in the good, divine love is increased by a scourge. Doubtless, the love of God prevailed more in Laurence from the fire, than in Nero from empire; or rather in Laurence it was nourished by flames, while in Nero it perished by the gift of imperial power. What is more wondrous still, the flame of love in the martyr prevailed more in that bitter pain, than it would have done in any temporal glory. What counsel and admirable artifice is here! You see how that chief artificer shows the skill of his art, who, in his elect, produces and nourishes contrary from contrary things."*

St. Augustin had proposed the same solution. The prophecy was to Rebecca, "Duæ gentes sunt in utero tuo, et major serviet minori." The holy doctor observing that the elder did not serve the younger, but sought to kill him, proceeds to ask this question: How then did he serve him? to which he replies, "He served him not by obeying, but by persecuting him; for the younger would never have become what he did, if he had not been persecuted."† "Behold," he exclaims elsewhere, "the profane enemy could never have bestowed such benefit upon the blessed innocents by his favour, as he conferred on them by his hate."‡

Yes, "all that misery of the human race in which the world groans, is a medicinal and not a penal woe;" as St. Augustin says; "every where we find grief, and fear, and necessity, and labour: but for the evil only are they evil; for the just it is a darkness which they can lighten, it is a night which shines as the day; it is a night which is delightful; for their delight is Christ; and their triumph is that he should be preached."§

Let us refer to the series of all ages; "from the beginning," says John of Salisbury, in a letter to St. Thomas the martyr, "where do we find an example of one of the elect having passed from delights to delights? of one having here flourished and exulted with the world, who now in the abundance of fruits rejoices and reigns with Christ?"‖ "Let us consider the process in the visible wine press," says St. Augustin, "that we may understand what takes place spiritually in the Church. The grapes hang on the vines, and the olives on the trees, and for these the presses are prepared; and before the pressure, as long as they hang thus enjoying the free air, neither can the former become wine, nor the latter oil; so it is with the men whom God hath predestined to be made conformable to the image of his only begotten Son, who in his passion was above all pressed out. Men of this kind, before they approach to the service of God, enjoy in this world a delicious liberty, like the grapes and olives growing; but coming to serve God in justice, they know that they must pass to the wine-press, that they may suffer together tribulation, that they may be bruised, that they may be compressed, that they may no longer appear in the world, but that they may flow into the treasury of God. So the work of conversion is the pressure; and therefore the Church is styled a wine-press in the Psalm. We are subjected to the pressure, in order that by torments and tribulation, our love for worldly, secular, temporal, flowing, and perishable things, may pass into a desire after that rest which is not of this life, nor of this earth, but which the Lord has prepared for his poor. Thus we flow into wine and oil, which are good desires; for there remains after the pressure not the love of earth, but the love of Him who made heaven and earth; the desire not of this thing or that, but of that immense good which God will hereafter give us, the gift of himself who made all things."*

"Man cannot be happy," says Cardan, "without calamity, nor enjoy pleasure without bitterness."† "Omnis ingentis spiritus proprium est," he says again, "sibi parare mortem, aut carcerem, aut exilium."‡ The ancient philosophers had all made the same observations. "Marcet sine adversario virtus," said Seneca, and he even regarded persecution as adding to the beauty of the spectacle of the world. "Ego vero," he says, "non miror, si quando impetum capiunt dii, spectandi magnos viros colluctantes cum aliqua calamitate. Nobis interdum voluptati est, si adolescens constantis animi irruentem feram venabulo excepit, si leonis incursum interritus pertulit: tantoque spectaculum est gratius, quanto id honestior fuit. Non sunt ista, quæ possunt deorum in se vultum convertere, sed pueritia et humanæ oblectamenta

* Words of the Enemies of Christ, I. ii. 29.
† Serm. x. 78. ‡ Serm. x. de Sanct.
§ In. Ps. cxxxviii.
‖ Joan. Saresb. Epist. xxxiii.

* In Ps. lxxxiii.
† Cardan de Consolatione, Lib. i.
‡ Id. Lib. iii.

s. Ecce spectaculum dignum, ad espiciat intentus operi suo Deus: r Deo dignum, vir fortis cum mala compositus, utique si et provocavit. deo, inquam, quid habeat in terris pulchrius, si convertere animum uam ut spectet Catonem, jam par- ion semel fractis, stantem nihilo- inter ruinas publicas rectum."*

voice of religion in ages of faith d therefore the saying of that old phy, "Militandum est: et quidem militiæ, quo nunquam quies, nun- otium datur." Fenelon remarks cessity of instructing the young as meaning of certain ceremonies of urch, which are to indicate that a state of warfare with the world. r are struck, he observes, by the in confirmation, to harden them persecution; they are anointed l, after the practice of the ancients, us prepared their limbs before going e. The bishop makes the sign of ss upon them, to intimate that they be crucified with Jesus Christ. re no longer," he adds, "you will the times of persecution, when who refused to renounce the Gospel ut to death; but the world, which ver cease to be the world, that is to rrupted, always carries on an in- persecution against piety: it lays for it; it decries it; it derides it, renders the practice of it so difficult t conditions, that even in the midst istian nations, and where the sove- uthority supports Christianity, men danger of blushing at the name of Christ, and at the imitation of his

In all this there is a continuation old experience, as attested by the ns and philosophic teaching of the t world; though, as we shall see here was something more, inasmuch cause for persecution was enhanced greater manifestation and more im- e presence of justice consequent he diffusion of the light of Christ. t refuse to believe me, deceived by phists, who intimate that divine n is in fault, as being a law that s the character ascribed to it by who said that it contained πολὺ τὸ καὶ βάρβαρον, or inclined to believe e pagans of old, that the sufferings istians prove their religion to be against which argument wrote St. Cyprian,* Salvian,† and St. Augustin?‡ Shall I continue to call antiquity from the old schools of Greece to testify this fact? Then hear their evidence. "An hoc non ita fit omni in populo?" asks Cicero. "Nonne omnem exsuperantiam virtutis oderunt? Quid? Aristides, nonne ob eam causam expulsus est patria quod præter modum justus esset?"§ "Dies deficiat si velim numerare quibus bonis male evenerit; nec minus, si commemorem quibus improbis optime. Quid dicam de Socrate? cujus morti illacrymari soleo Platonem legens."‖ The force of these passages is not diminished by their being so familiar to most ears. It is sufficiently clear from them, that thinking and conscientious men ought to have been prepared for the reception which the Christian religion met with from the world, and as elsewhere has been shown, that so far from that reception constituting a ground of objection to the truth of revelation, it was an additional proof that it was from God. But we are arrived on the ground at which the immediate domain of this history commences, and over these first memorable scenes we must pass hastily. Their character in relation to all former tragedies is expressed by St. Augustin in few words, where he says, "Nascente Domino luctus cœpit, non cœlo, sed mundo."¶

In fact, persecution for justice may be said to have only commenced when the first adorers of the infant Jesus had to return to their country secretly by a different road, lest they should incur death for worshipping him. The first general persecution, in which Peter and Paul suffered, when it was forbidden by an edict to be a Christian, broke out in the reign of Nero. The Roman martyrology, on the 24th of June, makes a general mention of all the martyrs whose torments are described by Seneca and Tacitus, styling them the disciples of the Apostles, and the first-fruits of the innumerable martyrs with which Rome, so fruitful in that divine seed, peopled heaven. Such are the wonderful ways by which the Spirit of God established the Church throughout the world. Our omnipotent Lord laid the foundation in labours and sorrows, and cemented it with his blood; and, as He declared, the servant was not to be treated better than his master. In labours and sorrows, sufferings

Providentia.
l'Education des Filles.

* Contra Demetrianum.
† Contra Gentes. ‡ De Civ. Dei.
§ Tuscul. v. 36. ‖ De Nat. Deorum, iii.
¶ Serm. i. de Innocent.

and death, was the grand building to be erected and perfected; and so we witness it proceeding in every age even to the present day.

The second persecution, in which St. John was exiled to Patmos, was by Domitian; the third was in the reign of Trajan, the fourth in that of Adrian; after which, under Antoninus Pius, the church had peace. The fifth broke out in the year 168, in the reign of his son Aurelius; during which, for the first time, Gaul saw martyrs. Then it was that the Christian citizens and faithful of Lyons wrote that affecting epistle to the churches of the east, which should be imprinted on every Christian's memory. It was then that St. Pothinus suffered. But all should read and hear the original acts of these martyrdoms, which give such an interest to that river Saone, which is said to derive its name Sangona—à sanguine martyrum.* The sixth persecution was in the reign of Severus, in which Leonidas, the father of Origen, suffered. Peace then lasted thirty-eight years, till the year 251, when the seventh tempest burst upon the church in the reign of Decius. In the year 258 the eighth began under Valerian. Then after an interval of fifty years, in 303 the ninth and most terrible burst out, under Diocletian and Maximianus. This lasted ten years over the whole world, ceasing only when the empire became Christian in Constantine. "The tenth," says Sulpicius Severus "is expected in the time of antichrist, at the end of the world."† Though we cannot dwell on the awful scenes presented during this first period, when they who now possess the palm delivered their bodies to death that they might not serve idols, some allusion to them was indispensable to comprehend the mind of the middle ages, which was trained up and tempered by their memory.

All must have heard that affecting trait in the history of St. Louis, when the knights believed they were about to be decapitated, and the brave Joinville says, "As for me I made the sign of the cross, and knelt down at the feet of one of the executioners, as we thought them, who held a Danish axe, and I said, 'Thus died St. Agnes!'" so present to the recollection of these men was each circumstance of the primitive martyrology; and, indeed, who can pass near these sublime and affecting monuments without casting a look towards them, though he may feel powerless to convey the faintest conception of their solemnity? O Christ, how fresh is the recollection still of thy first witnesses in some places of this earth! Within the catacombs at Rome might have been lately read inscriptions which described in affecting language the misfortunes of the persecution. Mark these lines, for instance: "Alexander mortuus non est, sed vivit super astra, et corpus in hoc tumulo quiescit. Vitam explevit cum Antonio Imp. qui ubi multum beneficii antevenire prævideret pro gratia odium reddit, genua enim flectens, vero Deo sacrificaturus, ad supplicia ducitur. O tempora infausta! quibus inter sacra et vota ne in cavernis quidem salvari possimus. Quid miserius vita, sed quid miserius in morte, cum ab amicis et parentibus sepeliri nequeant, tandem in cœlo coruscant."*

"Daily," says St. Clement of Alexandria, "do we behold many martyrs burned, crucified, and beheaded before our eyes." "It may seem to us improbable," says a pious writer, "that tyrants could be found so devoid of human feeling as to inflict such tortures on their fellow-creatures merely for conscience sake; and it may seem almost impossible that such tortures could be endured by men, and that their resolution could have been so invincible, when a word from their lips would have delivered them: but the acts of the martyrs are here, which were often written by eye-witnesses. Thus those of St. Jonas and companions, in 327, conclude with these words; 'This book was written by Esaias, of the royal troop of horsemen, who was present at their interrogatories and tortures.'"

There is something in the aspect of the very spots which beheld these tragedies, which seems to attest, in language more forcible than words, what they have witnessed, so as to impress the beholder with a profound and mysterious sorrow. I call to witness those who have seen the three churches at the Salvian waters in the Campagna of Rome, where St. Paul was beheaded. Leaving the gate of St. Paul, and passing beyond the Basilica of the Apostle of the nations, after traversing a desert, you descend upon a valley, thickly overgrown with tall reeds, from the slopes encircling which you behold three churches standing close together, and no other building in that wilderness. This is the place.

* Guill. Paradin. Hist. de Lyons, l. 3.
† Sacræ Hist. Lib. ii.

* P. Aringhi Rom. Subter. 293.

a sad and fatal invitation!
mit, that forsakes the world for prayer
olitude, would be timorous to live here.
's not a spray for birds to perch upon;
very tree that overlooks the vale
s the mark of lightning, and is blasted.
ay, which smiled as we came forth, and
pread
beams about, has taken a deep melancholy
sits more ominous in her face than night.
arkness is less horrid than half-light.
r was such a scene for death presented;
here's a sullen mountain peeping over
many reeds, seeming to crowd themselves
ators of some tragedy; but the scene has
been."*

themes belong to the immediate
f this present history, only as having
herished in the memory of men. I
, therefore, attempt to pursue them.
, indeed, the pen of a Chateaubriand,
ht have desired to tell of earlier days.
ht have sung of those who fled to
ous countries, or to the burning
of the desert. I might have de-
l the long adieus and tender em-
given in the streets of Rome by
who prepared to suffer for Jesus
. We might have seen the vene-
confessors, who had survived former
utions, encouraging the weak or mo-
ng the ardour of the fervent; the
n and children; the youths who sur-
ed the old men, and who spoke of
nce upon the burning coals, and
nt of Saragossa in prison, entertained
gels; of Eulalie of Merida, Pelagia
ntioch, of Felicita and Perpetua in
mphitheatre of Carthage; of Theodo-
nd the seven virgins of Ancyra. We
have followed the pontiffs conceal-
ne sacred books, and the priests en-
g the viaticum; watched the opening
most solitary and unknown cata-
s, to serve instead of temples; heard
aming of the deacons, who in dis-
were to bear assistance to the mar-
n the mines and in the dungeons,
the reconciliations and restitutions
often made; and thus, in fine, have
ssed the Church preparing, without
without ostentation, without tumult,
er with simplicity; "like the daughter
phtha demanding from her father
one moment to weep her sacrifice
the mountain:" but these are themes
nder and divine, too full of poesy and
icious grace for my rude pen.
las!" exclaims the author of the Mar-
in an eloquent passage which might

* Shirley.

almost be taken for an allusion to days not far removed from our own: "men inhabit the same earth, but how they differ from one another! Could one suppose that these were brethren and citizens of the same city, one part of whom pass their days in joy and the other in tears? How affecting was it, in the delirium of pagan Rome to see the Christians humbly offering to God their prayers, deploring their criminal excesses, and giving all the examples of modesty and reason in the midst of debauchery and drunkenness! Some secret altars in dungeons, in the depth of the catacombs, upon the tombs of the martyrs, drew round them the persecuted faithful. They fasted, they watched, voluntary victims, as if compensating for a world of crime; and while the names of Flora and Bacchus resounded in execrable hymns, amidst blood and wine, the names of Jesus Christ and Mary were secretly repeated in chaste canticles in the midst of tears."*

On the second period of Christian history, from the end of the conflicts with paganism to the sixth general council, or to the end of the persecutions by those who attacked the doctrine of the Incarnation, that is till the year 680, the immediate object of the present history will not require us to dwell. Peace had been no sooner given to the church than the Arian heresy broke out, which caused long and cruel persecutions of bishops, priests, and laymen, who suffered in prodigious numbers for the sake of this highest justice, which consists in the defence of truth.

Here again, of the stupendous wonders presented in the moral world, religion furnished men in ages of faith with a satisfactory solution. "If any one," says St. Chrysostom, "be now indignant that there should be heretics, let him consider that there have been always, by means of the devil, from the first, enemies to the truth. In the beginning God promised good to the first man, and the devil came promising the same good. God planted a paradise; the devil also promised, saying, 'You shall be as God:' then came Cain and Abel, sons of God and sons of men; Abraham and Pharaoh, Moses and the magi, prophets and false prophets, apostles and false prophets, Christ and Antichrist."† Reason herself, guided by sad experience, can enable us to untie the knot, for, as the

* Les Martyrs, Liv. xxiii.
† In 2 Epist. ad Tim. Hom. viii.

materialist Helvetius says, "If there could exist a man who might imagine it to be his interest that two and two should make five, no one would ever persuade him that two and two make four." Hence, as St. Clement of Alexandria says, while "it is clear that there is one true ancient Catholic church, as there is one God and one Lord, having nothing equal or like to itself, heresies are multiplied; some called from the names of men, as Valentinian, Marcion, and Basileidus; others from those of places as the Peraticæ; others from those of nations, as the Phrygians; others from the peculiarity of their doctrines, as the Docetæ and the Aimatitons;—causing so many sects that the Greeks and Jews objected and refused to believe on account of their number, not observing that they never refused to become Jews or philosophers, on account of the many chosen varieties of opinions among Jews and philosophers."* Here however was another source of persecution, no less productive than the first; for, as St. Hilary says, "Negotium apostolicis viris semper fuit constanti et publica fidei prædicatione conatus omnes oblatrantis hæresis comprimere;" and indeed this was a duty regarded in some degree as incumbent upon all men alike; since as the fathers said, "Christianus, alter Christus;" and it was observed that our divine Lord, when presented before the proud judge, answered nothing "de discipulis," but for his doctrine raised his head and voice, saying, "Ego palam locutus sum mundo;" "it was remarked for a general example that in all his passion He seldom or never made answer to any but in the behalf of truth or of his doctrine."† Hence St. Maximus, who endured such persecutions from the Arians and Monothelites, having his tongue torn out and his right hand cut off, from the effect of which torments he died in prison, had refused to be silent on the difference between these heresies and the Catholic Church, saying that upon that principle Jews and Christians might be united, as well as Catholics and Arians. "True peace," indeed, as Florus says, in his beautiful exposition of the Mass, written in the ninth century, "makes unity; not however by causing men to unite with error, but by inducing them, whatever they might risk, to renounce error, from avoiding which no one could be ever dispensed;" and on this point the words of St. Dionysius

* Stromat. Lib. vii. 15; vii. c. 17.

† Medit. for the use of the Eng. College at Lisbon, ii. c. 5.

of Alexandria were memorable: ought to suffer every thing rath excite a schism in the Church. T defense of the unity of the Churc glorious, and, even to my mind glorious than to refuse, at the exp one's life, to sacrifice to idols, becau dying for the general good of the sp Jesus Christ."

To the sufferings of the early C from the Arian, to Sabellian, Gnos Iconoclastic errors, as well as, fr Donatistic and Nestorian sects, all heresies as those, since the sixteen tury, armed by the civil power, rag a pagan violence against her childr faithful of the middle ages in gene curred as to ages of misery, whic never likely to return. But the intimately familiar with the acts o confessors and martyrs, and they ch their memory with all the ardou reverence of heroic men. "Truly w see," says the chivalrous author of t of Battles, "how in times past th Church has been in many great w must now mention the persons wh battle to the false heretics. Know well that the strongest in war were n St. Augustin, my lord St. Jerome, n St. Innocent, the first of that nam also my lord St. Gregory. These great in sanctity, in science, and in ture."* So along with the immortal n associated in every noble heart wi love of the highest and truest glory enshrined the memories of Pope Li of Faegadius and Servatius; of St Chrysostom, persecuted under Arc whom Pope Innocent I. in consec excommunicated; of St Basil, of S gentius, and St. Athanasius, pers by the emperor and his courtier bi How did the hearts of men, in ages o burn within them on hearing rec the persecutions of that holy char which he so heroically endured duri forty-six years of his episcopacy, fro hatred and violence of the Arians and schismatics! Truly his sufferings we morable. The blackest calumnies, c of murder, adultery, extortion, and sac were forged against him, and fals nesses suborned to swear to the tr the allegations: he was deposed by a council, and it was only by hiding h in cisterns, caverns, deserts, and by tary banishment that his life was pre

* L'Arbre des Batailles.

fury of the Arians. In this state nt combat he served Christ nearly s, under the reign of several Arian , while his resolute defence of the er slackened.

ersecutions of St. Cyril, of St. Nazianzen, and of the Pope St. were recounted at every hearth. ivalrous, how magnificent, was he reply of the latter to the Em- odora, who espoused the cause of s and of the Eutychians, that no earth should ever induce him to e Catholic faith! for which an- resolved to procure his deposition e, which was effected with such that he expired under it.

ames, that were familiar to the household words, recalled these ns. Then, as a domestic tradi- recounted the sufferings for the h were endured by St. Hilary of that trumpet of the Latins, as e styles him, when the Arian Em- stantius persecuted the church, and banishing all the bishops ed to adopt his measures. How knightly hearts of our fathers that greatness of soul evinced hen sighing for martyrdom, and himself superior to the fear of All whose memory was revered ng the persecuted. "I spent six ith Jerome," says Postumianus, d to maintain continual battle ie wicked; the flagitious hated heretics hated him; and clerks anners hated him."* Nor was n among the titles of St. Martin, ry knight regarded as his mirror, o had the glory of suffering per- rom the Arian invader of the see

Auxentius, who banished him ering his zeal for the Catholic us many glorious names, that fresh in the public recollection, that salutary horror for men of , whose title of miscreant passed m sanctioned, yea canonized, to ie noblest indignation. The suf- the church in Italy from the the time of Theodoric, and in m the kings who had embraced error, had even brought down the of these persecutions to the ich is principally embraced by ry. St. Leander, bishop of Se- ished and persecuted by the

* Sulp. Sev. Dialog. 267.

Arian king, Leovigild; Hermenegild, that king's eldest son and heir apparent, forced by his father into banishment, and afterwards slain by his order, because he would not receive the communion from the hand of an Arian bishop, were examples as of yesterday, pourtrayed in solemn paintings in the feudal hall, and constantly proposed by holy preachers during the middle ages for the instruction of youth, to preserve them from that deadly sin of readiness to comply with the manners and invitations of those who were traitors to the banner of the Church. To conceive the interest attached to these high lessons, in our heroic age, we should hear the narrative respecting the latter from the annals of the Gothic majesty, and mark how many stirring incidents were comprised in it to act as a spur upon the generous.

St. Hermenegild, the son of Leovigild, king of the Visigoths of Spain, who, with his brother Recarede, was brought up in the heresy of the Arians like his father, being moved and encouraged by the example and conversation of his pious Queen Ingondes, a zealous Catholic, daughter of Sigebert, king of Austrasia in France, who suffered cruel persecutions from Goswinde, the second wife of her father-in-law, threw himself into the arms of St. Leander, bishop of Seville, and taking advantage of his father's absence abjured his heresy, and was received into the Church. The father, on hearing of his son's conversion, was transported with rage, and ordered him to abdicate the title of king, which he already bore as sovereign prince, and to come and submit to his will. Hermenegild, though all the Catholics of Spain joined him, had no adequate means of defence. He sought assistance from the Roman army which the emperors of Constantinople retained in Spain, of which the chiefs swore to sustain his cause; and, at their encouragement, after enduring a siege of more than a year, he escaped from Seville, and arrived at the camp: but finding that they intended to betray him to his father, he fled to Cordova, and thence at the head of three hundred men to Osseto, which was well fortified: but not being able to hold out, the city was burnt, and the prince took refuge in its celebrated church. His father having recourse to treachery, sent his other son, Recarede, to promise him his pardon if he submitted. Hermenegild, trusting to his Arian brother, left the altar and resolved to throw himself at his father's feet; but he had no sooner

led him into the camp, than he stripped him of his royal dress, loaded him with chains, and sent him to the tower of Seville. In a horrible dungeon, Hermenegild resisted promises and menaces which were employed to draw him back to heresy, while he protested, that to his last breath he would preserve his love, respect, and duty, to his father. Easter being arrived, an Arian bishop was sent to him in the night to administer the communion; but he rejected his ministry with horror, and bore witness to the truth. The king then, in a transport of rage, sent some soldiers to dispatch him, who, on holy Saturday, the thirteenth of April, 586, clove his head with an axe, and scattered his brains upon the floor. His body was still preserved in Seville, and to his merits St. Gregory the Great has ascribed the conversion of the king Recarede, and of the whole nation of the Goths of Spain. The wretched father, without being converted, recommended on his death-bed Recarede to St. Leander, and besought him to learn the principles of the Catholic religion.

Such was the affecting history. The sufferings endured by Catholics for refusing to sanction the heresy of the Iconoclasts, being confined to the Eastern Church, had not left so deep and general an impression on the European mind, although the recollection of them was preserved as part of a glorious inheritance, to prove that, for every part of the sacred deposit of Catholic faith and discipline, some just men had generously met death. Some traits of this latter persecution were, indeed, more especially cherished, as evincing the perfidy and barbarism with which the pretensions to purer worship were supported. Such was the example of St. Theodore and his brother, two monks of St. Sabas, who, after being scourged in the presence of the Emperor Theophilus, for refusing to have communion with the Iconoclasts, whose heresy he favoured, had twelve iambic lines graven on their faces, from the effects of which long and cruel operation St. Theodore soon died: his brother survived it, and was even elected a bishop in happier times, when that heresy was no longer armed with the imperial power. Such again were the histories which recorded the sufferings of St. Stephen the younger, of St. Peter, St. Andrew, and of three hundred and nine monks commemorated by the Church, who, under Constantine Copronymus, shed their blood in testimony of Catholic truth, in regard to the honour due to holy images. Truly, the originals from which the adversaries of the Church in later times copied, were worthy of their pencil. St. Theodorus, the father of St. Nicephorus, and secretary to this emperor, for maintaining the respect due to images, in opposition to his master, was stripped of his dignities, tortured, and banished. His son becoming patriarch of Constantinople in 806, followed his steps in despising the rage of tyrants, and suffering persecution for the sake of truth. Leo, the Armenian, an Iconoclast, becoming emperor, studied by every means to gain over Nicephorus to his heresy; but the confessor replied, "We cannot change ancient traditions: we respect holy images as we do the cross and the book of the Gospels." When the emperor assembled in his palace certain Iconoclast bishops, and summoned the patriarch and his fellow bishops, they besought the emperor to leave the government of the Church to its pastors. "For the last eight hundred years, since the coming of Christ, there have been always pictures of him," said Ethymius, bishop of Sardes; "who shall now have the boldness to abolish such a tradition?" "Do not disturb the order of the Church, my lord," said St. Theodorus the Studite. "You are entrusted with the care of the state; but leave the Church to its pastors." They were then driven from the emperor's presence, and when, soon after, the Iconoclast bishops cited the patriarch to appear, he returned this answer, "Who gave you this authority? was it the pope? In my diocese you have no jurisdiction." They, however, pronounced a sentence of deposition against him, and the holy patriarch was sent by the emperor into banishment, in which, after fourteen years, he died. Thus, brought up in the lap of luxury and wealth, and loaded with the highest honours of the empire, he held fast to the traditions of the Church, preferred the miseries of exile before all the glittering things of the world, and delivered himself into the hands of persecutors.

Previously to the rise of this heresy, the Church beheld the commencement of other sufferings, from which her children in countless multitudes were to reap beatitude; but as these extended to the period to which our history immediately relates, it was better to depart a little from the order of time, and reserve to the next chapter the consideration of the persecutions from men of misdirected wills in matters of faith, to which Catholics in the middle ages were during certain intervals exposed.

CHAPTER IV.

"Aveto, cœli milites,
In asperis probati,
Fuso cruore nobiles,
Christique purpurati,
Quos execranda pravitas
Tot hæresum immolavit,
Et cæcior gentilitas
Sæve neci dicavit."

SUCH was the chant under the vaults of every Benedictine abbey, annually heard on the festival of all the saints of that holy family, attesting the two- persecutions to which the religious n fact, Catholics of every kind, were ccasionally liable.

two modes of action did the pagan ution continue during the middle

It was kept alive by a partial lin- resistance within countries already ted, accompanied with occasional ons from external pagans, and by ce to the apostolic men who proceeded ssionaries to regions still under the ation of idolaters. Of the former we any instances, and down to a later than is generally supposed. Thus, e eleventh century, St. Gerard, a ian by birth, and by vocation an e and Hungarian bishop, after being ed by the king, St. Stephen, was uted by his three successors, Peter moral prince, Abas, who evinced cruelty, and Andrew, cousin-german phen, who received the crown on ion that he would restore idolatry xtirpate Christianity. Gerard and other bishops immediately set out suade the new king from perpetrating crime, though their hopes of success have been small. On reaching the of the Danube, St. Gerard, after mass, said to his companions, "We ll suffer martyrdom this day, except shop of Benetha." They advanced e further, and were about to cross anube when they were assailed by soldiers under the command of Duke , who, after covering them with a r of stones, overturned the chariot. The saint raised himself on his knee and prayed aloud, "Lord, lay not this sin to their charge;" which words were hardly uttered when he was transpierced with a lance. Two of the other bishops shared with him the glory of martyrdom, but the king coming up rescued the other. This was in the year 1046.

St. Rupert, bishop of Worms in the seventh century, suffered persecution from the idolaters, who still existed in numbers in that country, who, after many injuries, drove him from his see, which was the occasion of his proceeding to Saltzbourg. St. Amand, bishop of Maestricht, suffered stripes and immersion for preaching the Gospel, to the pagan people of Ghent; and St. Mellitus, the first bishop of London, and founder of the church of St. Paul, was, after the death of the king Sebert, driven from his see by the three sons of that king, who then returned to the open profession of idolatry. Eloy, at Noyon, St. Ouen at Rouen, and many bishops in other parts of France, had to contend with this original element of persecution during the whole period of their episcopacy. The pagan invasions of Christian countries, and the consequent sufferings of the faithful, enriched the shrines of Christendom with the bodies of innumerable saints. It was in the year 774, that the Saxons chiefly persecuted the Church. They were soon followed by the Danes and Normans. In later times the Hungarians ravaged Germany, Gaul, and Italy; and by the hands of these pagan invaders, innumerable persons of both sexes and of every age, suffered death, refusing to renounce their faith. Thus St. Adrian, bishop of St. Andrew's, in Scotland, was martyred in 874 by the Danes, along with many others. Thus St. Elphegus, archbishop of Canterbury, suffered death from the same barbarians. In the reign of Duncan, king of Scotland, an army of Norwegians under Haco ravaged the Orkneys. St. Maing, a holy bishop, interfered, saying, "I am ready to die a thousand times for God and for his flock, but I command you in his name to spare

his people." His head was cut off with one blow. This was in 1104, in the island of Eglis, where he was interred. St. Eric, king of Sweden, being hated and despised for his piety by some of his subjects who continued attached to paganism, was martyred by them in 1151. They rose in arms on the day of the ascension. The king was at mass when he received the first intelligence of their march to attack him. "Let us finish the sacrifice," said he calmly; "the remainder of the festival will pass elsewhere." He advanced to meet them before his guards, wishing to spare the blood of his subjects; and so fell by their hands. A true Machabee of the Christians was the king St. Godescalc, whom Adam of Bremem terms the most powerful among the Sclavonic sovereigns. In consequence of his protection and encouragement, and even personal assistance as an interpreter, holy missionaries had converted the whole country of the idolaters, on the north of Germany, from the Elbe to Mecklenburg. In the year 1066, those who still continued attached to paganism in the duchy of Mecklenburg revolted. Godescalc was martyred by them in the town of Lanzin, while the priest Ebbon was poniarded upon the altar.

France for many ages beheld Christian blood shed in torrents for the faith by pagan invaders. A memorable instance was the martyrdom of St. Gohard, with priests, monks, and a crowd of the faithful, within the cathedral of Nantes, in 843, by the Normans. Similarly England, in which the first British blood shed by pagans for the faith was that of the holy Alban of Verulam, who received into his house a priest flying from his persecutors, continued for a long time liable to periodical invasions from the northern pagans, by whose hands many of her sons gained the crown of martyrdom.

Italy, in the sixth century, received the blood of many martyrs, forty of whom, who were peasants, are honoured by the Church on the second of March as having suffered death from the Lombards, for refusing to acquiesce in their idolatry. The persecutions inflicted by pagans, by means of sudden inroads upon Christendom, continued to much later times than is generally supposed. In the thirteenth century, the blessed Sadoc, of the order of St. Dominic, and forty-eight companions, were martyred by the Tartars as they sang the praises of God in the choir of their monastery of Sandomir in Poland. It was in the fearful invasion in 1240, when five hundred thousand of these barbarians carried desolation into Russia, Bulgaria, Poland, Hungary, and the frontiers of Germany, that Henry II. surnamed the Pious, the duke of Silesia, was slain. After the battle of Wolstadt, in which he fell, they marched against Breslau, where the prayers of an humble servant of God renewed the prodigies of Elijah and Elisha. It would be difficult to conceive an adequate idea of the horrors attending these pagan invasions. When all other persons had fled before them, the recluses and the aged monks used to remain and become their victims, suffering cruel torments. Thus, when the barbarians of East Friesland made an irruption upon Lower Austrasia, in the seventh century, St. Renelle, the sister of St. Gudule, along with two others, was found in the church, and cruelly slain at the foot of the altar. It was before observed, that the offices of the Church bear traces of the fear which paganism inspired. In an ancient manuscript, in the abbey of St. Hubert, in the forest of Ardennes, Dom Martene found a prayer against pagan persecutions, in these words: "Ecclesiam tuam quæsumus proprio sanguine Filii tui redemtam jugibus defende præsidiis, ut, persecutione paganorum procul repulsa, tibi omni tempore famuletur;"* and in the Roman missal, the missa contra paganos, of which the substitutions provided in the event of its being required during the paschal time are truly affecting, is still retained. The pagan persecution continued also during the middle ages under the original form of slavery, and to such an extent, that each record of the charity of holy men is an attestation of its pressure. As in the persecution by Decius and Maximin, when the piety of the Christians furnished a spectacle of heroic mercy towards those condemned to the mines, so in later times the alms of St. Cæsarius of Arles, of St. Germain of Paris, of St. Loup, of St. Eloi, and of innumerable other holy bishops, were applied to the redemption of Spanish, Irish, English, Breton, Gascon, and Burgundian victims, whom the pagans had reduced to captivity. Nevertheless, such persecutions, though so frequently recurring, were not sufficient to satiate the desire of men in the middle ages. To the second mode of action, therefore, we must refer, by which pagans were instrumental to the diffusion of the precious seed: and

* Voyage lit. p. 142.

here we shall be presented with majestic figures, which of themselves ought to have been more than sufficient to put to shame the rash declaimers who endeavoured to obscure the piety and the justice of those generations, by representing them as deficient in the true spirit and manner of divine religion.

"Quis," exclaims Tacitus, "quis porro, præter periculum horridi et ignoti maris, Asia, aut Africa, aut Italia relicta, Germaniam peteret, informem terris, asperam cœlo, tristem cultu, adspectuque, nisi si patria sit?" He could have little conceived the mind which led our missionaries to the regions of the north, where far other perils awaited them besides what he contemplated.

"Respicite et turbas validorum mente virorum
Qui magna in miseris pugnarunt prælia terris,
Nuncque Beatorum secura pace fruuntur."*

To the persecutions and martyrdom of the illustrious apostle St. Boniface, in the eighth century, we have alluded incidentally in former books:

"Multa tulit fecitque puer, spretisque periclis
Verbum evangelii medios portavit in hostes."†

Such was his ardour for this work of peril, that he made three journeys to the country of the heathens, having returned from the first to his monastery in Devonshire, and from the second to Rome. Fifty-two other Christians suffered martyrdom along with him on the vigil of Pentecost. When the pagans advanced to massacre the pious troop assembled to assist at confirmation, the saint exhorted them to make no resistance. As for himself, he said that the day he had long waited for was come, and he encouraged the rest to meet with joy and constancy a death which was the gate of heaven. When St. Winebald accompanied him in 738 into Thuringia, the idolaters often attempted his life by poison and by open violence, but escaping, by the Divine protection, he continued his zealous labours to dilate the fold of Christ. Before his time, it had long been a common thought of holy persons to devote their lives to spread light and love among the heathen people. St. Gombert, brother of St. Nivard, bishop of Rheims, in the seventh century proceeded to the sea-coast of Holland, to preach to the idolaters. He built a monastery at Oldenzel, in the diocese of Utrecht, where he used to harbour the poor and redeem prisoners; but the barbarians in the end sacrificed him.

Who could enumerate all the martyrs among the missionaries in Saxony and Friesland in the eighth century; or among the Danes, Norwegians, and Swedes, where such multitudes of English and Irish priests were crowned with the glory of martyrdom, from the eighth to the eleventh; or amongst the south-eastern Sclavonians, Bohemians, Lithuanians, and Prussians, from the ninth to the fourteenth century? Mark what figures pass. Here is St. Erluph, bishop of Verden, a missioner from Scotland to the east of Germany, martyred for the faith by the idolaters in 830, near Eppokstorp. Here is Tancon, or Tatta, at first a monk of Amabaric in Scotland, and then abbot, who, through desire of martyrdom, departed to preach the gospel in Germany, after the example of Patton, his predecessor. Elected bishop of Verden to succeed him, he was assassinated in 815 by one of the wicked, who were exasperated on account of his preaching against the lives of bad Christians. Here is St. Wolfred, an Englishman and a bishop in Sweden, who in 1028 suffered death from the hands of the pagans, for destroying with his own hand the great idol of the country called Thor, though he acted with the sanction of the king, Olaus II. St. Eskill, who follows, is his fellow-countryman and labourer in the same land, where he is honoured as an apostle, and one of the most illustrious martyrs of Christ. On the return of St. Anschaire from Sweden, where he had founded a numerous church, the people resumed their ancient superstitions, and the news of their apostasy filled with sorrow the north of England. Then St. Sigefride, archbishop of York, resolved to undertake a mission to recover them, and Eskill, his relation, accompanied him. When Sigefride left Sweden, Eskill remained as bishop of that church, and greatly extended it, till the accession of Swenon the bloody, under whose reign paganism was re-established, the saint being stoned to death for preaching Christ. Here is St. Henry, archbishop of Upsal, another Englishman and apostle of the north, along with Nicholas Breakspear, his countryman, subsequently Pope Adrian IV. who, after losing sight of his fellow-labourer, evangelised Finland, and was stoned to death in 1151. St. Eloy, whom we have before so often met, is also here; for he

* Pastoral for 1841, by John Leonardus, bishop of Fulda. † Ibid.

too at one time exposed his life every day, while preaching to the pagans among the Flemings about Antwerp and the Frisons and Suevi. These barbarians, like wild beasts, at first were ready to tear him to pieces; yet he persevered, desiring nothing more than martyrdom, and succeeded in adding a great part of Flanders to the fold of Christ. This was in the seventh century. Here is, too, St. Rumold, an Anglo-Saxon, the patron of Malines, who laboured in the same country, and suffered martyrdom in 775. Here is St. Adalbert, another familiar face, bishop of Prague in the tenth century. This holy man being shocked at the heathen manners of his flock, among whom prevailed the crimes of one man having many wives, of the marriage of clerks, and of the purchase of slaves in such numbers that the bishop could not redeem them all, concluded, after long and urgent efforts to correct them, that he would better leave them than lose his labour on an obstinate and perishing people. Encouraged in this project by a vision of our Saviour in the night, he set out as a pilgrim bound for Jerusalem, but at Rome he resolved to enter a monastery, and retired into the cloister of Mount-Cassino, whence, after some time, he removed to that of St. Alexius on Mount Aventine. Being prevailed upon to return to Prague, the whole city went out to meet him, and, with every demonstration of joy and reverence, they promised to correct their former habits; but finally, being more convinced of the inutility of all his efforts, and being overwhelmed with affliction at certain events, he withdrew a second time, and returned in 995 to Rome, where he resumed his peaceful monastic life. In obedience to the desire of Pope Gregory V., he in the year 996 prepared to preach the gospel to the heathen people of the north; and for this purpose he left his beloved cloister on Mount Aventine, and repaired in the first instance to Mainz, where he had an interview with the Emperor Otho: on which occasion, it is said, he instructed him how he ought to govern the republic, and rule over himself in all his deeds, both before God and men. Innumerable perils, insults, and sufferings awaited him in Prussia. When struck, so as to be obliged to let the Psalter fall out of his hands, his only words were, "I thank thee, O Lord Jesus, that I am worthy to receive at least one blow for thy sake." Soon after his arrival he received the crown of martyrdom. But, though we descend to later times, these solemn forms now advance in such close-crowding throngs as to defy a scrutiny of each. What denotes this immense assemblage of friars of the orders of St. Francis and St. Dominic? These were all martyred in the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries by pagans, to whom they preached the Gospel.* Of most, the world has forgotten both the name and country. Their sepultures, even to their respective orders, are unknown. "O that some tongue had power to leave one sparkle of their glory unto the race to come, that would not lose the benefit of their triumph, if it could waken aught of memory by record sung! But, alas, profound indifference is all they can expect to meet with from men who are idolaters of ease. Pass on, ye sons of Eve! swell out, and with stiff necks turn your looks aside, lest one glance from these holy cross-bearers should mar your peace."†

Among the neophytes too was quickly diffused beatitude by sufferings for Christ. Thus Fingar, son of an Irish king, was banished by his father for having received honourably St. Patrick, and for having embraced Christianity at his preaching. This prince sought refuge in Britanny, where he afterwards suffered martyrdom. Would you hear the moving strains with which all these pacific men advanced to the terrible nations that sat in darkness, saying with a placid breast, like Ilioneus, to the sovereign of a strange land,

> "Parce pio generi, et propius res aspice nostras?"‡

The Catholic poet does but faithfully recount them in the words which he ascribes to the apostle of Ireland:

> "——Great sir, we come not to distract
> Your peace: look on our number; we bring no
> Signs of stern war, no invasive force, to draw
> Fear or suspicion, or your frowns upon us.
> A handful of poor naked men we are,
> Thrown on your coast, whose arms are only prayer,
> That you would not be more unmerciful
> Than the rough seas, since they have let us live
> To find your charity."

Would you mark, at the same time, the high tone of supernatural authority with which they announced their purpose? Then hear the sequel:—

> "————Know, great king, I have
> Commission for my stay. I came not hither

* Martyrologium Franciscanum.
† Dante. ‡ i. 526.

ut command, legate from Him, before
angry breath the rocks do break and thaw;
ose nod the mountains humble their proud
ls;
irth, the water, air, and heaven, are His;
ll the stars that shine with evening flames
out their trembling when they wait on Him:
upreme King's command I have obey'd,
ent me hither to bring you to Him,
is still wandering nation to those springs
souls are everlastingly refresh'd;
hose gardens, whose immortal flowers
your imagin'd shades and blest abodes."*

re is, in truth, no point of view in the history of the middle ages appears admirable, than when we attend to rodigious ardour which continually ed holy men to win beatitude, by ng persecutions for justice in convert- gan nations. The mere view of the of five Franciscan martyrs, brought Morocco by Don Pedro, infant of al, made such an impression on St. ny of Padua, who was then at Coim- at he formed a resolution of shedding od in Africa for Christ. St. Boniface, in of the emperor Otho III., and f one of the most illustrious families, ering a church dedicated under the tion of St. Boniface the martyr, felt ily inflamed with a desire to imitate "I am called Boniface," said he; should not I also be a martyr?" that moment he never ceased sighing he happiness of dying for the faith. these dispositions, having obtained sion from St. Romuald his superior, ceeded to Prussia, where he preached idolaters, and thence to the frontiers sia, where he had his wish fulfilled, ng death in 1009 from the barbarians, with eighteen other Christians.

ards the close of the middle ages the listant regions of the old and new witnessed the fruits of that heroic f martyrdom which was fostered within dal castles and monasteries of Europe; these we can only cast a glance in . What multitudes in the sixteenth suffered persecutions for the faith n, where Jesuits, Franciscans, Domi- and even the boys who used to serve , were actually crucified; while innu- e persons of all conditions bore tor- vith invincible constancy till death. essed Alphonso Navaret, of the order Dominic, and Ferdinand, an Augus- Friar, were arrested while in the very preaching, and beheaded.

* Shirley.

Among these martyrs of Japan was Father Charles Spinola, of that noble house of Genoa, who became a Jesuit, at Nola, when his uncle Cardinal Spinola was bishop of that city. Desiring to shed his blood for Christ, he joined the missionaries for Japan in 1602, and suffered by fire on the second of September, 1622. His letter from a dungeon to his cousin Maximilian Spinola breathes all the fervour of the martyr. "O how sweet it is to suffer for Jesus Christ!" saith he; "I cannot find words to express what I feel since we are in prison. What happiness for me if at next Easter I may be permitted to sing in heaven with the blessed! Of the joy which I feel in this state I cannot give you the most remote idea."

How many martyrs again, during the same century, from among the Spanish clergy in the Brazils, who from first to last evinced the spirit of the primitive witnesses of Christ! How perfectly did the manners of these converters of nations resemble those of the Apostles who first diffused the light of the Gospel through the gentiles! In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries innumerable persons suffered martyrdom for the faith in China, amongst whom were many Jesuits and Dominican friars, who suffered tortures indescribable and death for the Christian religion. An instance of the calm premeditation with which these glorious confessors prepared for the fate which awaited them, may be witnessed in the letter which St. Francis Xavier wrote, after agreeing with the Chinese merchants who were to introduce him into Canton. "In this affair," he says, "I see two dangers almost inevitable: on the one hand, there is great reason to fear that the idolatrous merchant, having received the price of my passage, may throw me into the sea, or abandon me on some desert island; and, on the other, that the governor of Canton should resolve to make an example of me, to discourage all future strangers, making me either die in torture or condemning me to a perpetual prison; but so that I obey the voice of my Lord, which calls me, I count for nothing my liberty and my life."*

But there was another source of persecution, on account of the highest justice, during the middle ages, furnished by men who openly and professedly resisted the Gospel of Jesus Christ. It was in her second period, between the years 313 and 680, that the Church beheld the origin and rapid progress

* Bouhours, Vie de S. F. X. 11. 186.

of Mahometanism, by resisting and enduring the cruelties, of which execrable superstition such multitudes of her children were to reap beatitude. In the year 632 Mahomet proposed his doctrine; in 642 his followers laid waste Sicily; in 717 they invaded Spain, of which they soon took possession; in a short time they were masters of Asia, Syria, Egypt, Mesopotamia, Judæa, Rhodes, Greece, Thrace, Bulgaria, Illyria, Mysia, Pannonia, and a great part of Africa. In 875 they again invaded Campania, and devastated Italy. Finally, in 1453, after a sanguinary struggle, they seized Constantinople, which became their seat of empire. Such was the progress of this terrible persecution; and if we demand in what condition were the Christians who witnessed it during all these ages, truly in words less than in tears should be the reply. We have had occasion to remark, in a former book, that it was the persecution of Christians in the east which led to the crusades. The master of the templars, Bertrand de Blancford, in his letter to King Louis VII., expressly styles the Turks "the persecutors of truth and faith."*

In fact, many of the heroic men, who sought to restrain them, became themselves victims, or rather sealed the glory of their enterprise by true martyrdom. St. Adjuteur, son of John, Seigneur de Vernon, and of Rosemonde de Blaru, after receiving a holy education from his mother, took arms in the crusade with the French knights, and, being made prisoner by the Sarassins, endured every kind of cruel treatment rather than renounce his faith. St. Louis in the memorable act of burying with his own hands the body of a crusader, applied to all who had fallen in resisting them, the epithet of martyr—"Allons enterrer les martyrs de Jésus Christ." Joinville says, that in consideration of the sufferings of that holy king, "one does not exalt him enough when one does not count him as a martyr." And it appears, from a circumstance related by the seneschal, that the Sarassins themselves understood the motive of the Crusaders; for on one occasion they reminded their prisoners that they were only suffering persecutions for the sake of Him who suffered for them, and that they ought to be consoled by the remembrance of his example.

As we before remarked, it entered into the chivalrous mind of the middle ages to endeavour that all persecution for justice should cease throughout the world. The idea was assuredly generous, and, in a society so wonderfully subject to the domination of faith, perhaps less absurd than some may be disposed to think. But still, of course, as events demonstrated, the order of Divine Providence did not require that it should be realized, or productive of any other results beyond the admiration which must be ever due to heroic deeds of charity. But if this thought of the middle ages appear in history only in the light of a sublime speculation, there were other wheels in movement provided specifically to meet the dangers and sufferings of Christians, which led to positive results in strict accordance with that divine economy which ordains beatitude for those who suffer persecution on account of justice. To redeem the captives who languished in the dungeons of the Moors, to encourage to perseverance in their faith the Christians whom they had reduced to slavery, to procure spiritual and corporal assistance for the victims of their cruel persecution; such were the objects to which innumerable persons in Spain, Italy, France, and in the British islands, devoted their wealth, their genius, and their lives. The Trinitarians, for the redemption of captives, whose founders were St. John of Matha, and St. Felix de Valois, possessed forty-three houses in England, fifty-two in Ireland, and nine in Scotland. On a former occasion we observed in relation to works of mercy, the deep interest inspired by every book relating to the origin and progress of these institutions; and here we should note, that respecting persecution on account of justice, the history of the order of our Lady of Mercy by the fathers of the same order,* and the accounts of the different voyages for the redemption of captives to the kingdoms of Algiers and Tunis by the Trinitarians,† contain a mine of most curious information, which can no where else be found.

In a monastery of the order of our Lady of Mercy in Spain, one saw represented, in a long series of paintings by Zurbaran, the different tortures and modes of death suffered by these fathers in the Moorish lands, which had been thus pictured from the testimony of eye-witnesses, as recorded in the archives of the house. Of some, the great renown had inclined most men to inquire their history, at which we can only glance in passing.

It would be long to recount the persecutions for the faith which were endured by

* Ap. Brial, Recueil des Historiens de la France, tom. xvi. 38.

* In fol. 1685, Amicus.
† A Paris, 1721; à Rouen, 1731.

St. Peter Nolasco, in the thirteenth century, and by the brethren of his order of Mercy, during their heroic labours in Algiers to convert the infidels and ransom the Christian slaves, while burning with such a holy desire of martyrdom.

St. Serapion, an Englishman, and one of the first disciples of St. Peter Nolasco, made two journeys, one to Murcia and the other to Algiers, to redeem captives. At Algiers, while detained as a hostage till full payment was made of the sum agreed upon, he converted and baptized many Mahometans. But his zeal cost him his life, in 1240, and Benedict XIII. declared him martyr in 1728, the fathers of the Redemption having esteemed him as such from the first, observing his festival on the fourteenth of November.

At Tarragona, the blessed Peter Armengol, of the same order, is honoured in an especial manner. After suffering many persecutions in Africa for the redemption of the faithful, he finished his course in the monastery of St. Mary of the Meadow. How many sufferings again were undergone by St. John of Matha, founder of the order of the Trinitarians, in the twelfth century, for the redemption of captives! How many persecutions did he endure, exhorting the slaves to patience and constancy in their faith!

It was in the thirteenth century that St. Raymund Nonnatus was moved by the sufferings of the Christians to embrace the new order of our Lady of Mercy. For encouraging the captives in Algiers, and for converting and baptizing some Mahometans, he was condemned to be impaled; but the sentence was commuted for a cruel bastinado; but as he continued to exercise his ministry, his lips were bored with a red-hot iron, and his mouth closed with a padlock, the key of which was kept by the governor, and only given to the keepers when he was to eat. He was loaded with irons and cast into a dark dungeon, where he lay eight months, until his ransom was brought, and he was commanded by his general to return to Europe. Even when well received by the greedy governors, who longed to count the treasures they were laying at their feet for ransom, these holy monks, from the hour of their landing, were almost always exposed to the hisses, and insults, and blows of the populace.* Yet nothing could daunt or diminish their zeal.

St. Peter Paschal, a monk of the order of Mercy, who suffered death through his charitable zeal to redeem the Christian slaves, and to preach to the Moors, and who was murdered in Granada by the infidels at the foot of the altar while making his thanksgiving after having said mass, was descended from the ancient family of Paschal, which had given five martyrs to the Church.

Another class of devoted men, who often closed their labours in behalf of the persecuted slaves upon the Barbary coast by martyrdom, was that of the vicars apostolic in Algiers, who were always chosen from the congregation of St. Lazarus, since its establishment there by the zeal of St. Vincent de Paul. To the admirable constancy of these men amidst incessant dangers, all the religious missionaries bore witness. In 1683, Vacher, who then held that office, suffered death by being placed at a cannon's mouth by order of the dey Meze-morto; and in 1688, his successor Montmasson obtained the crown of martyrdom by the same kind of death.* But above all, it was in the sufferings of the slaves, that the persecution produced an abundant harvest. In fact, the Church was almost daily gaining new confessors or martyrs, who, by some chance falling into the hands of the Mahometans, chose slavery or death, rather than renounce their faith.

St. Leo, bishop of Bayonne in the ninth century, the apostle of the Basques, was thus martyred by Sarassin pirates. St. Porcaire and five hundred monks were put to death by the same enemies in 731, when they attacked the abbey of Lerins, and slew the whole community one by one, each refusing to renounce Christ. What was the consternation in the abbey of Cluny one day in the tenth century, when a letter containing four lines arrived, to announce that St. Mayeul, the abbot returning from Rome, had been seized by the Sarassins of Fressinet, with a great troop of people, who had thought themselves safe in the company of such a holy man. The saint, who for himself desired martyrdom, but who trembled and wept for the fate of the poor people, of whose capture he was the occasion, used ever after to glory in the wound he received, while stretching out his hand to screen one of them, who was about to be pierced by a dart hurled from the top of a rock by one of the Sarassins.

Down to the present century, the perse-

* Hist. de Mouley Ismaël, 16.

* Voyage de Alger et de Tunis en 1720, par les P.P. Maturins.

cutions suffered on the Barbary coast and in Constantinople by the captives, equalled the sufferings of the primitive Christians condemned by pagans to the mines. The king of Morocco, at the suggestion of the Marabouts, caused some of his Christian slaves, while a monk of the order of the holy Trinity was negociating in their favour, to be thrown into a den with lions. This tyrant, Mouley Ismaël, used to sacrifice multitudes of them with his own hand. If he found any of them resting from their labours, he used to wound or slay them; and the fathers of the Redemption record the names of many who thus perished.* It is said that he caused the death of more than six hundred slaves of the French nation alone, whom no tortures could prevail on to apostatize.† In 1702, a Neapolitan captain, having at first had the weakness to renounce the Christian name, repented so deeply that he went to the governor, and declared that, to repair his crime, he was ready to die for the faith. He received absolution from a monk disguised as a slave, and then being placed alive upon a pile, expired in the flames. During some years, the slaves in Morocco were allowed to celebrate the four festivals of Easter, Christmas, the Nativity of St. John, and that of the blessed Virgin, but on each occasion it was necessary to have the licence renewed; and, for demanding it, many of them suffered cruel bastinados, and even death. In 1690, the slaves deputed to ask leave to celebrate the feast of St. John received five hundred blows; and on the day of the festival, as some of them were not to be found at work, the king with his own hand slew François de Tuissy, who had a certain authority over them, and condemned all the rest to receive blows, and to work during three days and nights without ceasing. But to understand the horrors of this persecution, we should consult the writings of the monks of the different orders who were employed in redeeming them. The numbers whom they delivered were indeed prodigious, but how many remained in this bondage till their death! Meanwhile, the Christian slaves in the galleys at Constantinople were, if possible, in a more deplorable state, as no Latin monks were permitted to have access to them, though some fathers of the company of Jesus contrived to elude the law, and administer to them spiritual succour. Through the whole Turkish empire, every year added fresh supplies of victims. Innumerable French, Italian, and Spanish families, from their neighbourhood to the Mediterranean or Adriatic, or to the frontiers of the Moorish kingdoms, had members carried off, and from slavery and martyrdom sent to heaven. In one of the tales of Cervantes, a whole family, enjoying a party of pleasure in a garden on the sea-shore, is thus surprised and seized by a band of corsairs who had landed from two galleys, and escaped the observation of the sentinels who kept watch on the towers along the shore. Deeply affecting, wildly romantic, and not less faithful to historic truth, are the adventures furnished by corsairs of Africa to the old Spanish and Italian writers. In the lists of redeemed slaves published by the religious orders which had delivered them, we find enumerated persons of all conditions and ages, many of whom had been captured in their youth, and retained till old age had rendered them incapable of labouring in chains. Le Blanc was delivered in his eighty-second year, after thirty-three years of slavery; Piqueline, aged sixty, had been a slave forty-five years; Dunic, of Ostend, only ten years of age, had been a slave eighteen months; Mary-Anne du Bourk was in her ninth year, and her servants said, that amidst the horror of their captivity, they owed to her courage and remonstrances, their resolution to die rather than fail in fidelity to God. In the palace of the doges at Venice, Leander Albertus remarked many solemn pictures of illustrious Venetians, who preferred dying by the hands of the infidels, to renouncing their faith. There he beheld amongst them the figures of Albano Armario, and of Marc Antonio Bragadini, and of many others. Innumerable were the glorious martyrs of Italy, when the Turks used to take cities in Calabria, and offer for the only condition of life the renouncement of Christ. Examples are given by Leander Albertus,* and by many of the old local historians, as by Antonio Galatea.†

In several provinces of Spain too, during many centuries, Christians had not to leave their homes or fall into corsairs' hands, by singular mischances, in order to suffer persecution for their faith from the Moors. Between the year 850 and 960, under Abderrahman II., Muhammed I., and Abderrahman III., violent persecutions raged. Torrents of blood, the blood of priests,

* Hist. du Règne de Mouley Ismaël, p. 156.
† Id. 173.

* Descriptio Italiæ, 467.
† De Japiag. in Thes. Ital. Antiq.

, and laics, flowed over the land, and
ılly in Cordova, the seat of the Moor-
wer. Then was the holy Eulogius,
hop of Toledo, who has described as
-witness the sufferings of the martyrs,
of whom he encouraged to perse-
glorified with a martyr's crown. In
ar 860, St. Perfect, a priest of Cor-
nerely in consequence of his sermons
Christians, was martyred by them.
3, St. Columba, a nun of the same
as beheaded by them for professing
a Christian before their tribunals.
the violence of the persecution in
ır 850, Reccafrede, a bishop, through
f displeasing the Moors, declared
: the martyrs, and even caused many
to be thrown into prison. Two
later, a great number of Christians
d the crown. St. Eulogius, of a
ian family of Cordova, a priest, in
as among the glorious martyrs who
l for the faith from the hands of the
in that capital of their kingdom. His
e mildness was united to evangelical
With joy he exposed his life by
ing the cause of a young lady, Leo-
of Moorish family, who being a Chris-
as persecuted for conscience sake;
e Almighty was pleased to reward his
th the purple crown of martyrdom.
, as in the history of the pagan per-
ns, we must observe the multitudes
apostolic men who suffered death
he hands of the Mahometans, for
ing the Gospel to them, as mission-
pointed for that purpose, and autho-
ly sent. These were chiefly friars
two families of Francis and Dominic.
hat deep interest, while perambulat-
cloisters of their religious houses on
ıtinent, have I marked the old paint-
presenting the martyrdom of different
n of their respective orders! How
ong the strangers who ask admittance
ave ever even heard of such men or
events! But open the martyrolo-
the different orders, and there you
d, at least, sometimes in minute de-
e history of each, often containing
s of the most affecting nature. Read-
Martyrologium Franciscanum, one
k with amaze, at the number of friars
ed by the Turks and Moors, to whom
eached the Gospel, evincing that in-
y and self-devotion, which in their
c founder appeared so marvellous to
an, that he sent him back under an
o the camp of the crusaders, after
ıending himself to his prayers.

Some of these persecuted missionaries, by means of the Church, have secured on earth a perpetual renown. Such are the five friars, Berardo, Pietro, Accursio, Ajuto, and Otho, charged by St. Francis, in 1219, to preach to the Moors, who were decapitated for the faith in Morocco, in 1220, whence their relics were ransomed and brought to Coimbra, where they still are found in the church of the Holy Cross. Such are again the seven friars, Daniel, Samuel, Angelo, Donulo, Leo, Nicholas, and Hugolin, who suffered the following year at Ceuta, for preaching Christ, whose beautiful letter, addressed to the Christian merchants of the suburbs, written in their dungeon, forms such a precious relic for the veneration of all ages. St. John de Prado, a Spanish Franciscan, is another example which, in consequence of the bull of Benedict XIII., is familiar to the ears of the faithful. This holy friar preaching in the kingdom of Fez and Morocco, by order of the congregation of the Propaganda, experienced all the fury of the Mahometans, imprisonment, chains, cruel bastinados, and other tortures, and, in fine, consummated his sacrifice by fire in 1636. The blessed John, of Perugia, and Pietro de Saso-Ferrato, of the same order, having been sent into Spain to preach to the Moors, were beheaded for fulfilling their mission, by order of Agoze, king of Valencia, in 1230. Gentil, born of an illustrious family of Matelica, in the marshes of Ancona, after being twice guardian of Alvernia, obtained permission to preach in the east. He baptized more than fifteen thousand Persians, and finally received the palm of martyrdom on his journey to Mount Sinaï.

St. Joseph, of Leonissa, a Capuchin friar, being sent in 1587 by his order to Constantinople, on the mission of Pera, converted many apostates, of whom one was a pacha. After being twice imprisoned by the Mahometans, he was condemned to death. They suspended him on a gibbet by one foot and one hand, and left him in that state for a long time. The sultan, however, commuted his sentence to exile, and he was taken down. He landed at Venice, and after an absence of two years, returned to his convent of Leonissa, in the states of the Church, where he died in 1612.

But to retrace our steps to earlier times. We have so often had occasion to remark the many points on which the history of Europe, in the middle ages requires to be re-written, that in noticing a fresh instance of the error of popular opinions resulting

from a study of the modern works, it seems hardly worth while to repeat the observations respecting that blindness of history as now conveyed, and to lament again its old accustomed ways. In a former book we had occasion to refute the charge of intolerance adduced against the middle ages, in regard to the treatment of the Jews. It remains in this place to assume other ground, and show briefly, from the testimony of historians, that Christians during these ages suffered frequently a real persecution for their faith, from these very Jews whom they are accused of having oppressed, and against whom unquestionably they were occasionally inflamed with a spirit of cruel retaliation. And here, not to glance at the conduct of the latter throughout the vast regions of the east, where, as at the present day, they frequently took occasion to persecute their fellow-sufferers, either by direct violence, or by instigating against them the Mahometan authorities; or at their conduct in Spain, where many of them were the ministers and generals of the Arabic kings,* and where, during the Moorish domination, others of their nation opened the gates of more than one Christian city to the Arabs;† but confining our observations to what passed commonly in the very centre of Christendom amongst the European nations, we find evidence to demonstrate that the position of the Jews in regard to the Christian society in general, however deficient in point of dignity, was one of great influence and power, enabling several individuals amongst them to oppress the people, and often secretly to counteract the exertions of the Church in propagating religion; while isolated and unavowed deeds of darkness, emanating from the mysticism of night, revealed from time to time to the terrified population the malignant hatred with which their faith was regarded by those to whom they had often rashly, and sometimes through necessity, subjected themselves.

"Persecution by the Jews is not wanting to us," says Bellarmin, "for by usuries the Hebrews every where injure the faithful, and where they can, they impose upon the Christians and deceive them."‡ We have seen the horror with which the sin of usurious oppression was regarded in the middle ages. "A usurer by the ancient laws was to walk round the church on three successive Sundays, holding in his hand the holy water, barefooted, and with a Jew's hat on his head."* If such laws still prevailed, we should witness singular processions now; but in the middle ages, among Christians, these were rare examples. In 1478, a certain Francis de Pizicardis, a great and cruel usurer, was buried in the church of St. Francis, in Placentia. "It happened," says a contemporary writer, "to rain torrents during many days; till a report spread through the city, that it would never cease as long as the said body was in holy ground. The young men of the city in a body, as if convoked by the bishop, went to the said church, burst the gates, dug up the body, and dragged it by a cord through all the streets of the city; and as they passed the house of one old woman, she ran out and insulted it, saying, 'Give me back my eggs,' for she had given him two fresh eggs every day, interest for a ducat which she owed him. At length it was dragged out of the city, suspended from a certain willow, and finally thrown into the Po. And strange to relate, adds the quaint annalist, the rain then ceased."†

Usury was the sleepless sin: "its master sleeping," says Cæsar of Heisterbach, "it sleeps not, but always mounts, and increases." "The usurer who remained at home quietly seated, and despising the labours of those who took up the cross for the love of Christ, was seen, it was said, in visions, at the time when the cross was preached in the diocese of Utrecht, receiving in hell a seat of fire."‡ Meanwhile, however, he enjoyed a position in this world which his heart most coveted.

We have seen elsewhere, that these Hebrew usurers were the bailiffs of many of the feudal nobility, in which capacity they could exercise an almost uncontrolled tyranny over the poor. Often, too, they were closely allied to the rulers of states, some of whom were but faint sticklers for the faith. "We of the court," says the Franciscan Antonio de Guevara, in a tone of bitter irony, "we of the court are so embarrassed, that we have constantly to write epistles ad Hebræos, though not exactly like that of the apostle." If it were so at the court of Charles V., what must it have been under a Henry II. in England, or a Philip-le-Bel in France? Assuredly these Hebrews were not always the persecuted. It is acknowledged by themselves that the kings of

* Levinsohn's Conversat. 84.
† Roderic. Toletanus, de Reb. Hisp. iii. 20.
‡ De Gemitu Columb. ii. 4.

* Michelet's Origines du Droit, 394.
† Diarium Parmense, ap. Muratori, Rer. Ital. Script. tom. xxii.
‡ Illust. Mirac. Lib. ii. 7, 8.

Poland at one time showed them more favour than they did their Christian subjects, and that the Christians in Poland were first induced to look upon them with jealousy, in consequence of the superior estimation in which the Polish rulers and governors held them."* But let us attend to what occurred generally. Facts best will witness if I speak the truth. Hear then what Peter of Blois says:

"If a bishop or priest be killed, the crime is winked at; while, for killing a Jew, the most exact justice is exercised. Of all the multitude concerned in the murder of blessed Thomas, not one lost an ear; but when the wife of Aaron the Jew was killed, the whole earth shuddered at the exquisite punishments inflicted upon the authors and counsellors of the act."†

The tract of Agobard addressed to Louis-le-Débonnaire "De Insolentia Judæorum," conveys a curious picture of the relation in which that people stood to the Christians amongst whom they dwelt. To the emperor he says, "Gerricus and Frederic and Everard came here to Lyons, your envoys, though not in your interest, but in that of another; and they showed themselves terrible to the Christians, and mild to the Jews, especially at Lyons, where they caused a persecution of the Church. These envoys said that the Jews were dear in your eyes."

Agobard declares that the persecution he has suffered from those who favoured the Jews, has arisen solely from his having told the Christians in his sermons that they ought not to sell their serfs to the Jews, nor permit the Jews to sell Christians to the Moors in Spain, nor to have Christian servants for themselves, lest the latter should be compelled by them to keep their Sabbath, to work on Sundays, and to eat meat with them in Lent. "While I was writing this tract," he says, "there has arrived here a man who escaped from Spain, flying from Cordova, who says, that he had been stolen by a certain Jew at Lyons, twenty-four years ago, while a boy, and sold. He made his escape this year with another who had been stolen at Arles by another Jew, six years before. We have heard also, that others have been stolen and sold at Lyons this present year."

Was it not then, we may ask, a persecution on account of justice, when wretches could be found, as now, who bargained for their son or daughter, as did corsairs for their slaves.

* Levinsohn's Conversat. 92.
† De Instit. Episcopi.

—— "O avarice!
What canst thou more, who hast subdued our blood
So wholly to thyself? they feel no care
Of their own flesh!"*

In a letter to Nibridrius, Agobard speaks of the evils and immoralities arising to Christian servants from their intercourse with the Jews, who often endeavoured to corrupt them; to the results of which perversion, Dante perhaps makes allusion, where he says,

—— "when by evil lust enticed,
Remember ye be men, not senseless beasts;
Nor let the Jew, who dwelleth in your streets,
Hold you in mockery."†

Nevertheless, Agobard was animated by that true Catholic spirit which desired to defend the Jews from violence, whenever the sufferings of the people from them led to an explosion, or the policy of kings to a legalized attack. "Notwithstanding," he says, "these things, since the Jews live amongst us, we ought not be be malignant towards them, nor be adverse to their life, or health, or riches, but we should observe the limits ordained, and clearly laid down by the Church, to teach us only how to be cautious and humane towards them."‡

This and nothing more was meant by St. Hilary, when, as Agobert observes, he teaches us to refrain from social intercourse with Jews. St. Cæsarius of Arles, with thirty-five bishops and vicars assembled in the name of the Lord for the defence of Catholic truth, ordained that all clerks and laymen should avoid the banquets of the Jews, and avoid entertaining them—and Priscus, bishop of Lyons, with other bishops, decreed that no Christian should presume to partake of banquets with the Jews, on pain of excommunication. Now, in fact, it was the kind of men against whom these synodial decrees were directed, who were the real persecutors of the Jews by being utterly careless of their spiritual interests, provided they could reap advantage from their services; while the Church, without any regard to what might expose her to sufferings, was constantly interposing to promote them. The position of the Jews was often virtually and even legally independent of the Christian society, to such a degree as to interfere with the most sacred obligations. Not merely after acquiring vast possessions could they defy the clergy, who

* Dante, Purg. 20. † Par. v.
‡ De Insolentia Judæorum.

demanded the tithes which had been paid by all former proprietors, but it appears that the clergy were forbidden by law to exercise their ministry in favour of persons who might desire it, while dependent on the Jews. Against this persecution Agobard raised his voice. "Every man," he says, "is the creature of God, and though a servant to one man, he belongs more to God, who created him in the womb, and brought him forth to the light of this life, and preserved him in it, than to him who gives him twenty or thirty solidi for his corporal service. Therefore, I conclude, that we are bound to admit the pagan servants of the Jews to baptism, when they desire it, whatever the master of the palace or the law of the emperor may say to the contrary; for beyond all doubt a servant, while he owes the service of his limbs to his carnal master, owes the religion of his mind to his Creator alone:" thus writes the prelate to Adalard, Wala, and Helisacharus. Nor can we omit mention either of those dark mysterious deeds, scattered here and there through the history of the middle ages, the reality of which, as we remarked in a former book, was placed beyond all doubt by calm and minute investigations; deeds truly horrible, by means of which many children of the faithful were called to a participation in the lot of those blessed innocents, who, as the Church sings, are so justly called the flowers of the martyrs, springing up out of the cold of infidelity, as if the first gems of the Church. These poor Christian boys, crucified and bled to death by some perfidious Jews, were justly counted among blessed martyrs. The instances at Mestare between Chalcedon and Antioch, as related by Socrates;* of St. Hugo at Lincoln; of St. Richard in France, in the time of Philip Augustus; of St. William at Norwich; of St. Wernher at Wammenrat, near Baccarac, on the Rhine, in 1287; and of St. Simon at Trent, were fully authenticated; proving, not indeed that a whole nation was guilty, or that its rites and learned men required crimes, but that amongst a people, of which every individual may in a great measure do as he likes,† the same spirit which in the beginning raged against our divine Lord could still find breasts to harbour it, however contrary it might be to the Scriptures or to the Talmud, or however its fruits might seem incredible to those who sought to disprove its existence by the force of reasoning alone.

But we must not remain longer here. It suffices to have shown, in opposition to the reasoning of those who would dissolve all difference between Peter and Iscariot, that the Jews, in ages of faith, with the Pagan and the Moor, have put our ancestors to proof of constancy. O it is not by now enrolling them with the descendants of the men who followed Richard to the Holy Land, sunk as they are below the types of usury; it is not by constituting them judges in these tribunals, where, thanks to lords and commons, they may sit with Pontius Pilate on Good Friday, that you can, as the Church desires, either cause the plenitude of the whole world to pass into children of Abraham and into the Israelitic dignity,* or emancipate and exalt in an intellectual sense the race who lost Jerusalem.

Having now cast a rapid glance at the sufferings of Christians from the Arians and Mahometans, two of the great persecutions of the Church after the fall of the Roman empire, before we proceed to a consideration of the third and last of the visitations of Almighty vengeance, which commenced in the sixteenth century, it will be necessary to observe some other sources of suffering for the faith, that could yield the seeds of beatitude during the intervening period of the middle ages, to those for whom the angels in the skies were waiting. Although the Church in general was then delivered from the attacks of false teachers, there were still found traces of the danger from time to time, as if to verify the divine sentence, that heresies must be.

Towards the end of the fourth century Manichæism, in the east, a perennial poison, had reached the farthest west, where, under the form of Priscillianism, it struck such root in Spain, that at the end of the sixth it was not extirpated. In the seventh it emerged through Constantine from Syrian Armenia in the Paulician sect, spread in the eighth through Asia Minor, and possessed Byzantine Cæsars. In the middle of the ninth age its arrogance gave rise to a battle of almost an hundred years' duration, which ended in its overthrow. Then, after being fostered in some Thracian valleys, it again came forth under the name of Bogomilens, and in the middle of the eleventh, under that of the Messalians or

* 16. Lib. vii.
† Levinsohn's Conversations, 22.

* Prayer on Holy Saturday.

Enthusiasts, it had spread by missions through Dalmatia, till about the year 1000, it reached Italy, where chiefly it took root in Milan, under the name of Passagini and Bulgarian, or, as it styled itself, of Catharan or Puritan,—titles which it exchanged as it advanced for Pataren, Beghard, and Lollard. France then received the seed in secret, and reaped a bitter harvest, when suddenly in the year 1017 it shot forth at Orleans: thence spreading through other provinces, it seized on Aquitaine, and grew so terrible that in 1030 a synod in Toulouse was held against it: through the twelfth century it grew in might, till, at length, it caused the bloody war of the Albigenses;* when that impure sect persecuted the Catholics by open violence, ravaging Languedoc with bodies of six or eight thousand men, pillaging churches and monasteries, and murdering the clergy, under the sanction of the count of Toulouse, that execrable prince who left his subjects at the mercy of an army of assassins. But the insidious element of persecution was not confined to France. In 1052, returning on its steps, it broke forth in the region of Goslar, and then in the twelfth century by the lower Rhine passed over to England. Later, in the peasants' war, and with the Anabaptists, it gave traces of vitality; and in France, since the year 1830, many of its roots were traced.†

Among the elect of God, who from martyrdom by the hands of Manichæan heretics passed to beatitude, were many friars of St. Dominic, who sought to convert them to the light of Christ.

It was on the sixth of April, 1252, that St. Peter Martyr received his crown on the road between Como and Milan. He had long been an object of aversion to the Manichæans, from the success of his preaching; but when sent with authority to inquire into the disseminators of their principles, they conspired his death, and hired the assassins, who slew him on his way.

The blessed Humbert, alluding to the preaching of St. Dominic, in the province of Narbonne, says that "he was wholly devoted to the salvation of souls by preaching, and that he suffered with all his heart many affronts, ignominies, and tortures, for the name of our Lord Jesus Christ." It is recorded of him that he preferred preaching at Carcasson to any other place, on account of the contradictions and insults he was sure to meet with there.

The barbarous atrocities committed on the faithful by these miscreant bands left so profound an impression on the people's minds, that even at the present day they are remembered, as can be instanced by a legend, which the reader must receive as it was told to me while journeying in the south. Lomenie, who for his crimes was justly named rather Ignominy, came to a convent on his visitation, where the mother abbess evaded lodging him in the visitor's apartment. Questioned severely as to the cause of such neglect, that venerable lady hinted, by dark broken words, that no one with a conscience unreleased could rest securely there. Laughter at her fears, and stern commands to have the rooms prepared on his return from the chase, cost the bold bad man no scruple. The day was passed in the forest, chasing the gaunt wolf, and at night returning, the company drank deep before they separated. Alone in the chamber of his choice, sleep and confidence fled from him; the miserere smote on his ear; he heard ever and anon a sigh of agony, and "Hast no food for me, my sisters?" uttered in a half-smothered voice, which shook his unnerved frame with terror. At the first streak of morning light he rose, called his attendant minister, and told him how he had passed the night. "It is a plot, my lord, of these veiled sisters to affright your grandeur. Let architects be summoned, who may detect it." Before tierce was sung, the man of art arrived; but all that could be discovered was ineffectual. Behind one wall was the convent church; through the others, which only concealed open galleries, no voice could reach. Then, with an air of more assurance,—"It was the natural effect, my lord, of wine and over-wearied limbs," said he who played the master of the sport; "this day let our course be shortened, and our evening mirth more moderate." "Rightly suggested," replied the irreverent visitor: "we had thought to leave this convent instantly; but let it not be said that we could give such head to women's tales." That day they hunted, but less joyfully than before. On their return constrained merriment but ill concealed the gloom which hung over the evening meal. Night again drew over the convent its sable curtain: the wretch was a second time alone: he slept; but with a sudden start awoke. The penitential strain, the moans, and sad complaint

* Goërres. Die Christliche Mystik, IIId. 30. Muratori, Antiq. It. Diss. ix. † Id.

of pining famine were more audible than before; till, at length, by a faint beam from the far casement of that vast chamber, he saw the figure of a nun, emaciated beyond all seeming of the flesh we wear, and with a thong placed in her jaws, through which the words found broken utterance. The horrid sight seemed to give him an hysteric strength: he rushed to the door, and he who received him fainting in his arms was the attendant minister, who had been watching without. None besides those two heard aught. The vision was not told. The visitor departed, as he came, impenitent; but he who till then had followed him more as a boon companion than a priest, had received the dart of heaven in his soul; and in a cloister of that neighbouring city, to which the next day he fled, lives still a man of sanctity to vouch the tale. Years had elapsed since this event, when builders, who were employed on scaffolding within the church, discovered, immediately behind the visitor's apartment, in a niche of the choir, too deep for any eye to pierce it from below, a skeleton, with wood infixed between the jaws; and then the records of the house were searched, and it was found that it had of old been pillaged by the Albigenses, from whom all had fled but one poor sister, who had remained as was supposed in safe concealment, but who was never on their return heard of more. Such was the tale; let those object to it who will; but I have chosen to relate it, being in the vein of Froissart, who loved to chronicle all narratives, however wild, which brave knights had recounted to him in foreign lands. Let us, however, return to the domain of history.

This would be the place, if we had time, to behold the grand and solemn figure of Simon de Montford, who, in the spirit of that devoted chivalry of which I lately spoke, came nobly forward to defend the Catholics and the cause of truth, as far as driving back the material obstacles which opposed its reign. But as recent works of the best stamp have made this name familiar to all who study history, it is needless for us to pursue it now. There remains yet abundant matter to occupy us before entering on the terrible drama of the sixteenth century, which closes all.

CHAPTER V.

"DICIT Dominus: Sermones mei, quos dedi in os tuum, non deficient de ore tuo; et munera tua accepta erunt super altare meum." These solemn words, which form the introit of the Mass of the blessed martyr, Pope St. Clement, may be imagined graven over the portal through which we now must pass to witness those who obeyed and verified them.

So far we have seen the sources of beatitude to sufferers in ages of faith, furnished by the persecution of men who were without the Church. The most abundant springs to refresh the divine garden remain to be visited; and of these the first we meet with on the page of history is the opposition of wicked Christians to the good, who endeavour to persuade them to reform their lives.

It is a perilous thing to attempt to stem the tide of passion swelling in the breasts of men, who say in their hearts, There is no God. Of the dangers, indeed, attending merely an external reform of manners, the pagan world had not been left without experience. Ulpian, the minister of Alexander Severus, a friend of the laws and of the people, endeavouring to reform the army, was sacrificed to its fury. The Emperor Probus, because he consulted the interests of mankind more than those of the army, hoping to establish universal peace, for expressing that hope was slain. Pertinax, in consequence of his zeal to reform the corrupted state, was murdered. Ma-

ndeavouring to reform the people, il and military officers were exas- against him, since they all derived vantage from the abuses which he to suppress: he by constraint ab- and within four days died. It e long to enumerate instances; d any other result be expected, even ie empire had become Christian; ithin the Church itself the same s of persecution must always exist, e many against those who would rward the standard of Christ in on to that of Lucifer. There was on for supposing that the conse- would be different, or that the old we hear it chanted during the would not be resumed: "Dix- npii: Opprimamus virum justum, i contrarius est operibus nostris." s hear St. Augustin: "There is a men, profligate, most wicked, who their sins, who, turning vices into lose even shame. Such is the le of these men, that the body of laced amongst them, scarcely can eprehend what it is not compelled ; and it thinks it a great matter preserve the integrity of its inno- st either it should commit that rough custom it does not dare to r, if it should dare, the reprehen- vociferation of those who live ill, nore easily break forth than the of those who live justly."*

st this criminal compliance of tepid is the holy doctor raises his voice, s that such acquiescence with the f life is incompatible with their red obligations; for thus he pro- You do not suffer persecution? ot wish to live piously in Christ. wish to prove whether this be egin to live piously in Christ. to live piously in Christ? It is hat the Apostle felt: Quis infir- ego non infirmor? Quis scanda- ego non uror? The infirmities the scandals of others, were per- to him. Are they wanting now? re abound in those who heed egin therefore to live piously, and desire the wings of the dove to and remain in the desert; for ie multitude there must be found , whom we must love, reprove, excommunicate, and with love rom ourselves."†

lii. † In Ps. liv.

Then, as if describing the condition of the faithful in these latter days, he continues to show the necessity of not appearing to make slight of the errors of men who have broken unity. "Save me," said the Psalmist, "ab his qui appropinquant mihi. I can easily be on my guard against those who are far off, but not so easily against him who says, 'I am a Christian; in many things I am with you. In baptism I am with you: in reading the gospel I am with you: in celebrating the feasts of the martyrs I am with you: in frequenting the solemnities of Easter I am with you; but you are not altogether with me. In schism you are not with me: in heresy you are not with me: in many things with me, in few not with me; but these few are greater than all the rest in which you are with me.'"* "Tota die verba mea abominabantur. It is even so; as you have found by experience. Speak truth; preach truth; announce Christ to pagans; announce the Church to heretics; announce salvation to all; they will contradict; they will abominate your words."† "Coronemus nos rosis antequam marcescant. What more delicate, more gentle! Could you expect from this suavity, crosses and swords? Yet if any one teach them, he finds them thorns with which he will be pierced;‡ if any one reprove them, he will hear with threats and defiance, Recede a nobis, scientiam viarum tuarum nolumus."

All this is taught by the great poet of the ages of faith; for when saying that old fame reports the herd of Fiesole in the world for blind, covetous, envious, and proud, adding,

> "Look to it well;
> Take heed thou cleanse thee of their ways;"

he adds,

> "But that ungrateful and malignant race
> Will for thy good deeds show thee enmity.
> Nor wonder; for amongst ill-savour'd crabs
> It suits not the sweet fig-tree lay her fruit."§

The expose themselves to persecution of this kind, however, the Catholics of the middle ages regarded themselves as bound by strict obligation; and consequently in almost every page of their history we find a recurrence of the same facts, attesting what they suffered. "Necessity," says St. Augustin, "is the mother of all human

* In Ps. liv. † In Ps. lv.
‡ In Ps. lii. § Hell. xv.

actions. I do not speak of crimes, which are not to be counted amongst human actions. Take away litigators; where will be the advocates? take away wounds and diseases; what will the physician cure?"* Similarly St. Ambrose says,—"Take away the combats of the martyrs, and you have taken away their crowns,—tolle cruciatus, tulisti beatitudines;" or, as St. Jerome says, "Tolle tyrannos; ubi martyres erunt?" Tyrants, therefore, were still found; kings and feudal lords were not wanting, who acquitted themselves well of the part they were permitted to act in company with the elect of God; and, as we shall see before the end of this history, they were found in no country more frequently than in our own, where was still verified the old experience, "Britannia fertilis provincia tyrannorum," according to the expression of St. Jerome and the opinion of the Roman world. Such were the men described by prophecy of old. "The princes of the nations, who have dominion over the beasts which are on the earth; who play with the birds of heaven; who heap up treasures of silver and of gold; in which they trust, and there is no end of their acquisitions."†

How were such men to be approached with impunity? There was but one method; as the prince of Piedmont pointed out to Mary de Medicis, who inquired how she might regain the favour of Louis XIII. her son: "Love, truly and sincerely, whatever he loves. These two words contain the law and the prophets." Therefore there must be words of compliance, words of praise, words of encouragement for these men, often so well known to the just as choleric and bloody. "I was reported unto him," says Gardener, speaking of Henry VIII., "that I stooped not, and was stubborn; and he had commended unto me certain men's gentle nature (as he called it) that wept at every of his words;" that is, who were ready at every gust of his passion to reply,—

"Sir, you shall have revenge, revenge the joy
Of flesh and blood, life and delight of nature,
The poor man's luxury, and the rich man's bath,
Above all wealth, sir."‡

Sycophants! like so many of the heathen philosophers, ready to flatter a tyrant and defend a parricide, even when they lamented secretly his crimes, as when Tacitus says, "Et mœrens Burrus ac laudans." If

such then are the conditions, the sol
ditions of favour with so many of the
and, indeed, with the people often a
whole world collectively, what are
persons to expect who know that, lik
holy baptist, their mouth should be
sharp sword, while raising their voi
truth, for the oppressed, for the freed
the Church, for the interests of the p
for the honour and happiness of all?
human favour assuredly, but eternal
tude, if they discharge their duty, suff
persecution in this life on account o
tice. O how magnificent, how imp
is the history of Catholic ages, in r
to the calm undaunted mind which fo
such anticipations, and beheld thei
complishment.

The Mass of St. John the Baptist,
indeed, the office of every martyr,
preparatory lesson which most of the
ful knew by heart. Each felt inte
strengthened by hearing these words
introit,—"Loquebar de testimoniis t
conspectu regum, et non confundeba
meditabar in mandatis tuis, quæ d
nimis. Bonum est confiteri Domin
psallere nomini tuo altissime." "W
you approach any one," said the rule,
the fear of the Lord be in your heart,
guard your mouth that you may retu
your place in peace."* "Nihil equi
vobis adulatorium scripsisse me recolo
sum olei venditor:" such is the lo
Peter of Blois, writing to Henry II.†

There was a chivalrous sincerity i
spirit of the middle ages, which acco
well with the desire of beatitude, by g
faithful counsel, and suffering in c
quence, persecution, or at least that lo
personal advantage which the Greek
pressed by saying, *κόλακι τάλαντα*
συμβούλῳ καπνόν. Thus John of Salis
praises and urges that Catonian prece

"Cumque mones aliquem, nec se velit ips
neri,
Si tibi sit carus, noli desistere cœptis."‡

"There are friendships of glass, w
can be broken," says Brunetto L
"and there are friendships of iron, w
never bend." In regard to the fo
Cicero observes, "Molesta veritas, si qu
ex ea nascitur odium, quod est vene
amicitiæ; sed obsequium multo mole
quod peccatis indulgens, præcipitem

* In Ps. lxxxiii. † Baruch, iii.
‡ Shirley.

* S. Antonii Serm.
† Pet. Bles. Epist. ii.
‡ Joan. Sarisb. Epist. lxxv.

ri sinit. Igitur et monere et proprium est veræ amicitiæ." Such rules of friendship in ages of faith, ch free monitor would say with the her, "Non amo illum, nisi offen- or with Prometheus, that he would plain truth, not with riddles and

——ἀλλ' ἁπλῷ λόγῳ,
ρ δίκαιον πρὸς φίλους οἴγειν στόμα.

the friend of the middle ages had casion to practise that high virtue vas so essential to the counsellor to the bishop, and to the priest ded souls. All were able to bear selves a testimony like that of Peter . They had never flattered; they er sold oil; for why, thought they, truth faint at the name of great- Thus Sir Thomas More told his that "he candidly confessed he old the king his opinion respect- second marriage, as his conscience to him; that this dictate of his ice he was neither inclined to con- n his highness, nor ought he in have done so; and that so far was thinking himself guilty of treason account, that, on the contrary, had y flattered him against his own ice, and not uttered the truth as ght, then might he worthily have counted a most wicked subject, and ious traitor to God and his king." as the testimony that they could themselves; but to possess that what shall we say of the sufferings l to endure? It is true, as we ob- n the beginning, during the super- ages included in this history, there ceptions presented to all former awn from the experience of man- If it was the spirit of the manners hen prevailed to give free utter- just thoughts, it was no less cha- ic of them to bear admonition

We read that when St. Bernar- a student in the schools of Sienna, e would never suffer a single im- word to be dropped in his company the severest reproof, that the most s were kept in check by him; so enever they saw the pious youth they would break off, saying, ! here comes Bernardine." In s, and even children, might then discharge with impunity the office of admonishing the unjust. "At Lisbon," says Berlaymont, "it was the custom to explain the catechism not in churches but in the streets. A certain lad, who frequented this instruction, hearing a person swear, ran towards him, and on his bended knees said, 'I beseech you, swear not; for it is not a light sin.' The man called after him as he went back, and asked him his name, and who were his parents, and when the boy gave no answer, 'You are not a boy,' he said, 'but an angel of God, who have given me such salutary counsel, and henceforth I will swear no more.'"* But we are not left to cite such puerile examples.

We read of St. Henry, that "through affection for St. Ambrose, the freedom of whose tongue he loved, the emperor turned out of his way to visit Milan."† Of this love for a free tongue we have many traces in the annals of the middle ages. The chronicles of St. Denis are indeed themselves a monument to prove its existence in a long succession of princes; for, as Michelet remarks, "These monks, who received so many marks of favour from the great, were the authors of a history which freely and justly censured them when they were in fault, as in their conduct at Agincourt; a history to which it would be very happy," he says, "if a parallel could be found for impartiality among modern historians;" and the latest editor of this great collection, after observing that from the first words to the explicit, it is a work of perfect sincerity, remarks that it reflects credit on the princes of the state who admitted its continuance. "Kings," he says, "have often encouraged historians, and permitted courageous writers to relate the events of their reign without betraying the truth; but to accept the sentence, generally very severe, which the ancient annalists pronounced upon each of their predecessors, to tolerate the permanent existence of a tribunal which menaced them with the same severity; above all, not to attempt to weaken their decisions by creating judge against judge, apologies against censures,—that is what was done by our kings of France in countenancing the great chronicles of St. Denis."

Generally, in fact, one must now feel astonishment on observing the bold uncompromising style of the writers of the middle ages, when alluding to the enemies

* Seneca, Epist. xxv.

* Paradisus Puerorum, xi. 21.
† Adelbold. Episc. Traject. Vit. S. Henrici Imp.

of the great. With what eloquence does Bartholomew de Neocastro describe the impiety of the French king in Sicily! "King Charles," he exclaims, "perhaps blinded by pride, you have thought that God, who created heaven and earth, and other creatures, did not create kings; or that He has no power over them. Do you suppose that the Lord of strength will not punish those who rage against his elect?"* The best subject would speak thus.

But while honour is thus freely given to those to whom it is due, let us not shut our eyes to the facts recorded on almost every page of our history, attesting the sufferings, on account of justice, which holy men brought upon themselves by reproving sinners with a free language, and exercising their just authority, whether to restrain kings, or nobles, or the multitude; for reproofs were administered to all. In this category the clergy, as was to be expected, take the lead.

The tower of the bishop of Valence, if we credit the old chronicles, had a mysterious influence attached to it, in consequence of which no watcher could rest on it by night. If the wish of many kings and great men of the earth could have been realized, there would have been no watchers, either by day or night, from any of the towers of those who had to keep a look-out for the Church of God and for the welfare of the people. We hear of no such tradition attached to any feudal towers of the secular power. All these, without exception, were to be defended by the guet de nuit, in which the peasants of the surrounding country were constrained to serve, as the records of the ancient tribunals attest, and often after suffering every kind of vexation and injustice.† Happily for mankind, however, all things on earth were not exactly accordant with the desires of the impious.

There were men to keep incessant watch for the inmates of the holy city in ages of faith, when the world saw accomplished the desire of the wise, "Si longa est manus regis, longior debet esse manus episcopi."‡ Hear how Alcuin writes to Edilhard, archbishop of Canterbury: "Remember always that your mouth ought to be the trump of God, and your tongue to all a herald of salvation. Be a shepherd, not a hireling; a glorious soldier of Christ, not a vile apostate; a father and preacher, not a flatterer. It is better to fear the Lord than man, to please God than to fawn upon man. What is a flatterer, but an insidious enemy? He destroys both himself and his hearer; isti sunt qui consuunt pulvillos sub omni cubito. Why should you fear a man on account of the sword,—you, who have received the key of the kingdom from Christ? Recollect that He suffered for you, and fear not to speak in his behalf. Through love for you, He hung upon the cross, transfixed with nails; and will you, seated on the throne of your dignity, through fear of man be silent? Not so, brother; not so. If you should suffer persecution for the word of God, what is there more blessed? If you reprove a delinquent, and at your admonition he should correct himself, for you there will be a reward with God, and to himself from God salvation. If he should hate you for reproving him, for him there will be damnation, and for you beatitude."*

The prospect of dangers and difficulties might cause holy men moments of discouragement, when they would complain, like Peter of Blois writing to Pope Innocent III., and saying, "O how much more of quietness and safety should I have enjoyed if I had remained hidden, instead of being raised to the archdeaconry of London, a city containing forty thousand inhabitants and a hundred and twenty churches!"† But, on the whole, they shrank not from the burden; they knew that they were called to exercise the authority with which heaven intrusted them, not alone by the canons of their holy order but by the one voice of sufferers, who looked to them for a refuge from an oppression against which they alone could impose a shield. "The word of the Lord was not to be tied in their mouths, nor was human fear in them to take away the spirit of liberty," as Eleanor, queen of England, reminds Pope Cælestine, when she implored him to procure the deliverance of King Richard.‡ "The cross of Christ," said that princess, "excels the eagles of Cæsar, the sword of Peter that of Constantine, and the apostolic chair the imperial throne. But you will say," she continues, and her expecting the objection from that quarter should be noticed, "that this power is committed to

* Hist. Siciliæ, cap. xlix.
† Floquet, Hist. du Parlement de Normandie, i. 193. ‡ Petr. Blesius, De Instit. Episc.

* Ap. Caniss. Lect. Antiq. Rom. II
† Epist. cli.
‡ Petr. Blesius, Epist. cxliv.

ou over souls, not bodies. Be it so. Cer-
es it is sufficient for us if you bind the
ouls of them who hold my son bound in
rison. You can free my son, if the fear
f God overcome human fear."* So in his
etter to the archbishop of Rheims, desiring
hat the alms taken from the brethren of
he hospital of Jerusalem by the duke of
ouvain be restored to them, Pope Alex-
nder III. adds, "We who ought more
trictly to coerce with the sword of eccle-
iastical severity noble men and powerful
ersons who seek to oppress others, and
specially the poor of Christ, command
our fraternity by apostolic letters to ex-
ort and admonish the said duke to make
peedy restitution, and, if he should refuse,
o bind him by the bond of excommunica-
ion."†

The vigilance of the sovereign pontiffs, whatever sorrows it might cost them, was always exemplary. The assassination of an obscure citizen committed in the city of Rheims, is enough to draw a letter from Pope Alexander III. to the shepherd of that flock.‡ The least act bordering on injustice induces him to write again: Peter, a certain Jew, on his conversion, received a prebend of the refectory from the abbess of St. Peter, of Rheims, who had received him from the sacred font. This being taken away by the archbishop, the same pope writes to charge him to restore it.§ It would be long to illustrate with instances the solicitude of the supreme pontiffs. Let us observe the duty of admonition discharged by subordinate pastors, who in each locality were in immediate contact with those who were to exercise the elect of God. But while citing proof, let us bear in mind our former observation, that the monitors of the ages of faith were careful that nothing should give offence in them, but the justice of their wish. With sacrifice and humble prayer to God they commenced their undertaking. There was, as we before observed, the mass against tyrants. There was also the missa contra judices male agentes;‖ and against the latter, while traces of the pagan manners lasted, they had often to raise their holy protestation, as when Ratherius of Verona wrote to the Empress Adelheid, saying, "O how well would it be for all constituted in authority, as I have often suggested to your domination, if others would not pass such precipitous sentences, but observe that of blessed Job, 'Causam, quam nesciebam, diligentissime investigabam.'"*

When they proceeded to a personal admonition, their manner was to be in strict accordance with the charity which was their motive. They were to have that address required in the Brevis Religiosorum Practica of the Benedictines, when among the "conditiones bonorum Fratrum," we read, "oculos deprimere, manus et pedes componere, devote inclinare, humiliter prosternere, omnibus servire, leniter transire." Their steps were to be soft and reverential, as monks that walk cloisters murmuring their prayers. Gentleness, delicacy, often pushed to the extremest verge, were to characterize their whole manner; not like those moral philosophers described by Sir Philip Sidney, coming forward "with a sullen gravity, as though they could not abide vice by day-light, with books in their hands against glory, whereto they set their names; sophistically speaking against subtlety, and angry with any man in whom they see the foul fault of anger, casting largesses as they go, of definitions, divisions, and distinctions."† They were to be affectionate, simple, natural; so that at the first glance any one could discern the contrast between them and that class of monitors, to which Callisthenes belonged, who was said to have been actuated more by the pleasure of condemning other people, and of displaying his own eloquence, than by a sincere love of truth. But they could not lose dignity; and the Catholic poet does but catch their spirit in this grand reply,

——— "when sovereign princes dare
Do injury to those that live beneath them,
They turn worth pity and their prayers, and 'tis
In the free power of those whom they oppress
To pardon them; each soul has a prerogative,
And privilege royal, that was sign'd by heaven."

In a word, as the Church sings, God assisted them with his countenance, and they were encompassed with a benediction of sweetness; yet for this ministry of love, discharged with angel's grace, what did they gain for themselves?—Insults, contradiction, often tortures and death. "Principes persecuti sunt me gratis;" they sang of their own experience, adding that noble testimony to their insensibility to human fear, "Et a verbis tuis formidavit cor me-

* Petr. Blesius, Epist. cxlvi.
† Ap. Martene, Vet. Script. ii. 771.
‡ Id. 810. § Id. 786.
‖ Muratori, Antiq. It. liv.

* Ap. Pez. Thes. Anecd. tom. vi. 98.
† Defence of Poesy.

um." It is expressly recorded that St. Ælred, abbot of Rievaulx, though sweetness and gentleness itself, was often insulted and reproached by great men, and once even in the king's presence.

Would you now see proof of what has been advanced? Then mark the forms which approach, of which the history may be briefly told from records which the Church has cherished. The pontiff whose deeds have thus by chance occurred to me the first, is St. Eucherius, bishop of Orleans. He condemned the confusion introduced into the ecclesiastical order by the encroachments of Charles Martel, in conferring the revenues of episcopal sees and abbeys upon laymen, to defray the expenses of his wars: his zeal was represented to the prince as an indignity to his person, who in consequence banished him to Cologne, till finding that his great virtues raised him many friends in that city, he ordered him to be conveyed thence to the castle of Haspengau, in the territory of Liege, under the guard of Robert, governor of that country, who however was so charmed with him, that he allowed him to retire to the monastery of St. Tron. He who follows is that great light of England in early times, St. Dunstan, who, while abbot of Glastonbury, for remonstrating with Edwi on his crimes, was banished the kingdom. Even at the court of Athelstan his virtues, conformable to the spirit of the gospel, had given offence, though his humility and modesty equalled the purity of his manners. Edwi persecuted the monks, and ruined all the abbeys which had escaped the ravages of the Danes. After a year of exile in Flanders, St. Dunstan was recalled to England on the deposition of Edwi, and the election of his brother Edgar. He who advances next is holy Stanislas, bishop of Cracow, who received his crown on the eighth of May in 1079. Boleslas II. was then king of Poland. This prince tarnished the glory of his victories over the Russians by his unbridled lusts, and by horrible acts of tyranny and injustice. None of his courtiers, such dread had he inspired by his fiery mood, dared to remonstrate with him. Stanislas had the courage requisite to discharge this duty. Having recommended the affair to God, he boldly presented himself at court, and with the most pressing solicitations, conjured the king to put an end to his scandalous disorders, and in the end declared that he would be in danger of excommunication, if a change for the better did not take place. The king considered this expostulation as an insult not to be endured, and avowed revenge. At first he contented himself with exciting persons to calumniate the saint, and suborning false witnesses. But Stanislas cleared himself in a public trial, in presence of the king, and Boleslas seemed to be reconciled with him. However, his continued cruelties called forth again the zeal of the saint, who again forced himself into his presence. Furious and desperate, Boleslas threatened him with death if he persisted in disturbing him; but Stanislas, still unappalled, fulfilled his trust, and after another visit, excommunicated him. He then left the city and retired to a little chapel at a small distance. Thither the king followed him with his guards, and on entering the place, ordered them to put him to death. They refused, saying that they saw a light from heaven over him. Finding no one who would dare to execute his orders, the tyrant himself rushed forward, and dispatched him with his own hand. The next so short of stature, breathes a spirit most magnanimous; for it is St. Gregory of Tours, who for nobly defending Pretextatus, bishop of Rouen, whom Fredegonde, wife of Chilperic, wished to ruin, and for reproving some prelates who were assisting her, gave offence to that queen, which she never forgave. She sought to gratify her vengeance by exciting wicked men to calumniate the holy bishop, who suffered from them what the prophet king eschewed. With him walks St. Pretextatus, whom he defended; for it was by his zeal against the injustice and cruelty of the Queen Fredegonde, that this holy bishop had drawn upon himself the vengeance of that terrible princess. After many persecutions, as he still persisted in preaching to her truth, he was assassinated by her orders, while singing matins with his clergy, on Sunday the twenty-fifth of February, 588. He who comes next is holy Colomban, apostle of the Picts. Having given offence to King Dermot by reproving public sinners, he was obliged to retire from that stormy scene, when he passed over into Scotland. His saintly namesake walks in the same procession; he who by reproving Thierri for his licentious life gave mortal offence to Brunehaud, the king's grand-mother who feared the influences of a legitimate wife; and when the saint refused to give his benediction to the king's natural sons, she resolved on vengeance. She took occasion to excite the king against him, and

uence he was banished first to
and then, being conducted like
:ountrymen in 1830, to Nantes,
ıced on board a ship to be con-
prisoner to Ireland, but being
:k by contrary winds, he was suf-
retire to Neustria, whence he
proceeded a holy wanderer to
ıd.

follows is St. Raymund, of Pen-
ho after being taken by King
Arragon, into the island of Ma-
:ultivate that infant church, in
:e of remonstrating with the
, although otherwise a religious
:s addicted to some criminal ex-
ve him groundless offence, and
d to return to Spain, where his
s passage to Barcelona, as at-
testimonies unexceptionable to
not doubt the continuance of
n the Church of God, caused the
ı of the king, who had sought to
m who sped the messenger of

ɛt venerable form wrapped up in
of hermits of Mount Carmel, is
, of that austere order. Having
the west, he preached in Sicily.
ertain powerful lord, having been
nes reproved by him secretly for
uous life, and seeing himself de-
the former partner of his crimes,
his fury against the holy Ana-
hom he caused to be assassinated
, in the year 1225. Ives de
s another great light witnessed
rious company. Having refused
of the divorce of Queen Bertha
ng Philip's marriage with Ber-
was thrown into prison, from
was not liberated till after the
the estates of his church by the
y commissioned for that purpose.
llow those chosen arrows,—St.
bishop of Maestricht, who for
Dagobert against the disorders of
as banished by him into Gascony
rre; St. Lambard, who ruled the
ɛ in the days of Pepin, and who
red for reproving that prince for
lals of his life, in the castle of
St. Emmeran, the patron of
ıe, who was barbarously assassi-
the diocese of Frisingen, by or-
corrupt woman who had vowed
; St. Frederic, bishop of Utrecht,
nth century, who was murdered
ırch after saying mass, in conse-
having generously reproved the
Empress Judith for the scandals of her life; and a throng of other pontiffs, who all suffered more or less from envy, that harlot Dante sings of,

—— "who ne'er turn'd her gloating eyes
From Cæsar's household, common vice and pest
Of courts."

Here walk holy martyrs too, who died for the faith expressly, while urging upon kings the "non licet" of St. John; amongst whom we may distinguish Fisher, who declared that "that as to the business of the supremacy, he must needs repeat to his majesty, what he had often told him before, and would so tell him were he to die that very hour, that it was utterly unlawful, and that the king should beware of taking such title upon him, as he valued his own soul, and the good of his posterity."

Amongst sufferers of latest date, in this specific fellowship, every eye must recognise Fenelon. Not only was he dismissed with ignominy from his office at the court, but all his relations were disgraced and deprived of their places. One of his brothers was even expelled from the navy; another of his relations, a young man who had served in the army with distinction, was expelled from the guards. A correspondence with the archbishop became a crime against the state. "I knew well," said the king, "by the Livre des Maximes, that the archbishop of Cambrai had a false judgment, but I did not know that he had a bad heart. I have now learned it by reading Télémaque. It is impossible to push ingratitude farther. He has undertaken to cast eternal reproach upon my reign."*

Among the blessed throng who suffered persecution for reproving men in power, one may distinguish also those who stood up to defend especially the peace, and the general interest of society; of whom foremost ever stands conspicuous, the majesty of the Roman pontiffs, following St. Gregory the Great, who drew on himself the resentment of the exarch, and of the Emperor Maurice, by condemning their violations of justice, and their oppression of the people. But the episcopacy in general throughout the Church kept faithful watch on this side. St. Maurille, bishop of Cahors, in the sixth century, is thus cited as a model of firmness, in enduring the persecution to which he subjected himself, by opposing the injustice of the magistrates and lords who oppressed the people.

* Mém. de l'Ev. d'Agen. 779.

In the year 670, according to the chronicle of Sigebert, St. Prix, bishop of Clermont, in the reign of Chilperic II. having opposed some great lords who were oppressing the people, was martyred with the abbot of St. Martin and the priest Elidie. The persecution of this holy pontiff was first excited by the partisans of Hector of Marseilles, who suspected that he had excited the king to punish that infamous offender, of whose crimes, it is true, he formally complained. On his return from the court, passing by Volvic, his enemies waylaid him. The saint, perceiving their intention, said, "Lord, lay not this sin to their charge, for they know not what they do." He had hardly finished these words, when one of the soldiers clove his skull with a sabre. Ebroin, mayor of the palace, fearing the remonstrances of St. Chaumond, bishop of Lyons, respecting the vexations with which he harassed the people of that city, accused him of high treason; and when he attempted to escape by flight, caused him to be murdered near Châlons-sur-Saône.

"The most excellent hymn of St. Othmar," by Notker Medicus, ascribes the same zeal to this holy man, whose sufferings and death it caused.

"Principum sævas doluit rapinas,
Inde raptorum studiis gravatus,
Martyris palma meruit superna
Scandere regna."*

St. Hugh, bishop of Lincoln, similarly incurred the displeasure of King Henry II. by resisting the tyranny of the king's foresters, who were invested with inordinate power, which they exercised over the people most tyrannically.

St. German, abbot of Granfel, in Alsace, now called Munster-thal, endured the persecution of his monastery by Duke Boniface without murmuring; but when that tyrant oppressed the poor of the duchy, the holy abbot remonstrated with him. In consequence of which courageous act he was assassinated by some of his soldiers, in 666, along with a companion, the blessed Randoald, as they returned from expostulating with the duke.

The freedom with which St. John of Sahagun reproved the vices of the great, exposed him also to severe persecutions. A certain duke, whom he had exasperated by charitably reproving him for oppressing his vassals, sent two assassins to murder him; but at the sight of the holy man, the ruffians were struck with remorse, and, casting themselves at his feet, begged pardon for their crime.

Now presses forward a multitude of holy monks, friars, and eremites, who gained martyrdom by reproving the vices of the great: but of these, any attempt at a particular scrutiny would be vain. To our observations in the last book, respecting the monastic boldness, we may, however, add some few examples here.

The Franciscan liturgies contain repeated allusions to heroic acts of this kind, as in the office of St. Anthony of Padua; and the chant of the friars will be a fitting accompaniment to the remainder of the spectacle, as when they sing of St. Anthony, "Contra virum sanguinum clamat et dolosum, quod hoc genus hominum Deo sit exosum," and in the hymn commemorating his joys,

"Gaude, quod, zelo succensus
Justitiæ, redarguebas
Omnes, et propter hoc eras
Multis vitiosis offensus."

When Fulgino was groaning under the oppressive yoke of the tyrant Trincio, his satellites, on suspicion of a revolt, proceeded to Bevano, a town in Umbria, where all things were soon filled with slaughter and rapine, fire and sword. Brother James and brother Philip, minor friars of that town, preached in the market-place on this occasion, exhorting the people to patience, but expressing horror at the sanguinary rage of the tyrants. Presently the satellites rushed through the crowd, slew them, and then threw their bodies into the Tessino. This was on the second of September, in 1377. Generally, whenever the cities of Umbria, Lombardy, and the marshes were oppressed by their tyrants, the minor friars came forward as martyrs in their cause.*

The duke of Milan took such offence at the preaching of St. Bernardine of Sienna, that he threatened him with death; but he durst not touch him through fear of the people, who loved the friar. In this dilemma his counsellors advised him to send money to the friar, which, if he accepted, he might then have a pretence to expose him to the people as a deceiver; but the friar sent back the gold cup and ducats; and when a second time the messenger returned and refused to take back the

* Ap. Canissii Lect. Antiq. II.

* Wadding. Annal. Min. vol. ix.

's present, "Then," said he, "follow
rith your lord's gold;" so he led the
to the prison, entered and liberated
ıut two, for whose redemption there
ıot sufficient. These poor men, having
ıght his compassion, he declared that
ɔuld remain in their place rather than
t them: the people hearing what
d, made a collection sufficient to re-
them also; and thus the artifice of
uke only turned to the greater merit
rnardine.*

ter the expulsion of the French from
, when Peter of Arragon had been
d to accept the crown, and King
les was preparing hostilities, brother
ıolomew de Placea of the order of St.
cis, a wise man and greatly revered,
the historian, was induced by the
rs of the captain and count of Messina
ɔair to the latter. The king, on seeing
demanded for what purpose he had
from traitors; and he replied, "I am
aitor, neither have I the appearance
traitor, nor do I come from traitors.
e come to advise my brethren of our
who may be with you, not to adopt
ıd contrary to this Christian people,
ıre devout to God, and friends to the
: of blessed Francis. But if you ask,
ıding ignorance, whence this fury of
Messenians has arisen, know, O im-
man, that you have exasperated to
ess this innocent people whom the
committed to your care: for you
l over them dogs and wolves to de-
them; and when they cried unto you
ıccour, their voice was not heard by
ing; but when they turned to the
He heard them. Thus bearing the
of Pharaoh, you have deservedly lost
eople of Sicily; for those whom you
have conquered with one look of
ncy, will not easily be subdued by
anger. Lo, the cry of all is battle—
ɔerty! choosing rather to die than to
hus. Strange it is, that you should
perverted and insane as to endeavour
all your strength to destroy a city,
: rage you never attempted to destroy
e clemency of a king."†

is particular ministry of the friars
explains the affection with which
were cherished by the people, of which
y records many instances. Bartholo-
of Neocastro says, that on the death
of the Emperor Frederic II., when the religious brother, Ruffinus de Placentia, of the order of St. Francis, was sent legate by the apostolic see into Sicily, he was received by the citizens of Palermo with great joy; that "children sang, Hosanna in excelsis, priests and old men carried palms and branches of olive, youths rejoiced, and all the devout female sex were filled with gladness."*

To the ear of even that fearful emperor, the free voice of the Mendicant orders had sounded. Let us hear an historian of the Dominicans: "One day brother Jordan of Saxony, who was then general of the order, waited on Frederic II., who ordered him to be seated. After they had both remained for a considerable time without speaking, the friar broke silence, saying, 'Seigneur, I travel through various provinces for the affairs of my order, fulfilling my duty; and I am therefore surprised that you do not ask what rumours are abroad.' 'I have my ambassadors,' replied the emperor, 'in all courts, who are exactly informed of what passes every where. I am not ignorant of what is said in other kingdoms, as you seem to suppose.' The friar rejoined: 'Jesus Christ knew all things; since he was God; and yet he asked his disciples what did men say of Him. Seigneur, you are but a man, and you are ignorant of many things that are said of you; and it would be well if you knew them. Men say that you oppress the Church, that you despise the bishops and ecclesiastical censures; that you believe in auguries, that you favour Jews and Saracens in preference to Christians, and that you do not honour the vicar of Jesus Christ. Assuredly, seigneur, such conduct would be unworthy of you. Permit your servant to represent to you how it concerns your glory and your salvation to stop these popular reports, by actions which may merit for you the approbation of God and the esteem of men.' The emperor, to whom such language was but little familiar, heard him however to the end."† Yet rarely could such words be addressed with impunity to princes of that stamp. Some advice, given to Ferdinand, king of Naples, and to his two sons Alphonso, duke of Calabria, and John, cardinal of Arragon, was sufficient to draw on St. Francis of Paul, a true persecution; and as a pretence was necessary, he was

/adding, Annal. Min. vol. x.
artol. de Neocastro, Hist. Sicil. ap. Murat.
. Script. tom. xiii.

* Bartol. de Neocastro, Hist. Sicil. ap. Murat. Rer. It. Script. tom. xiii. c. 4.

† Touron, Hist. des Hommes Illust. de l'ordre S. D. liv. vi.

accused of building monasteries without the king's permission, an act which subjected him by law to punishment.

However, it was not the fault of these holy men if they escaped persecution; for, in regard to the discharge of their duty in this respect, they were fearless and devoted. John Birel, that general of the Carthusians who was a contemporary of Petrarch, was an example, ever on the tongue of the Italian philosophers. Famed for the sanctity of his life, and his zeal for the glory of God, no human influence affected him. He preached repentance without respect of persons, and wrote to princes with the utmost freedom, to exhort them to reform their lives. A late historian remarks, that at the time when Cosmo de Medicis was in such imminent danger, and when the partisans of his house, although very numerous, were so intimidated that there was scarcely one who said a word to defend him, it was a monk who had the courage to become his public defender, Ambrogio Traversari, general of the order of Camaldoli, a man celebrated for his Christian piety and learning, who coming in haste from Ferrara to Florence, with that intrepidity which his virtue and habit afforded him, presented himself to the governors, speaking to them with courage and truth in favour of Cosmo, and receiving fair though empty words. He had also the courage to use the same importunities with Rinaldo Albizzi, who, in consequence, bitterly rebuked him.*

But it was not alone in reproving and admonishing the great that holy men found an opportunity for enduring persecution. The ordinary duties of the episcopal and pastoral care, going about the vineyard, "that soon turns to wan and withered, if not tended well,"† exposed them to the resentment of sinners, by which many of them reaped sufferings in the present, and beatitude eternal in the future life. "The whole day did not suffice to them for giving counsel," as we read of St. Anselm, and their reward was often persecution. To what dangers was St. Antoninus exposed, when he left the cloister of St. Dominic to fill the archiepiscopal throne of Florence? Many crimes having been imputed to a clerk named Ciardi, the archbishop cited him to appear to answer the charge. This led to an attempt upon his life; but God protected him, when, as we before observed, he not only pardoned, but converted the assassin. The blessed Albert, patriarch of Jerusalem, was assassinated in 1214, at St. John d'Acre, while assisting at a procession of the holy cross on the feast of its exaltation, by an impious wretch whom he had reproved for his crimes.

During the illness of Louis XV., when the duchess of Chateauroux and the duc de Richelieu took such care to prevent the succours of religion from reaching him, Francis de Fitz-James, bishop of Soissons, assisted by the duc de Chartres, forced his entry, and announced to him his state and his obligations. Reparation was made; the king recovered; but the arts of the court succeeded in leading him back to vice. The bishop, who had only fulfilled the strict obligations of his ministry, was banished and disgraced. This was, indeed, during a sceptical and most corrupt epoch; but even in the middle ages there were men to whom it was a perilous thing to offer the same assistance. We had occasion before to mark the traces of such spirits, that sought to be conquerors in hell, proud and isolated, and apart even from demons, as Manfred says to the spirit that gives him the summons, "Away! I'll die as I have lived—alone. I have not been thy dupe, nor am I thy prey, but was my own destroyer, and will be my own hereafter. Back, ye baffled fiends! The hand of death is on me—but not yours."

With respect to the danger of attempting a reform of manner by sermons, it is certain that they were of a different order from those which now exist in countries where faith is wavering. In the middle ages, men who retained any regard for the Church, did not wish preachers to aim no higher than at delivering a lecture in correct language, less calculated to excite compunction than to lull to sleep the hearers. In this respect they resembled the Athenians of old: *οὐ γὰρ ἐζήτουν οὔτε ῥήτορα, οὔτε στρατηγὸν, δι' ὅτου δουλεύσουσι εὐτυχῶς.**

Preachers had not to fear the supercilious criticism of a lay committee, ever fearful lest the rich, from whom it drew supplies, might find their words saucy and overbold. The sermons of the Franciscans and Dominicans contain terrible anathemas against such unworthy priests as could be influenced by such considerations. "Bad priests," says St. Anthony of Padua, "and all these clerical speculators are mute dogs,

* Pignotti, iii. chap. ii.
† Dante, Par. xii.

* Demosthenes, de Corona.

having in their jaws a diabolic bit which hinders them from barking." In general the preachers of the ages of faith were too intrepid to have submitted to such trammels. Their spirit was expressed by the holy Columban in his letter to Cuthbert, archbishop of Canterbury, saying, "Let us combat for the good cause; and, if it be the will of God, let us die for it. Let us not be mute dogs, sleepy and mercenary sentinels, flying at the sight of the wolf. Let us be vigilant and attentive pastors. Let us preach to the great and little, to rich and poor, in season and out of season."* Such, down to the latest times, continued to be the spirit of Catholic preachers, which could not but entail on them persecution of some kind; for hear how it is described: "After dinner," says Madame de Sevigné, "we heard the sermon of Bourdaloue, who always strikes like a deaf man, speaking truths right and left at a gallop, through thick and thin: sauve qui peut, he goes always straight on."† The preacher thus could often use the words of Nicias in his despatch to the Athenian people: *τούτων ἐγὼ ἡδέως μὲν ἂν εἶχον ὑμῖν ἕτερα ἐπιστέλλειν, οὐ μέντοι χρησιμώτερά γε*, though, on the whole, he too might add, *ἀσφαλέστερον ἡγησάμην τὸ ἀληθὲς δηλῶσαι.*‡ However, perhaps, even in consequence of the power of faith, from which not even the wicked could emancipate themselves, there were, in the middle ages, attached to this office, dangers of a different kind, which required no little courage in the holy to encounter.

Touron, the historian of the Dominican order, begins his account of the life of Savonarola by citing the evangelic text, "Beati qui persecutionem patiuntur propter justitiam."§ In fact, the preaching of repentance was a fruitful source of this beatitude; and hence, in later times, those who followed blessed Ignatius of Loyola, bearing that new succour to the militant church by first endeavouring to excite devotion among Catholics themselves, by causing the observance of more exterior respect in regard to the divine worship, by requiring more catechistical instructions, by advising that the sacraments should be more frequented, by training youth more devoutly, by serving God only for his greater glory, without regard to temporal interests, and by their spiritual exercises conducing to the greater sanctity of all, had great need of being prepared in patience to suffer persecution for the sake of justice.

When St. Francis received his friars at Rivo-Torto, returning to him after preaching in various countries, we read that they related whatever had occurred to them, and, with chief pleasure, the different insults and injuries they had received. When Savonarola was to preach in the cathedral of Florence, he found the pulpit purposely defiled. The profligate, who detested his eloquence, endeavoured to desecrate the whole church. They poisoned the feet of the crucifix, which the people used to kiss; and they attempted to assassinate him in the act of preaching penance. "One is tempted to ask," says Touron, "whether the men who acted thus were Christians, or Mahometans, Florentines or Iroquois." But, from the earliest ages of the Church, the same cause had existed, attended with similar effects. When St. John Chrysostom exerted his zeal against the vices of the stage and circus, and withdrew the people from them, occasion was taken by his enemies, among whom were even bishops, to suggest to the empress that his denunciations against the sins of the great were levelled chiefly against her. Then, with her sanction, a false council was held, headed by Theophilus, patriarch of Alexandria, and a sentence of deposition and banishment passed against him.

St. Barbatus, bishop of Benevento in the seventh age, while curate of St. Basil's in Morcona near that city, suffered persecution for endeavouring to reform the manners of his parishioners, who, as they desired only to slumber on in their sins, could not bear his remonstrances to awaken them to repentance, or his efforts to establish order and discipline amongst them. They treated him as a disturber of their peace, and persecuted him with violence. Finding their malice conquered by his patience and humility, they had recourse to slander, and with such success that he was obliged to withdraw from them.

St. Egwin, descended from the blood of the Mercian kings, and raised to the see of Worcester in 692, was another early example. The generous freedom with which he reproved vice, displeased certain hardened sinners, and such was the persecution he suffered in consequence, that he retired for a time, and made a pilgrimage to Rome.

All through the middle ages there were similar instances occurring from time to time. St. Didier, bishop of Vienne, was

* Ep. 105. † Lett. 613. ‡ Thucyd. vii.
§ Hist. des Hom. Illust. iii. 23.

martyred in consequence of the offence he gave by his sermons before the court of King Thierri. Three assassins were ordered to lie in wait for him as he returned to his church; and the spot on which they murdered him is called to this day, St. Didier de Chalaraine. St. Gaudin, bishop of Soissons, in the beginning of the eighth century, like another St. John the Baptist, had the courage to condemn the grievous sins of many of his diocesans. Fatigued with his apostolic freedom, they conspired against him, waylaid him, and threw him into a deep well, in which he perished. Similarly St. Lambert, bishop of Maestricht, was put to death in a cowardly manner by Dadon, a grandee of the court of Pepin, for having condemned the criminal lives of two brothers, Gal and Riold. The lapse of ages seemed not to have diminished the danger; for St. John Francis Regis was repeatedly exposed to assassination for his zeal in converting sinners.

Soon after his ordination, St. Philip Neri, by exciting in the confessional multitudes of sinners to compunction, gave offence to evil men, who could not bear so great a light; and certain persons were found who uttered the most outrageous calumnies against him, which he endured in silence, thanking God that he was accounted worthy to suffer reproach.

While St. Norbert, archbishop of Magdeburg, was effecting a reformation of manners in that extensive diocese, then overrun with thorns, which he accomplished in three years, by his patience and unshaken courage, he was several times in danger of assassination. Some persons affected a sovereign contempt for his person, and held him up to ridicule as a stranger who did not know the manners of the country. St. Francis de Girolamo, while pursuing his apostolic labours in Naples, found often his intentions misinterpreted, his good works counteracted by malice, and his virtues turned into ridicule.

We may remark that, before the institution of the Jesuits, the religious orders had often come to the assistance of the parochial clergy, where the latter were afraid to correct some abuses which they deplored without daring to suppress them. St. Vincent Ferrier, after ascribing the growth of heresy chiefly to a want of instruction among the people, writes as follows in a letter to Jean de Puinoix, general of the order in 1403, from the mountains of Savoy and Dauphiné: "At Geneva, after the fête of Corpus Christi, the people celebrate another under the name of Saint Orient. At Lausanne the same abuse prevails. Some curates of the country tell me that they dare not combat this superstition publicly, as the people would refnse their alms, or even attack their lives if they attempted it. God gave me the grace to despise these vain terrors, and His divine word has already eradicated this impiety."*

Evangelic intrepidity, in combating the passions and vices which related to the political order, had also been a source of suffering to holy men from earliest times. Thus St. Aldric, bishop of Mans, during the reigns of Louis-le-Débonnaire and Charles-le-Chauve, drew on himself a cruel persecution by denouncing the spirit of revolt which then prevailed. Not content with banishing him from his church, the more violent of the people endeavoured to destroy his reputation by the blackest calumnies, but truth prevailing, he was brought back after a year of exile. How this instance recals events that have lately passed before our eyes!—events to which I cannot now refrain from alluding, to cite the example of a prelate who honoured me with his friendship, in whom, as in a mirror of history, one beheld the courage and the holiness of the ages of faith. Lately, in the chamber of the peers of France, Count Molé spoke of the reappearance of my lord de Quélen, the archbishop of Paris, in the church of St. Roch, when he preached for the children whom the recent pestilence had rendered orphans. "Rich and poor," said the count, "all classes of the population ran thither to catch a glimpse of him. O if this scene, of which so many persons still preserve the memory, had passed in the time of St. Vincent, of Paul, or of St. Charles, we should not be able to find colours sufficiently deep and bright to perpetuate its remembrance. Let us leave to the past all its glory, but let us not depreciate the present times. Futurity, depend upon it, will render them justice, and will not forget this archbishop of Paris breaking his ban, issuing from his retreat, where violence and persecution had forced him to conceal himself, to ask charity for the orphan children of his persecutors." So far the noble peer: but a circumstance, of which he was perhaps ignorant, and which I remember having heard from the lips of the saintly prelate, added a far different

* Touron, Hist. des Hom. Illust. de l'ord. S. D.

lustre to this scene; for this archbishop, coming forth to the succour of his flock on that day, must have had angels hovering over him, with the palm which, by the divine grace, he had deserved from Him to whom he had internally made the offering of his life; for by letters from unknown persons, without number, he had been assured that there was a conspiracy to assassinate him in the very pulpit; so that he went prepared to die like the good Shepherd for his sheep; and as he mounted those long steps before the church, he assured me, with a smile of holy resignation, that there were frowning and malignant looks fixed upon him, which seemed to confirm all his expectations. It is of such men that the Church says, "Ecce sacerdos magnus, qui in diebus suis placuit Deo, et inventus est justus, et in tempore iracundiæ factus est reconciliatio!"

CHAPTER VI.

EXTENDING now our regards from the sufferings chiefly of one class, to which was committed a particular administration, let us observe the persecutions to which all men were exposed in ages of faith, simply in consequence of evincing a more strict fidelity to the divine law.

"Christianus, alter Christus," say the holy fathers. In the Christian, by the eucharistic act, Christ is to abide, as it were, personally. Now the world persecuted Christ, and, as in the massacre of the innocents, declared war against Him from His birth: therefore, in ages of faith, every Christian knew what he was personally to expect from it. "Christ, the head of the martyrs," says St. Augustin, "suffered first for us, leaving us an example that we should follow his steps. Omnis gloria ejus filiæ Regis ab intus; for from without curses and persecutions, and detractions, are promised."* Each faithful disciple was prepared to suffer like his Divine Master, "quasi latronem,"† and as a deceiver of the people;‡ like His apostle, "quasi male operans;"§ and to say with him, "Laboro usque ad vincula." Each was ready to hear, in allusion to himself, "Away with this man, and give unto us Barabbas! for in all ages there are men who hate God already with somewhat of the hatred of the reprobate, and whose gross, unholy infidelity amounts to the forsaking of Jesus and the clinging to Barabbas;"* and, in fact, each member of the Catholic Church might have often used the verses at the Passion in reference to himself, "Tradiderunt me in manus impiorum, et inter iniquos projecerunt me: congregati sunt adversum me fortes: et sicut gigantes steterunt contra me." "Through all the pores of His sacred body issued a sweat of blood," says St. Augustin, "because in His body, that is, in His Church, the blood of martyrs was to flow."†

The solemn sentences in which the holy men of those times conveyed their intimate convictions of the necessity of such suffering, are familiar to most Catholics; but it is interesting to remark with what readiness persons of all conditions were willing to trace a connexion between their own sufferings, or those of contemporaries, and the passion of their Divine Prototype. Even within the worldly society, where doubtful elements existed, there used to be an attempt to claim an identity, which in some instances was not discerned without ingenuity or greater charity. "Recollect," says Queen Eleonore, writing to the archbishop of Mayence, desiring him to procure the deliverance of King Richard, "whether from the infancy

* S. August. Lib. i. De Serm. Dom. in Monte, cap. v. † Luc. xxiii. ‡ 1 Joan. § Ad. Tim. ii. 2.

* Veith. Dr. Cox, tr. † In Ps. xciii.

of the rising Church there was ever any pacific, faithful, innocent king, and a stranger, so craftily taken or maliciously detained. Where is the law of nations? where is equity? where the reverence for strangers evinced even by the crucifiers of Christ, when they transferred to the potter's field for the burial of strangers the price of the sale of Christ?"*

Thus insensibly persons contracted the style and mode of thinking of their contemporaries, even when they were making a false application of both. But let us take an instance which is not liable to such an objection, to observe with what fervour and simplicity the greatest intelligences cherished this desire of conformity to the world's Immortal victim! John Picus of Mirandula writes as follows to John Francis: "This is apostolic dignity, to be counted worthy of being traduced by the impious on account of the Gospel. If the world hated Him by whom the world was made, why should we miserable creatures, who deserve so ill, bear with impatience the injuries done to us by others? If men praise you when living well, as far as living well indeed you resemble Christ; but inasmuch as men give you praise, you are unlike Him. Optabilius crucifigi a mundo ut exalteris a Deo, quam exaltaris a mundo ut judiceris a Deo: for the one crucifies to life, the other exalts to glory; the one exalts to perdition, the other judges to hell. Happy calumny, happy contumely, which renders us safe, and prevents the flower of justice from being withered by the pestilential blast of vain-glory, and the rewards of eternity from being diminished to us by the vain augmentation of popular favour. Let that sweetest voice of our Lord ever sound in your ears: Sine mortuos sepelire mortuos suos, tu me sequere: for they are dead who live not to God; and in the space of temporary death laboriously do they acquire for themselves eternal death. And if you inquire from men whither do they tend, or whence look they for happiness, they will have nothing to reply, or only words contradictory, like the ravings of the insane; for neither do they know themselves what they do, but, like those who swim in rivers, they are borne along with the flood of custom as if with the force of a mighty stream. Therefore, dearest son, stop your ears against them, and whatever men may say or think respecting you, make no account of it, but consider only the certainty of death and the judgment of God, who will render to every man according to his works, in his revela from heaven with the angels of his vi in flames of fire, taking vengeance u those who know not God, and who obey the gospel. Fly then from the compan such men, who always love to draw ot aside from the narrow path, and let no pass without humble and ardent praye the Saviour. Despise the false, shado and imaginary joys of this brief world, desire only to be received into that cou whose king is God, whose law is love, wh duration is for ever."*

Lovely and amiable is the race of m and yet, that in the order of nature, si the fall, goodness itself must be a caus hatred, is a proposition which, however shallow moralists of the present day mi be disposed to contradict, the voice of antiquity proclaims. "To you the v name of virtue," says Seneca, "is displeasi You deem it expedient that no one sho appear to be eminently virtuous, since virtue of others would be like a condem tion of your vices."† The poet bear similar testimony:

"————Quatenus, heu nefas!
Virtutem incolumem odimus."‡

Cebes, in his Tables, remarks how u who refuse to follow truth detest and re those who persevere in ascending to citadel. "It is not easy," says Plato, " those who adopt the best course, to be w spoken of by those who follow the c trary."§ "Innocentiæ plus periculi qu honoris est." Plato, in almost all his d logues, calls attention to the fact. "M not the lovers of wisdom," he asks, " necessarily reproached by the vulgar? A suredly they must."|| Defining a just m he says, *μηδὲν γὰρ ἀδικῶν, δόξαν ἐχέτω μεγίστην ἀδικίας.*¶ "Among the people general, and among his acquaintances, will be disliked, simply because he will ne consent to any injustice."** The first Chr tian apologists called to witness the avow of the old philosophy, that truth produ hatred, to account for the enmity with wh they were regarded.†† What an astonish testimony does Socrates bear to the perpet existence of the disposition which produ the effects we are here to contemplate, wh he says, in that memorable passage of Republic, "that if a person perfectly

* Ap. Pet. Bles. Epist. cxliii.

* Epist. Lib. i. 47.
† De Vita Beat
‡ Hor. Od. iii. 24.
§ De Repub. vi
|| Ib.
¶ Ib. ii.
** Ib. i.
†† Tertull. x. Apol. Lactantius.

should come into the world, he would be scourged, tortured, bound, blinded, and, after suffering every species of torment, crucified; and that it should be thus manifested that it was not a thing desirable to be just, but to seem just!"* After this, however, we may sympathize with Antigone exclaiming, at her death,

> Λεύσσετε, Θήβης οἱ κοιρανίδαι,
> οἷα πρὸς οἵων ἀνδρῶν πάσχω,
> τὴν εὐσεβίαν σεβίσασα,†

more philosophical must sound the words of Abner to the high-priest in Athalie,

> "Pensez-vous être saint et juste impunément?"

No, for where there is no convention and connivance, "throughout the world is virtue worried down, as 'twere a snake, for mortal foe."

But if the heathen philosophers could arrive at such conclusions from the limited observations that such men could make in a benighted world, or from the mere speculations of their intelligence, what was not to be expected after the sun of justice had risen upon the earth, confirming all former predictions and aggravating the sources of hostility, by bringing men into contact with real and divine virtues? when sheep were to be sent, not alone amongst wolves, but also amongst wolves in sheep's clothing? For what? In the middle age all men are Christians. But as St. Augustin demands, "Nunquid et diabolus Christianus erit? Therefore he does not cease to tempt and to instigate."‡ What is the Church? Hear the answer of this holy doctor: "You enter a barn, and see hardly any thing but straw and chaff. An inexperienced man would think that there was no wheat, and that all was straw and chaff. Yet there the corn lies amidst it, which will be found when it is thrashed and winnowed. So in the Church. Do you wish to find the wheat? Be good, and you will find it."§ You see then in what proportion, even in ages of faith, are always the instruments for persecuting men simply on account of their sanctity.

"Who can enumerate," exclaims St. Augustin, "all the things by which the Body of Christ is tortured, which lives within in the spirit of Christ, and which groans as wheat amidst the chaff? Scarcely are they who thus groan discernible; they are as hidden as the wheat before the thrashing. One would suppose it all chaff."* Now this chaff was an element of persecution employed not only against individual members, but always, as we shall see presently, against the collective body of the Church, and even against the earthly society of men as constituted by divine religion.

Leonard de Chio, archbishop of Constantinople, declared, from what he witnessed, that at the last siege of Constantinople, before it was taken by the Turks, there were actually Christians of all nations in the Turkish army: they were Christians who taught the infidels how to conquer the Christians, who discovered to them whatever could aid them in their enterprise.† Wonder not then to hear rising, day and night, from the Churches of the middle ages such voices as refer to the Passion of Him whom all the just must follow:

"Eripe me, Domine, ab homine malo. A viro iniquo eripe me.

"Viri impii dixerunt, Opprimamus virum justum injuste, et deglutiamus eum tamquam infernus vivum: auferamus memoriam illius de terra; et de spoliis ejus sortem mittamus inter nos.

"Insurrexerunt in me viri iniqui absque misericordia, quæsierunt me interficere."

Yes, the middle ages, as well as all other times, beheld the Divine words verified. As under the law, he that was born after the flesh, according to the language of the Apostle, persecuted him that was born after the Spirit, even so was it then. The carnal mind, which is enmity against God, for it is not subject to the law of God, neither indeed can he, was enmity against his servants, whether kings, pontiffs, priests, or laymen, women or children, who sought to observe it. The world, which had hated the Just One before, hated them. If they had been of the world, the world would have loved its own; but because they were not of the world, but had been chosen out of the world, therefore, the world hated, and, as the Church sings, abhorred them. "Hi sunt quos fatuè mundus abhorruit."

"Truly, brethren," says St. Augustin, "we see by daily examples that division is made by Christ. It pleases a youth to serve God; it displeases his father; they are divided against each other. The one promises an earthly heritage, the other loves a celestial one. So it is with the mother and daughter;

* De Repub. Lib. ii.
† Soph. Ant. 940.
‡ In Ps. lxix.
§ In Ps. xlvii.

* In. Ps. xxx.
† Touron, Hist. des Hommes Illust. de l'ord. S. D. tom. iii. liv. 20.

and sometimes in one house are found a heretic and a Catholic."* Thus it continued.

St. Anselm, when a boy, was hated by his father for wishing to become a monk. What persecutions did St. Thomas of Aquin endure from his mother Theodora and his two brothers, when he first received the habit of St. Dominic's order, being confined by them for more than a year in a tower of the castle of Rocca-Sicca, from which sufferings he was only delivered at the instance of the pope and the emperor. When St. Stanislas Kostka entered the society of Jesus, his father's rage was kindled to such a degree that he even threatened he would procure the banishment of the Jesuits out of Poland, for having involved his family in what he blindly termed a disgrace. St. Aloysius Gonzaga, too, when he disclosed his wish to devote himself to God in the society of Jesus, had much to suffer. His father said that he would have him scourged naked. "O that it would please God," replied the holy youth, "to grant me so great a favour as to suffer that for his love!" Even without seeking to renounce the world for a cloister, whoever seeks to realize in the crowd the pious wishes he has formed in solitude sitting alone in the forest, will have to suffer persecutions for producing without what he had conceived within; for doing in the city what he had resolved on in the woods. "The will in man," says Dante, "bears goodly blossoms; but its ruddy promise is, by the dripping of perpetual rain, made mere abortion."† That rain is the ridicule or the reproaches ready to fall on faith and innocence, when speech or action shows them forth.

> "Oh, what a world is this, when what is comely
> Envenoms him that bears it!"

"Facti sumus opprobrium vicinis nostris; subsannatio et illusio his qui in circuitu nostro sunt."‡ It is still the same with all who follow the way, and the truth, and the life. "He who wishes to be like the few," as Petrarch says, "becomes odious to the many."§ "How strange is the world!" exclaims the duc de S. Simon, speaking of the duke of Burgundy and of his conversion. "It had abhorred him in his first state, and it was inclined to despise him in his second. The prince felt the wound: he supported it. He attached with joy this sort of opprobrium to the cross of his Saviour, in order to confound himself in the bitter remembrance of his past pride. What most sensibly affected him was to find it in its heaviest form in the bosom of his own family."

James II. experienced the same hostility from some even who were separated to God. "Behold a good simple man," said the archbishop of Rheims, on seeing him leaving the chapel at Versailles; "he has left three kingdoms for a mass."

St. Elizabeth of Hungary was despised for her sanctity and innocence by her mother-in-law and the other relations of her husband, who endeavoured to make her appear contemptible and unworthy of her station. The woes which she endured within the Gothic walls of Wartbourg, described with such affecting simplicity by the contemporary writers, and brought back to the memory of this age by the pen of young Montalembert, are all to be traced to the same source. Truly all holy persons, especially they who were of Cæsar's household,* have from the time of St. Paul suffered persecutions of this kind; and the Emperor Frederick II., in ordering his courtiers to contrive some temptation that might overcome the sanctity of St. Francis, disclosed with sufficient clearness the secret of much of the hostility directed against them.

Cowley's essay, entitled "The Dangers of an honest man in much company," requires to be completed by a reference to those dangers which peculiarly affect Catholics; for compliance with the commands of the Church was often sufficient of itself, as at the present day, to draw upon men not alone the ridicule, but the indignation of the unholy. St. Kucley, St. Milhey, and St. Nizilon, the two first brothers, and all of illustrious families of Lithuania, were chamberlains to Olgerd, grand duke of Lithuania, and father of the famous Jagellon. On their conversion to Christianity, their refusal to eat meat on a day of abstinence cost them their liberty and their lives. All were first tortured; but the last, a mere youth, suffered atrocities that only Satanic cruelty could devise. They were martyred at Wilna in 1342.

A certain hostess, merely from observing that St. Dominic and his companions abstained from meat, and took only bread and wine as they sat at table with other travellers in her inn, burst into a rage and loaded him with insults and maledictions. The

* In. Ps. xliv.
‡ Ps. lxxviii.
† Par. xxvii.
§ Epist. i. 5.
* Epist. ad Philip.

observance of these holy practices, by reminding the impious of the law they outraged, naturally excited that indignation which will often find vent in words like those of the demons to our Lord, "What is there in common between thee and us? Art thou come to torment us before the time?" Merely the look and air of poverty and mortification, which belonged to St. Gregory of Nazianzen, caused him to be ill received when he first went to Constantinople. Great were the insults he had to endure in consequence, not only from the Arians, but even from the Catholics of high condition of that polite and proud city.

St. Jerome describes such persons. "These are they who say continually, All is pure for the pure. My conscience suffices to me. Why should I abstain from these meats which God has created for the use of man? And when, in their profane fêtes and criminal rejoicings, they are gorged with wine, adding sacrilege to excess, they propose to participate in the blood of Jesus Christ; and if their eyes meet with any one pale and mortified, they treat such a person as wretched and a Manichæan. And certes they have a show of reason: since for those who live in similar excesses, fasting and mortifications are a real heresy."* Substitute the word bigotry for Manichæan, and you have the modern complaints. Thousands of men, in short, feel towards persons of celebrated holiness, and would act, if they had an occasion like the clown who went to vote against Aristides, and who, when asked, whether he knew Aristides personally, replied that truly he did not, but that he was tired of hearing him styled the just; σωτήσας, adds Plutarch ἐνέγραψε τὸ ὄνομα τῷ ὀστράκῳ, καὶ ἀπέδωκεν.

But there were even more deadly wheels in movement to explain the result observed by the father of history, τῷ δικαίῳ τὸ ἄδικον πολέμιόν ἐστι.† "Herod feared John," says the evangelist, "knowing him to be a just man and holy."‡ "Vice is not so much dreaded in men, because it makes them slaves, as virtue is feared because it makes them masters."§ It is feared also, because it seems to menace the acquisitions of the unjust. When Fenelon was made archbishop of Cambrai, he surrendered his only abbey of St. Vallery. The archbishop of Rheims took alarm. "It is reported," he said to him, "that you are about resigning your benefice: what folly!" "Whether it be so or not, the thing is done," replied Fenelon. "You ruin us all," rejoined the other: "what would you have the king think of my lord of Rheims, who is still asking for more?" "I do not condemn any one," said Fenelon. "That is to say," replied the other, "every one should follow his conscience: well, my conscience orders me to keep my abbeys."*

We need not ask what side such men would take between a Gregory VII. and an emperor, between a St. Thomas and a Henry II., between a Droste Vischering and a Frederic of Prussia. "What is his offence?" asks St. Bernard, speaking of Count Theobald; "if it be a sin that he loved justice, and hated iniquity, he cannot be excused." "The evil persecute the good," as St. Augustin says, "because the good will not consent to their evil. Some one does ill. The bishop takes no notice? he is a good bishop. The bishop remonstrates? he is an evil bishop. Whoever reprehends evil is an enemy to those who say, Let us eat and drink, for to-morrow we die."†

But let us mark the effects under a grosser form in ordinary life. St. Honoré, the son of a cattle-dealer of Buzançais, near Bourges, at the end of the thirteenth century, succeeded to that trade on his father's death, and became a model of virtuous young men. Returning from Poitou, and perceiving that his servants had mixed with his drove a stolen cow, he reproved them and insisted on their restoring it to its owner. Incensed at his words, they resolved to make away with him, and to sell the drove for their own profit. On reaching a solitary spot, half a league from Thenezai, near Parthenai, in Poitou, they seized him, cut off his head, and threw the body near a fountain, where, by God's fiat, miracles proclaimed the glory of his crown. At Thenezai, the body was solemnly enshrined, the church dedicated to him; Buzançais took him for its patron, and in 1444 he was by the pope beatified.

Wulfade and Rufin, the brothers of St. Wereberge, on account of their frequently resorting to the cell of St. Chad, near Lichfield, by whom they were instructed in the faith and baptized, became hateful to Werbode, a powerful wicked knight, who considered that they were obstacles to the attainment of his wish, in regard to his marriage with their saintly sister who had consecrated herself to God; and, in conse-

* Epist. ad Eustoch. Virg.
† Herodotus. ‡ Marc. vi. 20.
§ Savedra, Christian Prince, i. 109.

* Beaumelle, Mém. de Mad. de Maintenon.
† In. Ps. cxxviii.

quence of this suspicion, and with the consent of her father, king of Mercia, he contrived their murder.

The blessed Thomas, prior of the abbey of St. Victor, having induced Stephen bishop of Paris, in 1133, to reform certain communities, was assassinated in his company at Gournai-sur-Marne, by the nephews of Thibaud Nothier, archdeacon of Paris, who was jealous of his influence over the bishop. The holy man, after forgiving his murderers, and protesting that he died for justice, expired in the bishop's arms.

St. Godegrand, bishop of Séez, on his return from Rome, was murdered on the road between Almenèches and Séez, by order of Chrodobert, to whom he had confided the diocese in his absence, and who feared to be called to an account by him for his crimes.

How many just men in the middle ages were persecuted for a similar reason, like St. Malo, on the death of Haeloch, count of Aleth, his protector, when he was obliged to fly from Britanny! So true are the words of the Pythagorean poet,

*αἰεὶ δ' ἀμφ' ἀρεταῖσι πόνος.**

Nor did retirement and silence remove the cause of persecution. In retirement, the faithful were still regarded as adversaries under a hostile banner, and their silence was reproach and clamour. "Nunquam inutilis est opera civis boni," said the philosopher; "auditu enim, visu, vultu, nutu, obstinatione tacita, incessuque ipso prodest. Virtus, sive cogitur vela contrahere, sive otiosa mutaque est, in quocunque habitu est, prodest. Quid? tu parum utile putas exemplum bene quiescentis?" It is silent, retired, unobtrusive? But for that very reason, it must expect to be detested. Why so? St. Augustin furnishes an answer, when he describes the luxury of the Romans, and its consequences.

"Vast and magnificent houses," he says, "are constructed; banquets are held; die noctuque ludatur, bibatur, vomatur, diffluatur. They devote themselves to dances, dramas, and every kind of cruel and shameful pleasure. He is a public enemy to whom this felicity is displeasing: whoever should attempt to change it or take it away, will, by the liberal multitude, be removed from their hearing, will be hurled from his seat, will be cast out from among the living."†

"Scandals abound," says St. Augustin, "but no one perceives them, unless he who follows the way of God."‡ "Those v God suffers to walk according to the affec of their heart, who defend, some the c others the amphitheatre, others the the and so on, are necessarily alienated those who walk according to his precep "and it is of no avail," as he adds, "to a city in which there is no pagan, be those Christians who live ill, are sure eq to insult those who live well; not, in because they are Christians, but be their manners are conformable to faith."§

Hence it was that St. Elizabeth w persecuted by Agnes, the young landgr sister, and her mother. Her crime despising the pomps of the world, w they loved; it was her preference of J Christ, in the persons of his poor, to charms of polite society. For the reason, St. Stanislas Kostka suffered secution from his brother Paul, and tutor Bilinski; for the former, regar the saintly manners of the youth as a sure of his own, treated him continually insults, and often struck and beat him; the latter, being in his interest, pretet formally to condemn St. Stanislas for lecting what he owed to his rank in world. It was against such victims that slanderous tongue was often directed, which persecution not even the innocenc St. Rosa of Lima, or the purity of Empress St. Cunegonde, could escape. has been said, that the spirit of moderat and a certain wisdom of conduct, leave in obscurity; and the ancient philosop indulge in many curious observations specting the grounds of secret dislike which the just will be regarded by t around them.

"You complain," says Epictetus, " you are not invited to entertainments others; but you should remember tha you do not perform the same things, cannot be thought worthy of the s recompense: for how can it be doing same to go to the door of some one, and to go to it? to omit some thing and n omit it, to praise and not to praise? Th fore you will be unjust and insatiabl not paying the price for which these th are sold, you should wish nevertheles receive them. For how much is the let sold? Perhaps for an obol. Whoever gives the obol, should take the lettuce; you must not have it, who refuse to pay

* Pindar.

† De Civ. Dei, 11. 20.

* In Ps. lxxi.

† In Ps. lxxx

‡ In Ps. xc.

; nor yet are you to suppose that ıve less than he who receives it; for ıas his lettuce, so have you your obol. ɔ manner you are not invited to any ıouse. But you do not give to him vites, the price for which he sells his . He sells it for praise; he sells it equious service. Give then the price; you do not choose to pay for it, and ıve after the entertainment, you are ɔle and absurd. Have you then ɛ instead of the supper? Truly you our equivalent. You have your not g the man whom you inwardly de-

We may remark here, that the holy manners, resulting from a Catholocation and the domestic traditions of ɔ and religious family, expose men to nce of exile from the houses of all persons who have not possessed the dvantages.

ɔ dans ma blonde enfance, hélas! trop ɔhémère,
ı maîtres,—un jardin, un vieux prêtre et a mère."

n whatever be your age or genius, ɔ your Gothic manor, surrounded with ɛes, where in the autumn you can ɔ your melancholy, treading on the ves, and hearkening to the plaintive of the wind, through those that are ɔo fall. But if you approach our preexpect not our society.

r mere preference of assisting at ction, to sitting at our table, disɛs you for the circle in which we move. ıaxim, if you would join it, must be the old Roman, only with decent

ɛnam si me diversa vocaret in astra
ıc invitator Cæsaris, inde Jovis;
licet propius, pallatia longius essent,
ıponsa ad superos hæc referenda darem:
ite, qui malit fieri conviva Tonantis;
meus in terris Jupiter, ecce, tenet."*

ɛever you may wish to conciliate our , you will never succeed. There will ays some cause of offence that one ıw, and hear an approving voice. If could be persecuted under Henry f France, for pronouncing Q as in ıam, and not as kankam, what will ıght of your signs of the cross, and ɛtes, and abstinence, and other ecclerites, which you practise, as St. in says, "in order to be consistent." duc de Saint Simon, speaking of the taken at the piety of the duc de Bourgogne, which, he says, incensed even the king, mentions one trait amongst a thousand, as having put the king quite off his guard, and revolted the court, which only consisted in the young prince desiring to evince this consistency in regard to the festival of the Epiphany; for the court being at Marly, he declined appearing at the ball, alleging that it was a triple festival; and that without presuming to blame others, he preferred remaining the whole evening in his chamber, rather than take part in such an amusement on so holy a day. The king was piqued, indignant; he said that such conduct was a condemnation of himself. The courtiers represented it as wanting in the respect due from a subject: the historian himself condemned it as extravagant. Yet assuredly the Church viewed it not in such a light. St. Augustin even desired that in common society the days of the week should be named feriæ according to their number, following the ecclesiastical mode, as more suitable to Christian lips than that derived from pagan usage. In the middle ages, a thousand customs were popular, which served to distinguish Catholic families from those of Jews, Moors, and heretics, which, if observed in these latter days, would render any man an object of suspicion to this new kind of anomalous nobility, which could not survive the loss of its titles, being not founded in a name. If you adhere to these usages, and it is hard to give them up while retaining any trait from Catholic times of historical grandeur in the memory, you will be avoided, and marked as one with whom there can be no strict fellowship: you will be able to apply to yourself the words, "Considerabam et videbam, et non erat qui cognosceret me." You will be left alone, like Dante, deprived of all intercourse with any but with young persons, or the poor, exposed perhaps within view of others, even in the streets, if you pass near the rich saunterers, to the finger and the look of scorn.

Nor be amazed at this; for men who had the least resemblance to the type you follow, have always experienced the same treatment from a society of analogous dispositions. Martial, therefore, addresses Fabian in the lines,

"Vir bonus et pauper, linguaque et pectore verus,
Quid tibi vis, urbem qui, Fabiane, petis?
Unde miser vives? homo fidus, certus amicus:
Hoc nihil est."

Observe how the Roman philosopher was abandoned by his friend Marcellinus.

* Martial.

"Raro ad nos venit," he says, "nulla alia ex causa, quam quia audire verum timet; a quo periculo jam abest." There can be little pleasure to either party from an intercourse between men, when like Charles II., one of them being admonished respecting his vicious life, deems it enough to reply, that the other who advises him is in the wrong, and has an understanding different from all other men who have experience in the world.

In truth it must needs be so. Men of views so opposite, and manners so dissimilar, cannot but cause each other mutual embarrassment. "Nous nous ennuierions les uns les autres," said a French minister, on leaving the court.

In the Theætetus, Plato remarks, "that even if there were no other cause of offence, true philosophers would be disliked in consequence of their attaching little importance to the fact of other men possessing immense estates, and being able to reckon a long succession of rich ancestors. Being accustomed *εἰς τὸ πᾶν ἀεὶ βλέπειν*, and, therefore, to look with indifference on such distinctions, they are disdained by the vulgar as ignorant of the first and most common things of life, and considered as presumptuous and insolent;" a fate which must be shared by those who have drunk of that Catholic philosophy which makes all men feel on an equality, as far as regards the differences of fortune, and which exempts them from the desire of paying court to any one, however rich or powerful; for in conquence of evincing that indifference, they will be secretly disliked by those who expect to be courted. The Pythagorean poet's *ὁδὸν Διὸς* is set down as the way of the weak or superannuated. Thus, alluding to the last years of the great Condé, which were spent in retirement and piety, Voltaire says, "Il ne fut que son ombre, et que même il ne resta rien de lui." If we repair to the scenes of ordinary life, we find the same consequences attending religion. How should the devout woman and the woman of the world find it otherwise? The one, however exalted in station, desires in her house the holy calm of past times. She has been taught, as a French writer who contrasts them says,* not to waste her youth in those thousand trifles and senseless passions, which are a source to others of eternal regret. She has been taught, that it is her duty to remain faithful to God, faithful to the Church, separated from heretics. She is married; she becomes a mother, and is a tender and serious one. If women of the world say of her, She is stupid and eccentric; her servants and the poor say, She is an angel. There is no idleness in her house, no contemptible futility; the whole day is employed. There are no vanities in her house, no secret notes, no adulterous papers. She receives few letters, for she has nothing to learn from without, or when she receives any, they are letters written on coarse paper, and scarcely legible, coming from poor suffering humanity. Her amusements are not those of paltry ambition, and the ruinous display of frail prosperity. She has, however, the finest fêtes in the world. She celebrates in all their seriousness, the festivals of the Church throughout the year, the patrons of her children and of her aged kindred. She has for herself all the joys of the holy calendar, the festivities of heaven and earth. Her visits are to the poor, to the cottages, or to the roofs beneath which one burns in summer and shivers in winter; there are her dramas. She is seldom seen in the public drives, softly extended in her carriage, as if she lay on a bed of parade; but to the church and to the hospital; she is familiar with the streets: "Lead me to the street near the cathedral, for from that point I shall know my way home to my father's house," says the maiden Leocadia, in the tale of Cervantes, entitled the Force of Blood, to the wretch who had captured her. In a word, if they meet one another, the woman of the world, who retains any memory of truth, feels ashamed, discouraged, and for that reason, at least, secretly exasperated.

One could account for the repugnance by even referring to the observation of the old philosophy. Alcibiades used to fly from Socrates, fearing the secret charm of his wise discourse, and that self-reproach which he always felt when sitting near him, knowing that he could never answer him, or justify himself, for not doing what he called on him to do. *ξύνοιδα γὰρ*, he says, *ἐμαυτῷ ἀντιλέγειν μὲν οὐ δυνάμενῳ ὡς οὐ δεῖ ποιεῖν ἃ οὗτος κελεύει· ἐπειδὰν δὲ ἀπέλθω, ἡττημένῳ τῆς τιμῆς τῆς ὑπὸ τῶν πολλῶν, δραπετεύω οὖν αὐτὸν, καὶ φεύγω· καὶ ὅταν ἴδω, αἰσχύνομαι τὰ ὡμολογημένα, καὶ πολλάκις μὲν ἡδέως ἂν ἴδοιμι αὐτὸν μὴ ὄντα ἐν ἀνθρωποῖς.**

* Janin.

** Plat. Conviv.

Here is a frank confession. After hearing it, who will wonder that the society of the faithful, in manners as well as in faith Catholic, should, at times, at least, experience the fate which the philosopher ascribes to true philosophy: "A plerisque neglecta, a multis etiam vituperetur?"* But it may be urged, perhaps, that this neglect should not be noticed among the persecutions of the just. It is true, we cannot suppose that the elect of God can feel as a privation the being rejected from the society of those who follow the world's banner; or that, like the sophist of Geneva, they unite the obscurity of retreat with the desire of being universally known: but still, as indicating the malevolence of others, they cannot, being after all men, and more than others qualified for all offices of love, become insensible to its systematic manifestation. Speaking of Nicole's treatise on the means of preserving peace with men, Madame de Sevigné observes that "the indifference which he requires for the esteem or censure of the world, implies a perfection above humanity; that she is less capable of comprehending it than any one, though she derives pleasure from listening to him, and that, by dint of ascertaining the justice of an argument, she may possibly be led to make use of it on certain occasions." Religion, indeed, was known to approve of such timid language; and we may remark too, that for every transient discouragement that flesh is heir to, the Catholic Church has words of sympathy. To how many hearts do her words penetrate, when at sext she sings that affecting confession of David, so expressive of the profound sadness arising often from an accumulation of these lesser wounds and of its remedy: "Nisi quod lex tua meditatio mea est: tunc forte periissem in humilitate mea!"

"Must not the lovers of wisdom," asks Socrates, "desire to please those with whom they live?" "Assuredly, therefore," he adds, "as these latter necessarily hate those who love wisdom, how will it be possible to preserve the philosophic nature?" To him the difficulty seemed to admit of no solution, as he knew not the secret of the divine wisdom, which consisted in receiving neglect and all mortifications as part of the burden of the cross; but even for those possessed of that secret, the need and practice of it implied a trial of patience amounting to persecution, however they might be magnanimous in submitting to vituperation and calumny, from which the man after God's own heart prayed that he might be saved. Therefore, after citing the divine words, "Beati eritis cum vos oderint homines et cum separaverint vos, et exprobraverint et ejecerint nomen vestrum tanquam malum, propter Filium hominis," Albertus Magnus remarks that the word is eritis, not estis; "for, truly," saith he, "in enduring there is misery, though after enduring the most certain beatitude."*

"That which is pleasing to others will go forward; that which thou wouldst have will not succeed: that which others say will be hearkened to; what thou sayest will not be regarded: others will ask, and will receive; thou wilt ask, and not obtain. Others will be great in the estimation of men; but of thee no notice will be taken. To others, this or that will be committed; but thou wilt be accounted fit for nothing. At this, nature will sometimes repine, and it will be no small matter if thou bear it in silence."† It is the ascetic who speaks thus.

"The injustice of the world towards the good has three characters," as Massillon observes; "an injustice of temerity which always suspects their intentions, an injustice of inhumanity which never pardons them for the least imperfection, an injustice of impiety which makes their zeal and sanctity a subject of contempt and derision. And these again he subdivides, finding in the first a temerity of indiscretion, since it judges of what it cannot know, a temerity of corruption, since generally it only ascribes to others what it finds in itself; and, in fine, a temerity of contradiction, since the same suspicions which it thinks well-founded against others, would be considered, if directed against itself, unjust and insane."

But now, descending further down this dismal ledge, new pains, new troubles I behold, at which my heart is with sore grief assailed; for persecutions on account of justice extended beyond the limits of secular life, and sometimes followed men of eminent sanctity even to the very sanctuary of peace within the cloister. When the three holy canons of Rheims, of whom one was St. Bruno, accused their archbishop Manasses, who oppressed his flock by tyrannical vexations, the legate of the pope, having cited him in consequence to

* Tuscul. iv.

* Albert. Mag. in Luc. v. tom. x.
† Imit. Lib. iii. 49.

appear before the council at Autun, to which summons he refused to listen, that unworthy prelate, being exasperated against them, caused their houses to be broken open, and their property seized. They fled to the castle of the count de Ronci, where they remained, as in an asylum, while their persecutor, although deposed, wrote against them to the pope.

Within the cloister those monastic abuses already spoken of, those perverse men under the religious hood, to whom we alluded in the last book, were a fruitful source of trial to the blessed saints, who sought to correct and reform them. I have delayed till now to speak of this; for while under the roof of the house of peace, I was deterred from approaching the subject by that maxim of the Benedictine rule, which, in allusion to the Sarabaits or worthless men who become monks, says, "De quorum omnium miserrima conversatione melius est silere quam loqui;"* but the fact cannot be passed over in silence any longer; though, on proceeding to make mention of it, the reader should be warned from imitating those who conceal the justice of the monks, and hear but the report of their accusers, who never mention shadows of any virtue in the men they would depress; like the sad raven that

"Flies by the fair Arabian spiceries,
Her pleasant gardens and delightsome parks,
Seeming to curse them with his hoarse exclaims,
And yet doth stoop, with hungry violence,
Upon a piece of hateful carrion."

Persecution within the cloister existed occasionally under two forms. Men of eminent sanctity suffered it from degenerate brethren, sometimes simply on account of their superior justice, and, at others, in consequence of their endeavour to correct and reform them. Of the former, an instance occurred in the monastery of Classe, when the piety and austerities of St. Romuald raised an odium against him in the minds of some tepid monks, and, in order to avoid the effects of their wicked hatred, he obtained the abbot's consent to leave the house, when he put himself under the direction of St. Marinus. Afterwards, when elected abbot of that house, which office he was compelled to accept by the bishops, at the instance of the Emperor Otho III., his inflexible justice caused many to rise against him, whose violence he bore with gentleness, till finding them incurable, he again left the monastery, and resigned the abbatial office. Another example was seen in the mortifications suffered by St. Joseph Calasanctius; for having admitted into his order, for the education of youth, an unworthy member, he was persecuted by him with the most outrageous violence. The holy man saw all his intentions frustrated by him, and his order suppressed; what could be more painful than to see all his hopes blasted by the machinations of a wicked man? But he did not murmur. Let us hear an instance of the kind minutely related in an ancient chronicle. "It happened once that the pious Gobert, a monk of Villers, set out on a journey about some affairs, in company with another monk of the convent, named Peter. Arriving late in the evening in a certain town, where they were to pass the night, being fatigued and exhausted with the labour and heat of the day, Peter having caused a table to be spread, produced out of a bag which he carried, abundant provisions, and ordered cups to be served and many things made ready. It seemed to the pious Gobert that here was more than what was necessary, and more than agreed with perfect moderatien: he silently accused his conscience; but after both had supped he did not dare at that time to reveal to his brother what passed within his soul: but early the next morning, as they were riding through umbrageous lanes, he began humbly and mildly to disclose his thoughts, and to say that he feared lest the expense which had been made yesterday, was beyond what their wants required, and that the patrimony of Christ ought not to be spent in superfluities, but given to the poor; that beneficed clerks are only dispensers of the Church, not lords of its substance; for, as St. Ambrose says, when we assist the poor, we give not our own, but that which the Church appoints us to dispense; therefore ecclesiastical goods do not belong to clerks, but to the poor of Christ. Saying these and other things, Gobert lamented that he should have squandered money which did not belong to him: but brother Peter did not receive this reproof with a humble mind; for, on the contrary, he felt so angry, that he did not answer him a word. So they rode on for nearly three hours, and Peter would make no answer to Gobert; which the holy man observing, began to try every gentle mode of soothing him, and of turning away his displeasure, speaking to him in the

* Reg. cap. i.

: tone and with the sweetest
At last he said, 'My brother, it is
ır us to discharge the service of
o our Creator;' to which invitation
er silently assented; so, according
custom of the Cistercians and all
ic orders, they dismounted from
ɔrses, and knelt down to begin the
When brother Peter was prostrate
earth, Gobert, with joined hands,
towards him, and bursting into
umbly implored his forgiveness, for
by correction moved his wrath; but
prayers did not seem to move the
he continued to implore him, and
ared that he would never rise from
ees till he had forgiven him; at
brother Peter raised him up with
ɪnce. Such was the admirable hu-
of this man, beloved of God, and
l with all virtues."* Thus far the
le, in the sufferings of one, recording
ɔf many. But it was chiefly as
ɛrs of their respective communities
rs, that the holy men of monastic
ffered persecution on account of

ɪtimating the fortitude of the saints
ɔoured in this vineyard, one should
, that there never were wanting
pecious arguments, and some men
ɪts, to excuse the evil for which they
a remedy. Orderic Vitalis men-
hat the monks of St. Benedict, who
the reform introduced by the
Robert in the time of Philip, king of
, defended themselves on this ground
that the different circumstances of
es required a life different from that
hermits of Egypt. "God forbid,"
ɛy, "that valiant knights, that subtle
phers and eloquent doctors, because
ve renounced the world, should be
as mean slaves to occupy them-
n ignoble works and little suitable!"†
real source of hostility, however, on
ccasions was seldom avowed. Much
vanced in the time of St. Bernard,
ing the venerable usages of past
n respect to the colour of habits;
Peter the Venerable, in writing to
ɔly abbot, disengaged the question
s adventitious appendages. "Per-
said he, "there is another cause,
still, of this dissension between the
ɛs and Cistercians, between ancient
ɔ more modern communities. We

toria Monast. Villariensis, ap. Martene,
ıecdot. tom. iii. † Id. tom. viii.

are restorers of piety that was grown cold; we are distinguished from others in manners, as well as in habits and customs: behold, behold, the more hidden, but far more urgent cause for the breach of charity and for the sharpening of tongues like a sword against us. And oh! lamentable boast, to be lamented with never-sufficient tears, if the pure chastity of a long life, if invincible obedience, if unbroken fasts, if perpetual vigils, if such a yoke of discipline, if so many palms of patience, and, in short, if so many labours, not so much of an earthly as of a celestial life, should be dispersed by one hiss of the serpent; if the old dragon should thus in an instant, with one breath, dissipate all your treasures, collected by the grace of God, and render you empty in the sight of the supreme Judge."*

Sometimes, when a monastery fell under the dominion of an evil superior, the monks who persevered in sanctity fled from his persecution. Thus the historian of St. Gall says: "For ever to be deplored is the day, by us and by all the inhabitants of this place, in which this noble and flourishing monastery, which can be called another paradise, passed under the rule of Kerhard. The brethren, beholding all his evil, and having no hope that he would cease as long as he lived, chose to leave the monastery and become exiles, rather than sustain any longer the sight of his folly and incontinence."†

St. Gautier, before becoming abbot of the canons regular of Esterp in Limousin, in the tenth century, for making some remonstrance on the observance of discipline, while a canon of Dorat, drew on himself the indignation of the prior, and was obliged to retire to Conflans, near the abbey of which he soon became superior.

St. Richard, prior of the Benedictine monastery of our Lady in York, with twelve others, desiring to serve God according to the rule, and restore the ancient discipline of that house, was obliged to leave the monastery, after enduring innumerable persecutions from the lukewarm brethren who were unwilling to have a reform; and it was then that, Thurstan, the archbishop of York, giving them a desert valley called Scheldale, they founded the afterwards far-famed abbey of Fountains, in 1132. When the lord abbot heard of their intention, he told the archbishop that he could not

* Epist. Lib. iv. p. 17.
† Burkhard de Casibus S. Galli.

promise to effect it without the consent of his chapter; and on the day of the chapter, when the archbishop arrived with some of his clerks, the abbot met him at the door, and refused to admit him unless he sent away some of his clerks. A tumultuous sound arose of angry voices, declaring that he should not enter. The archbishop said that he came as a father; but as they rejected his authority, he should provide for their necessity by exerting it against them. The monks who sought the reform were however obliged to remove for safety to the archiepiscopal residence until the others had been compelled to cease their persecution.* Sometimes those who endeavoured to effect a reform, even with the authority of superiors, drew persecution on themselves. This was the case at the monastery of Lerins about the year 700, when St. Aigulfe, the abbot, and thirty-two monks, were murdered in consequence of their attempt to establish a reform. On these occasions, the unworthy monks used to win over some seigneurs of the country to use force of arms against those who were more holy.

The monks of Vicovara, though they had chosen St. Benedict for their abbot, conspired to destroy him when they found that he was resolved upon reforming their manners. Then when he had returned to Subiaco, the reputation of his virtues caused Florentinus, a neighbouring priest, to persecute and slander him, from whom he had to remove lest he should inflame the envy of his adversary.

When St. Colette, in the fifteenth century, being constituted by Pope Benedict XIII. superioress of the whole order of St. Clare, attempted to revive the primitive rule and spirit of St. Francis in several convents in France, she met with the most violent opposition, and was treated as a fanatic by those who knew not to distinguish the work of God; until passing to Savoy, where minds were better prepared, she effected the reform which soon extended to the entire order.

St. Andrew Avellino, for labouring to reform abuses which had crept into a religious community, of which the direction was confided to him, experienced many contradictions. He was even exposed to violence from the rage of certain profligate men whom he excluded from entering the parlour to speak to the nuns, and who twice attempted his life in consequence.

St. Adon, afterwards archbishop of Vienne, suffered persecution from the jealousy of some unworthy monks in Prum, who succeeded by calumnies and injuries in driving him from that monastery, where, while professor of sacred sciences, he had laboured to make true servants of God. He was expelled the house, and oppressed by slanderers.

While some thus suffered for reforming particular communities, others were exposed to a more fearful persecution by their labours in restoring whole orders to their primitive discipline.

When St. Theresa first formed the design of reforming her order according to the primitive rule, though encouraged by the approbation of many, the consent of the provincial, and a brief from Rome, there was a cry raised against her, which resounded through all ranks of society. The nuns of her convent, the nobles, the magistrates, and the people, united to oppose her. Reproaches, injuries, calumnies, all were employed while she retained her peace in silence. It was even determined to demolish her new convent at Avila; and the chief magistrates at one time declared they would not suffer it, though it was to furnish the spectacle of the fervour and innocence of the first ages of the Church. But the holy project triumphed over all opposition.

When St. John of the Cross, was labouring to effect the reform of the Carmelite order, though it was undertaken by St. Theresa with the approbation of the general, his own brethren treated him as a rebel to the order, and persecuted him, and in their chapter at Placentia condemned him as a fugitive and apostate. He was thrown into prison, first at Avila, and then, through fear of the people there, at Toledo. In the convent in the latter city he was confined in a little cell, only six feet wide and ten long, without any opening for light, but a hole of about three inches in length in the roof, so that to say his breviary he was obliged to stand upon a bench which was left there; and this opening was only to the floor of a gallery above, so that the light was very dim. In this prison he remained nine months, while no one knew what had become of him; for he was carried off forcibly during the night of the 4th of December, 1577, from the monastery of the Incarnation at Avila; and all the efforts of St. Theresa, aided by the authority of the king, were ineffectual to trace him to the place of his

* S. Bernard, Ep. ccccxxxix.

nfinement.* His miraculous escape, of hich the account by his own pen is ext, did not prevent him from always curring to this persecution as a source of is illumination. "God has taught me ie value of sufferings," he used to say, when I was in prison at Toledo." Again, 1591, when in the chapter held at Iadrid he gave his opinion with freedom specting the abuses which some superiors lerated, or wished to introduce, fresh ffence was taken. Being in consequence tripped of all the employments which he eld in the order, he retired to the convent f Pegnuela as a simple friar. In like anner, St. Charles Borromeo, attempting he reform of the order of the Humiliati, hich had fallen into great relaxations, uch enmity was excited against him that is life was attempted, one of these deluded en shooting at him in the chapel of his alace, when the ball struck him, and he as preserved unhurt.

But no instance is more memorable han that of the persecutions endured by he poor and simple men, disciples of St. rancis, who sought at different times to evive the spirit and the discipline of their lessed founder.† They occur early in its istory; for when Elie, the general who nmediately succeeded St. Francis, deemed ; necessary to make alterations in the ule,‡ St. Anthony of Padua, and an Engsh friar named Adam, for opposing him ere treated as seditious brethren, and entenced to confinement in their cells; he execution of which decree they only voided by flight to Rome, where their ppeal to Pope Gregory IX. caused the eposition of the superior. The last reform f the order was not effected without long nd cruel sufferings; and the persecutions hich the poor Capuchins suffered at the ommencement gave rise to singular scenes, hich in their old annals should be read. n 1534, when the Pope Clement VII. hought it best to yield to the storm, and o expel them from Rome for a season, he ublished an edict, commanding all Capuchins who were in Rome to leave the ity within the space that one candle would ontinue to give light. It was on St. Iark's day, and at the hour of dinner, hile the Capuchins were at table, that is decree was made known to them. The perior having read it aloud, made a short moving exhortation to patience and obedience, and then all rose: each took his breviary, and raising up their wooden cross, they left the convent, walking two by two, and proceeded without the walls to the Basilica of St. Lorenzo; explaining their exit to those who inquired with astonishment, by saying that they were sinners unworthy to remain within the sacred city. It is said that their adversaries, on proceeding to their convent, where they found the crusts of bread, and the poor onions and beans in earthen dishes on the table in the refectory, which had not a cloth to cover it, and the portions only half-consumed of the brethren, who had broken off their dinner to yield instant obedience, and nothing but the hard boards for beds in the cells, and the wooden crosses, and the few books of devotion, and no other furniture, were struck to the heart, and repented of what they had done. Meanwhile the friars were found prostrate in the church of St. Lorenzo, where the holy family of the Lateran canons, who serve that Basilica, gave them lodging and the most generous hospitality. Meanwhile Brandan, a certain hermit, greatly venerated in Rome, went about the streets, crying out, "Rome receives adulterers and slaves of the demon, while she banishes the servants of God. Usurers and oppressors of the poor can remain, but the saints of the Church are ejected from her bosom. Woe to thee, Rome! who disdainest the Capuchin masters of humility, and dost embrace marble statues, which teach Gentilism and pride." The Roman people were so alarmed by these vociferations, which he continued to utter during three days, that the adversaries of the Capuchins durst hardly appear in public. Then Camillus Ursino, their old protector, hastened to Rome, and made such good use of his interest, that the decree against them was revoked, and they were permitted to return, though not processionally, and to inhabit again their former convents.*

Nor was it only at Rome that they suffered. When they first came to Verona they were treated injuriously as hypocrites, and not permitted to say mass. No less a person than John of Fano, formerly provincial of the Franciscans, was one of those calumniated men. In vain had he attempted several times to gain an audience of the bishop Matthew Gilbertus; the servants, thinking him a nefarious person,

* Dosithée, Vie de S. J. de la Croix, liv. iii.
† Apparat. ad Annales Capucinorum, 15.
‡ M. Chavin de Malan defends him for so ing. Hist. de S. Francis, 246.

* Annales Capucinorum ad ann. 1534.

would never suffer him to pass the threshold. At length, it happened, that one day the bishop looking from his window saw John, and being struck with his venerable aspect, ordered him to be admitted. Then having questioned him concerning his rule and mode of life, and finding by his answers of what perfection he was, he conceived a great affection for him, and even charged him on the next Sunday to preach to the people. The result of this sermon was a total change of the public opinion at Verona, respecting the Capuchins and the foundations of a monastery in that city for their reception.*

It should be observed, that amidst all the persecutions and obloquy to which the Capuchins were exposed, a vast number of great and learned men every year chose to share in their reproach, and passed to them from the other Franciscans; thus renouncing all things on account of Him who for our sakes was made poor.

After the apostacy of Ochin, a fresh storm broke over the poor family of the Capuchins. Paul III. convened the sacred college, and the cardinals were generally of opinion that the order should be suppressed. The pontiff was inclined to accede to their opinion; and those who sat next him were urgent to have the affair terminated at once. Alone Antonio Sanseverino, and some few other cardinals, remained silent with dejected looks. The pontiff remarked his long silence and his dejected air, and said, "Why, cardinal, are you alone silent, as if you had not liberty here to speak freely? Tell us at once what you think on this question." Heaven gave such force to the words of Sanseverino in the discourse which he then proceeded to deliver, that the pope and the other cardinals were determined to change their previous resolution; and from that hour the Capuchins have always regarded the illustrious family of the Sanseverini as having been, under God, the second founders of their order.†

These were distressing scenes, but yet full of divine action, since they furnished an occasion of exercising great virtue by those not engaged in the dissension, who protected the good cause, heedless of personal inconvenience and injury; for then it was that Victoria Colonna, marchioness of Alerni, Ascanius Colonna, Camillus Ursino, Nicolas Buffalino, and other Roman nobles, extended their benevolent protection to the persecuted order. The noble family also of Bentivolio at Ferrara, in peace and war equally illustrious, took these holy men under its protection, and founded a convent for them in that city.* But, above all, it was Catherine Cibo, duchess of Camerino, who like a mother protected them at their commencement. Not undeservedly does the wise man say, "Fundamenta æterna supra petram solidam, et mandata Dei in corde mulieris sanctæ."† "For such love," adds the annalist of the order, "had this noble woman for the new reform of the Capuchins, that she seemed raised up by God for its nurse and mother."‡ "When these first Capuchins, excited the resentment of the superiors of the observance, who represented them as apostates, the duke and duchess of Camerino received most harsh letters from the minister of the province, condemning them for suffering these friars to take refuge in their states, and even in their palace. The duke's reply, a model of good sense, firmness, and respect, furnished then a striking instance that laical docility may be united with a just discrimination and a magnanimous protection of the oppressed."§ Such then is the episode of monastic history which I had reserved for the present book, as more immediately belonging to the results of instruction in the spirit of the eighth beatitude, in relation to which we may now resume our general history of Catholic manners.

We have seen the consequences of goodness in the ordinary society of men. But it was not alone on account of interior sanctity and exterior justice of life, that Catholics suffered persecution even in the ages of greatest faith. That spiritual illumination, that mystic wisdom, resulting from the union with God, which was enjoyed by the blessed clean of heart, produced the same effects, and exposed them of itself to persecution, independently of every other cause. Those splendours of the blessed wreath, which Dante saw, like the eternal light of Siger,‖ escaped not envy when arguing of truth. And here again, the wisdom of the ancients might be summoned to our aid in answering those who might in consequence be

* Do. ann. 1539.
† Annales Capucinorum ad ann. 1543.

* Annales Capucinorum ad ann. 1529. 1533.
† Eccl. xxvi.
‡ Annales Capucinorum, ad an. 1525.
§ Id. an. 1527.
‖ Siger of Brabant, or of Courtray. D'Artaud, Hist. de Dante, 423.

prejudiced. "The praises of other men," says Pericles, "are endurable; so far as each person thinks that he can himself do what he hears of others doing; but if any one exceed that limit, men become envious and incredulous." Thus it is with the supereminent gift of which we are now to speak. It is superhuman, supernatural; to acquire it, the highest graces must be asked for and employed; therefore, it is regarded with displeasure, and treated as a delusion. In regard to it, as the Greek said, men are envious and incredulous. Men of the world, in Christian times, might stigmatize the intellectual elevation of the holy with every opprobrious epithet: they did nothing but what the pagans had done from the beginning to those amongst them, who were of superior discernment in things relating to the soul; and their own poet pronounces it "an evil shame which makes one among the insane fear to pass for insane."* What does Plato say on this point? He observes, "that the just, who do not wish to act unjustly towards those who injure them, are regarded as the most wretched of men, ἀθλιωτάτους."† He shows further, that "people of the world, being convinced that secret injustice is the most useful conduct, esteem whoever differs from them, and who is really and universally desirous of being good, as a person deficient also in abilities; ἀθλιώτατος καὶ ἀνοητότατος."‡ "Although," he adds, "they may avoid saying so openly, and on the contrary praise him." In the Theætetus he shows that a lover of wisdom, on going into the world, will be ridiculed and esteemed a man of no understanding; that he will be considered weak, absurd; and that on every occasion he will be derided and treated as a haughty disgusting person, ignorant of the most common things of life, and subject to continual misery. The man whom he supposes let out of the cave, and then returning again to his former companions, who are still within it, would seem to them, he says, to have lost his senses; and if he were to attempt to loose others, and to lead them out with him, the rest, if they could, would rise and kill him.§ That men of eminent wisdom are considered insane by the insane, was the remark of Varro too, who says, "Nam ut arquatio et veternosis lutea quæ non sunt æque ut lutea videntur, sic insanis sani et furiosis videntur insani."

Hippocrates supplies a memorable instance in the letter in which he describes his visit to Democritus. When he was sent for by the people of Abdera, that he might cure the supposed madness of their philosopher, who had retired from among men to lead a solitary, and, as they affirmed, an extravagant life, the physician on landing was greeted by crowds of men and women, nay even by boys and children, all sad on account of Democritus. They ran before him, and on each side, to guide him to the retreat of the eccentric creature; for so they termed their wisest man. After leaving the walls, and coming into the fields, he found a high hill covered with many tall and thick trees, and under their shade he beheld Democritus, who sat alone under a platanus, barefooted and covered with an old tunic, pale and emaciated, and wearing a long beard. By his side was a rivulet, which sounded as the water passed down the bank and fell upon the rocks; and on the summit of the hill there was a grove, which seemed sacred to the nymphs. Democritus held a book upon his knees, while several loose sheets were scattered round him on the ground, along with the limbs of animals which he had been dissecting. Sometimes he would write with great earnestness, and then, after a little, he seemed to repress himself and to pause for meditation. The Abderitans with a sad countenance looked upon Hippocrates, and could scarcely refrain from tears.—"See," they said, "how mad he is; and how he does not know what he ought to wish or do!" Hippocrates, however, is not so easily convinced of the madness of his patient, but leaving the people below he ascends the hill and accosts him. After a short conversation he discovers the mistake. The philosopher, who receives him with grace and dignity, informs him that he is writing upon madness, and proceeds to point out the madness of the irritated crowd who are wondering at him below, and ascribing his retired solitary life to madness; while, on the contrary, it is they who are miserably deluded, loving a calamitous and obscure earth, and calumniously ridiculing that which is above them; devoted to the insane love of gold and pleasure, and hating those who speak the truth; never satisfied, and perverting all things to their lust; laughing at the crimes of others, and blind to their own. "'This it is,'" he adds, "'which gives rise to my laughter, when I see these wicked men, these slaves of avarice, of insatiable

* Hor. Sat. ii. 3.
† De Repub. i.
‡ Id. Lib. ii.
§ Id. Lib. vi.

cupidity, enmity, and envy, paying the penalty of their crimes. There is no medicine to cure them, O Hippocrates; no Pæonian medicament. Your predecessor Æsculapius himself perished miserably for having endeavoured to serve them: *οὐχ ὁρῇς ὅτι καὶ ὁ κόσμος μισανθρωπίης πεπλήρωται*; there is no knowledge of truth, and no testimony.' Saying these words, he smiled again; and, O Damagetus, he seemed to me as if he were invested with a divine dignity, and as if he had laid aside his human form. And I said to him, 'O noble Democritus, I shall bear back with me great gifts and pledges of your hospitality; for you have filled me with the admiration of wisdom. I depart the herald of your truth; for you have investigated and meditated upon human nature.' Saying this, I rose up and descended to the people, who were all waiting for me at the foot of the hill, and I said to them, 'O men, I am greatly indebted to you for your embassy; for I have seen Democritus, the wisest of men, who alone is able to make men wise.'"*

The fate of Empedocles of whom the poet says,

"Ut vix humana videatur stirpe creatus,"

was a memorable instance of the danger of imparting those high lessons which he styled *καθαρμοὶ*, as professing to teach how to purify and perfect the soul; and the comedies of Aristophanes, after making due allowance for all that the sophists really deserved, furnish another illustration of the mind and manner adopted by profane men towards those who represent before their contemporaries the religious and the wise, in regard to whom they are disposed even to reverse the meaning of terms, in order that virtues may be made to appear ridiculous and hateful, and that, according to the expression of Thucydides, speaking of the Greeks, they may be laughed down, *οὕτω πᾶσα ἰδέα κατέστη κακοτροπίας—καὶ τὸ εὐήθες (οὗ τὸ γενναῖον πλεῖστον μετέχει) καταγελασθὲν ἠφανίσθη.*†

——"Probus quis
Nobiscum vivit, multum demissus homo; illi
Tardo cognomen pingui et damus.
Communi sensu plane caret, inquimus."‡

He can be calumniated and ridiculed too with impunity, by men who think with Meno the Thessalian, that the perju and profligate are persons to be feared well armed, but that any one may t with the holy, and the worshippers truth.* At all times, says the poet, i easy to cheat the good;

——"semper bonus homo tiro est."+

Some may stand in need of these ob vations of the ancient world, to prep them for witnessing the treatment ex rienced by persons of great spiritual illu nation in the Church, from that class Christians which St. Augustin design as the chaff: for history commemorates man possessed of that high mystic wisd which belongs, as a divine privilege, those who in the Catholic Church are t humble, who has escaped the ridicul his contemporaries—that persecution wh Albertus Magnus styles, "sagittæ pa lorum."‡

When Bernard de Quintaville was s by St. Francis to raise the poverty folly of the cross against the proud wisd of the philosophers of Bologna, he received with many insults. While people mocked him, and the children pul him by the hood, and threw stones at h the learned regarded him with that look scorn which wounds more deeply than blow. When St. Francis, in the camp the crusaders, asked the friar who was w him, whether he ought to make known opinion respecting the measure about be adopted, observing that if he divulg it, he would be regarded as a fool, the ot replied, "Frater, pro minimo tibi sit ut hominibus judiceris, quia non modo inci fatuus reputari."§ In fact, men of t pure ascetic grace, who in each act a word evince those delicate, subdued, d cious tones, which indicate the hand of greatest artist, are from the first disdai as insignificant persons, by those who gard humility and charity as a deficiency talent. If with the highest gifts endow each of these at some period or other his life must have been treated as inco petent, perhaps as a dangerous visiona à communi hominum sensu abhorrente or despised as one led away by the drea of a devout imagination, by which meant "an exaggerated idealist, who, so ing always in the clouds, uselessly str to realize the impracticable." Like Th

* Hippocratis Epist. † Lib. iii.
‡ Hor. Sat. i. 3.

* Xenoph. Anab. ii. 6. + Martial.
‡ In Ps. lxiii. 8. § St. Bonavent. c.

nus, after warning the high-fed s, of whom Homer said,

οἱ δ' ἄρα πάντες ἐπ' αὐτῷ ἠδὺ γέλασσαν,

eives no answer but what is conveyed ighter. He may say of himself, in ords of Socrates to the sophists, ὑπὸ προπηλακίζομαι,* as when the blessed of Barcelona, used to be the object rision and insults, without the least f his life giving cause; though St. stin would say rather that his chief ation could explain it; since he was f those who search their spirit, "Et ibar spiritum meum." If he had ied the earth to find veins of gold, e would say that he was foolish; many would proclaim him to be a man, who wished to arrive at gold. a man digs for what he has within, ow many things has he within!) then despised.†

the office of St. Francis there is espe- ention of the insults suffered from ultitude by the seraphic father; as in esponse in the first nocturn, "Squal- ultu cernitur, putatur insanire. Luto, impetitur, sed patiens vir nititur ut s pertransire."

ttend to the opprobrium of the h," says St. Augustin, "now and in imes: see the Christians banished, thrown to beasts. As with the head, h the body. Wherever a Christian is , he is insulted, derided, called foolish, , good for nothing."‡ "The disci- ll be treated as his master. And do sk, Who is there that still derides ? I wish there was but one; I wish were but two; I wish they could be ered; but the whole multitude of the lerides him, while the wheat laments ing derided."§ "Multi dicunt, Quis lit nobis bona? the daily question," St. Augustin, "of all the foolish and l."‖ "Quæ interrogatio quotidiana nnium stultorum et iniquorum;" to there is allusion in the prayer, "Ne bestiis animas confitentes tibi!" will show them any good? You St. Louis? In vain: for as the iscans tell us of that holy king,

Sæpius stulti ratione capti
Simplicem, sanctum, nihili putabant;
Gloriæ vanæ quia non studebant
Incolæ cœli."¶

You name the great contemplatists, the great mystic lights of the middle ages? Then we may ask, in the words of the old mystery,

"Parles-tu point, Sathan accusateur,
Persécuteur de tout humain lignaige?"

and reckon with assurance upon that arch-accuser finding instruments to spread abroad his suggestions against them. What are these instruments? "Lukewarm Christians, the worst of all," says St. Augustin, who compares them to decayed beams, while the pagans, he says, are like the trees of the wood, without the Church, which can be made use of afterwards for a good purpose; whereas these rotten timbers, already hewed, and sawed, and polished, and used, are only fit for the fire.* What illustrious saint, what illuminated intelligence, can such men admire or understand? Mark how they treat even the wise men of the ancient world. "Socrates substituted fanatical ideas," says Lord Bolingbroke, "instead of real knowledge." He says again, "that Socrates and Plato were mad enough to think themselves capable of contemplating God, and of abstracting the soul from corporeal senses;"† "that Plato treated every subject like a bombast poet, and a mad theologian;"‡ "that he who reads Plato's works like a man in his senses, will be tempted to think that the author was not so, and that no man ever dreamed so wildly, as this author wrote, about the rewards and punishments of a future state."§ We need not ask how minds constituted after this type, and such were always existing, regarded the great mystic writers of the Catholic Church! Search the whole calendar, and in vain you will look for one reflecting, in an eminent degree, the light of Christ, that was not by such as these accused, condemned, derided. All exhibited themselves as St. Paul says, "as the ministers of God, per gloriam et ignobilitatem, per infamiam et bonam famam, ut seductores et veraces."‖ What had not St. Thomas of Aquin, St. John of the Cross, St. Theresa, to suffer! How many persons at one time were disposed to distrust the graces showered on the latter, and to intimate their fears of delusion! Even her best friends appeared leagued against her peace.

at. Hippias Maj. † In Ps. lxxvi.
Ps. xxxiv. § In Ps. xxi. ‖ In Ps. iv.
artyrolog. Francisc. August 25.

* In Ps. xxx. † Vol. iv. p. 113.
‡ Vol. iii. p. 129. § Vol. iv. p. 347.
‖ 2 Cor. vi.

What must not have been the reproach heaped on St. Mary Magdalen of Pazzi, when even by her sisters of the Carmelite convent in Florence she was for a time despised? many regarding the graces which she had been at first thought to have received, as nothing but illusions.

St. Mary d'Oignies, whom, as the cardinal de Vitry says, no religious person could see while in her ecstacies, or hear speak, without being inflamed and consoled, was an object of derision to the profane, who used to ridicule those who turned out of their way to visit her. St. Joseph de Cupertino was accused before the inquisitors of Naples, as a visionary, by a vicar-general. Even in the convent of Assisi, his superior called him a hypocrite, and treated him with great rigour. Life, though like his in glory shrined, had thus its gleams and shadows.

What contradictions and persecutions were suffered by the whole order of St. Francis collectively, in its commencement!* How many revilers had its seraphic founder, even after having his limbs marked by that angel from the east, with the sign of the living God! which some deemed a thing incredible, so that it was deemed necessary by the supreme pontiff, who with his own eyes beheld it, to prohibit painters from representing him without it, under pain of excommunication.

St. Bernardine of Sienna used sometimes to be persecuted by children, instigated by what they heard their elders say, throwing stones at him in the streets, and by his own relations reproaching him for dishonouring his family by what they termed such an abject kind of life.

Remarkable too is the malicious joy with which the profane, urged on by him who in the sacred Scripture is qualified as "the calumniator," endeavoured to convict such persons of having yielded to the lure of carnal sinners, as in the persecutions by which God permitted that the sanctity of St. Jerome and of Ste. Geneviève should be explored. The former, after the death of Pope Damasus, his protector, bent to the storm and returned to the east. The latter, at one time, seemed to have all persons indiscriminately leagued against her to arraign her innocence, persecuting her as a visionary and hypocrite, because she acknowledged the extraordinary graces she received from heaven; until St. Germain of Auxerre on his journey to England arrived, and by recognising her sanctity, put her calumniators to silence. Still it was not till the year 449, a short time before her death, that the prejudices of the people against her were wholly removed on a renewed attestation of her innocence by that holy bishop. St. Catherine of Sienna, too, was often grossly calumniated, on occasions which she ever seized with joy, to exercise her love for the cross, and for humiliation before her God. The desert itself was not an asylum from such persecution. St. Pachomius, that institutor of the Cœnobites, notwithstanding his eminent sanctity, could not escape calumny. He was cited in the year 348, before a council of bishops, at Latopolis, to answer charges brought against him, when he confounded, by humility, the malice of his enemies. St. Macarius the elder, of Egypt, was accused by an abandoned sinner, seized by the people, dragged through a village, beaten, and insulted as a base hypocrite under the garb of a hermit, till God manifested his innocence; and the rage of the people was converted into admiration at his humility and patience.

It would have been easy for all these holy and eminent persons to have escaped such calumnies, by making their lives and thoughts conformable to those of the multitude around them; for in the superiority of the beauteous fruits they bore to those of the world's plants lay the secret of their disgrace: but they would not pay the price required for an exemption, preferring their own sweet gifts to all the praise of worthless men. Concluding his delightful Philobiblion, Richard de Bury proclaims this fact, as from his own experience: for, saith he, "let those who condemn us for applying so much labour and expense to provide books, cease their censures; let them cease to whisper their satirical commentaries, who would have regarded us with benevolent affection, if we had devoted ourselves to hunting, and to playing at the dice, qui nos fortassis affectu commendassent benevolo, si ferarum venatui, alearumque lusui dominarum applausui vacassemus."*

Truly the piety and laudable activity of persons like himself, exposed to more immediate contact with the world, could hardly have escaped being treated as delusion, when that of the cloistered recluse, as we have seen, was charged with it by partners in his calm retirement.

* Arturus Martyrolog. Francisc. Oralog. a. 19.

* Cap. xvii.

aurence Justinien having published
e against certain dissipations, was
ized by many as a monk of a narrow
ous mind, who sought to make a
of the world. On another occasion
publicly insulted in the streets, and
as a hypocrite. Such is the lan-
used when avarice overcasts the
ith mourning, treading under foot
d, and raising bad men up. The
s of Louis XIV., thus represented
education of the duke of Burgundy
properly conducted, that he was
with a taste for mystical devotion,
exercises which occupied the time
uld have been spent in the acqui-
of knowledge suitable to his rank
tune. The monarch was himself
ed against the excellent men who
it; but the duc de Beauvilliers
with modesty and firmness, "Sire,
but of one Gospel; and I believe
m bound by the duty which I owe
God and to my king, to neglect
that can prepare for France a vir-
sovereign." "I am astonished,"
Madame de Savigné, "that you
our Corbenelli of being infected
diabolic mysticism. What! a
ho thinks only of destroying the
of the devil; who has constant
s with his enemies, the saints;
who mortifies his body; who suf-
erty as a Christian, or, as you
ay, as a philosopher; who never
elebrating the perfections of God;
ver judges his neighbour; who
excuses him; who passes his life
ity and the service of others; who
nsible to the pleasures and de-
f life; who, in fine, in spite of his
nes, is entirely submissive to the
God! and you call that a diabolic
sm."*
lon was accused of aspiring at power
, "par les lieus secrets d'un langage
eux." "That is the judgment of
ersons," says D'Aguesseau, "which
t remit to the sovereign Searcher
ts; so that even the virtuous chan-
ad been alienated from Fenelon by
utation of his enemies. St. Augus-
r citing the words, "Muta efficiantur
losa, quæ loquuntur adversus Jus-
quitatem in superbia et contemp-
s, "the just is Christ, who coming
reat humility, appeared contemp-
the proud; and whosoever wishes
to follow his footsteps, and to walk as He walked, will be despised in Christ, as a member of Christ. Muta efficiantur labia dolosa, quæ loquuntur adversus Justum iniquitatem in superbia et contemptu. When will these lips be mute? In this world never. Daily they will cry against humble Christians; daily they will vociferate; daily they will blaspheme."*

But now my vigour faints as florets by the frosty air of night bent down and closed; for those who play the part with history of Satan's advocates remind me, that even in the ages of faith it was not alone from the wicked and impious that goodly deeds and fair met ill-acceptance, but that holy persons suffered persecution from the just also, who, kneeling in the same choir with them, worshipped God. Their words, alas! are true, and may not be gainsayed. By good men also, as father Dosithée remarks, they were often exercised and contradicted, and that by a wise dispensation of Omniscience, without there being sin and error on either side.† How affecting are the remonstrances of St. Columban, when he was exposed to trouble in Gaul from the singularity of his monastic rite. His reply to a council assembled against him was to this effect: "One thing I ask, as I am not the author of this diversity, but am a pilgrim travelling in these lands for Christ, the common Saviour, Lord, and God, I implore you, by our common Lord, who will judge the living and the dead, allow me, with your peace and charity, to dwell silently in these woods, and to live near the bones of seventeen of our brethren who are dead, as I have hitherto lived amongst you during these twelve years past."‡ St. Othmar, abbot of St. Gall, being accused falsely, as Walafried Strabo declares, and condemned hastily, after many days of solitary confinement, was transferred to an island in the Rhine, called Stain, where he spent his days alone and in great devotion till his death: he was buried on the island, but, after ten years, the brethren brought back his body to the monastery.

St. Philbert, in the seventh century, having incurred the anger of Ebroin, mayor of the palace, by reproving him for his crimes, that minister gained over some ecclesiastics of the diocese of Rouen to

* Lett. 967.

* In Ps. xxx.
† Vie de St. John de la Croix, liv. vii.
‡ Bib. Patrum, iii. Epist. 2.

calumniate the servant of God. St. Ouen, their bishop, was so imposed upon that he entered into their views. St. Philbert was even imprisoned until his innocence was recognised; but the holy abbot, thinking himself not safe in Neustria, retired to Poitiers.

St. Lindger, the apostle of Saxony, employing the revenues of his bishopric in charities, was accused to Charlemagne of neglecting to ornament his churches; but the emperor, who cited him before him, was so struck with his saintly replies, that he disgraced his accusers. Sad but necessary retrospects these, for without them we could not thoroughly understand the spirit of past ages, nor, while some divisions last, the mysteries of our own society.

To suffer from good men, like St. Wilfrid, in the eighth century, is itself a prodigy. St. Wilfrid never reviled his persecutors, never complained of those who, perhaps without consciousness of evil, stirred up whole kingdoms against him. His cause having been heard before Pope Agatho, who decided in his favour, when he presented the pope's letter to Egfrid, the king declared that it was obtained by bribery, and committed Wilfrid to a dungeon, where he continued nine months. It was the remembrance of having taken part against him, that embittered the last hours of Theodore, archbishop of Canterbury, who sought and obtained forgiveness from him at his death. St. William, in the twelfth century, had some inveterate enemies, who had prepossessed Pope Eugene against him by the blackest calumnies. Notwithstanding the unspotted sanctity of his life, and his exalted rank in Church and state, he was assailed even by dignitaries in the Church, whose accusations were made to appear so credible, that a refusal to ratify his appointment to the see was peremptorily given. And how did the saint bear these insults, this unmerited disgrace, this loss of character?—in silence!

St. Conrad, named archbishop of Treves, in the year 1066, on account of his sanctity, by St. Annon, archbishop of Cologne, was opposed by the clergy and people of that city, on the ground of their not having been consulted. Hoping by his presence to win them over, he set out for his diocese; but Deodoric, count of Treves, lay in wait for him with some soldiers, by whom he was seized and decapitated.

St. Jane de Chantal while in Paris, and St. Theresa in various places, suffered many persecutions, even from persons of piety. St. John of God was accused by men who meant well, of receiving vagabonds and stitutes into his hospital. His crime receiving sinners. St. Peter Nolasqueo many contradictions to endure before could realize his charitable project of fo ing the order of Mercy for the redemp of captives. Even good men did not ap ciate his zeal.

Indeed, from earliest times, the eminent servants of God were accustome be misrepresented or suspected by men were not his enemies. "How many there," says St. Augustin, explaining Psalms from the pulpit, "who affirm tha are seeking honour, and praise, and temp utility in the Church! How many a that I speak to you in order that you admire and praise me, and that this is object and intention when I speak! how should they know what none of you know? How should they know wh myself scarcely know? for I do not j myself; qui enim dijudicat me Dom est."*

St. Gervin, abbot of St. Riquier, o the most holy men of the eleventh cen gave offence by his mode of preaching hearing confessions, insomuch that he accused before the Pope St. Leo IX preaching without a mission; and he h repair to Rome to refute these accusat when the holy father gave him powe preach and to hear confessions whereve might choose.

After St. Celestin V. had resigned papal chair, and retired to his monaste Morroni, persecutions awaited him, men who only sought to provide again enormous danger. The multitudes flocked to him, and false rumours tha abdication was not voluntary, naturally cited fears that fatal consequences m result; and he was therefore kept in finement under a guard of soldiers at Fum during ten months, until his death. said that his treatment even was most worthy; but without complaining. "wished for in the world," said he, "cell, and that cell they have given me."

St. Didier, bishop of Vienne, in seventh century, taught classical learn and for these studies he was decried t Pope St. Gregory, as a man who substi pagan fable for holy Scripture, and with the same lips sang Christ and Ju The holy Pope discerned the groundles of the accusation, and rendered him ju publicly.

* In Ps. cxli.

St. Bernardine of Sienna was misrepresented to Pope Martin, and was, for a short time, even condemned to abstain from preaching. His style had been criticised, and offence had been taken at his having the sacred name painted to exhibit to the people. St. Philip Neri, too, being accused of ambition and hypocrisy, and of seeking popularity, was forbidden for a time, by the vicar of Rome, from hearing confessions and from preaching. St. John Francis Regis was so misrepresented, that even the bishop of Rhiers, who had taken his part, proceeded to censure him and order his recall. At another time he had the grief to see some of his own order associated with those who decried him. Its holy founder also, St. Ignatius of Loyola, had been represented by some as a man attached to certain visionaries, who called themselves illuminated, and who had been condemned in Spain. He was even brought before the inquisition. At another time he was cited before the grand vicar of the bishop, as catechizing without a mission, and he was kept in prison during forty-two days. Afterwards, in Salamanca, being followed by a multitude who were charmed with his instructions, he was again suspected and imprisoned; but after twenty-two days his innocence was recognised. St. Francis of Borgia was similarly exposed to many mortifications, arising from persons who suspected either error in his books, or else his former friendship with men who were themselves falsely suspected of error.

"My lord of Cambrai is proud," writes a contemporary of Fenelon,* "his arrogance increased,"† "he believes no one but those who flatter him."‡ "It is a ferocious beast that must be pursued for the honour of the episcopacy and of truth, till he be overpowered and rendered incapable of doing more mischief. The Church must be delivered from the greatest enemy that it has ever had."*

The duc de Beauvilliers was another sufferer at that time, in the same court, from men whom he would not rank with the corrupt. It was even suggested by some, that he had contracted opinions favourable to the new views of religion, though a bull of Pope Innocent XII. and a subsequent brief, as also a declaration of the general assembly of the French clergy, had severely condemned those who were accessary to spreading such charges, unless they could support them in a due canonical course by irrefragable proofs. Such are the instances that might be easily multiplied of persecutions for justice, through the instrumentality of persons unconscious of opposing it. In allusion to them, Albertus Magnus says, "That is a laudable patience which bears injuries patiently, not only from evil men, but also from those who seem to be good; not for evil deeds, but for benefits. Then the soul is the friend of God amongst daughters, as the lily amidst thorns: for the lily, when pierced by thorns, retains its whiteness, and only emits a stronger perfume than if it had not been pierced. So the soul, the spouse of God, if it be pierced by those who seem to be of the number of the sons of God, is not provoked to impatience, but endeavours diligently to preserve the purity of a good conscience, and the odour of a holy fame."† But it is time that we pass from an observation of the sufferings of particular members, in consequence of their personal justice, to survey the persecutions of the whole body of the Church collectively, on account of the inalienable privileges conferred upon it by its Divine Founder.

* Lett. de Bossuet, civ. † Id. cxvi.
‡ Id. cxx.

* Lett. de Bossuet, cxx.
† Albertus Magnus, Paradisus Animæ, c. iv. tom xxi.

CHAPTER VII.

WHAT is the Church? "The Church," say the guides of the middle ages, "is Christ himself, living externally, re-appearing always under a human form: the Church is, as it were, the permanent incarnation of the Son of God, since in holy Scripture the faithful are called the body of Jesus Christ. But, if the Church be the continual presence of the Saviour, it follows, that it must participate in his attributes: therefore it must suffer as He suffered."* For the Church was not an abstraction or a mere phantom. Books were not the Church, as they are said to be now by some; nor was any who could write a book and screen his person by remaining unknown, the bishop or the archbishop. The Church had flesh and bones to suffer, like its Divine Founder in his sacred humanity; it had apostles, invested with authority, filling offices which involved them in a state of constant personal responsibility, by reason of which they could be bound, imprisoned, and put to death like those who first established it in the world: its persecutions would be, in many respects, a continuance of the passion.

Now we see ample preparation made to realize these anticipations; for there is another power existing, another society, another kingdom, between which and the Church war is inevitable, a war which can never end. "Every people," says St. Augustin, "delighted with a human kingdom, and rejecting the Lord from reigning over it, every such people is far from the saints, and prepared to persecute them. Think not this confined to the Jews alone. They are given as primitive examples, that in them may appear what all others should beware of. They rejected Christ; they chose Cæsar. And truly, Cæsar was a king; a man over human things: but there was another king for divine things. One king for temporal, another for eternal life. They did not sin because they said that Cæsar was their king, but because they were unwilling to have Christ for king. Et modo multi tum regem in cœlo sedentem et regnantem habere nolunt, et ipsi su tribulant nos. But we cannot be tro excepting by those who are far fro saints, far not in body, but heart."*

Such was the voice of all Cathol ages of faith. The intellectual, the rous world of the middle ages recogni other as the truth. "All," says Jo Salisbury, "who seek to extend the ki of man, to the prejudice of the emp Christ, are those who go forth with and staves to take Christ prisoner, th name may be destroyed."†

The apostle calls the devil and his "the rulers of this world," because rule over the lovers of this world. these the church has to expect consta position, a systematic and ingeniou tility, and perpetual hatred. As Alb Great notes from the Psalmist's words is a threefold persecution against her the mouth, implied in his expressio muerunt; by the heart, when he meditati sunt; and by deeds, asti reges:"‡ the Church then, as truly may say, "Sæpe expugnaverunt me a tute mea." From her cradle has sh persecuted. Here is then literally, modern politicians so greatly deprec state within a state, an empire in an e and subjects are divided. "Amicus hujus constituitur inimicus Dei." "So adds St. Anselm, "so it must be immu Non sunt verba tantum audienda, s res terrifice metuenda."§ But the manifest, and its authors seek no dis "Sometimes they rage openly by and," as St. Augustin says, "the wor holds the impetus of the persecutors nally raging; at others they are restr there remains the malevolence of the thi There is a distinction of times in th secution of the Church. There w attack on the Church when kings pers it. Then, when kings believed, peac

* Vide Möhler symboliq.

* In Ps. lv. † De Nuge Curia
‡ Albert. Mag. in Ps. ii.
§ Epist. viii.

to the Church, and it rose to the height
gnity even in this world. But there
ıot wanting the rage of persecutors;
turned their attacks to thoughts; in
thoughts as in an abyss, is bound the
he rages and bursts not forth; for it
d of these times, Peccator videbit, et
tur;" and what will he do? Will he
:ute? No, he cannot. What then?
bus suis frendet et tabescet."* Never-
s, these thoughts pass not unobserved
ithout effects. We shall soon witness

n the mean while," as St. Augustin
o the ministers and lovers of the earthly
who would give it dominion over the
f God, "let them tremble, let them
orror, all our rich brethren abounding
ney, in gold and silver, in attendants
onours! Let them tremble, for it is
Domine, in civitate tua imaginem
ı ad nihilum rediges; and do they not
e to suffer this, that God in his city
l reduce their image to nothing, since
n the earthly state reduce the image
d to nothing?"†

iberty, that is," says Theology, speak-
y the Beatrice of Dante, "the noble
, supreme of gifts, which God, creating,
f his free bounty, sign most evident
duess, and in his account most prized,
ion wherewith all intellectual creatures,
em sole, he hath endowed,"‡ "liberty,
ıd, as well as the immediate conse-
e of faith, liberty, for which we know
› die," say the first Christians, "liber-
› qua mori novimus,§ is the inalien-
ırivilege of the Catholic Church; but
ence has cost her dear; for, in that
many of her sons have shed their
and almost all have suffered." "No-
" says a French historian, "can be
mystically high than the language of
ıurch in maintaining her freedom." He
as an instance, the bull of Pope Boni-
VIII., addressed to Philippe-le-Bel:
he sweetness of an ineffable love, the
h, united to Christ his spouse, has
ed from him the most ample gifts,
ıbove all, that of liberty. He has
l that the adorable spouse should reign
ıother over the faithful people. Who
rill not dread to offend, to provoke her?
will not feel that he offends the bride-
in the spouse? Who will dare to
the ecclesiastical liberty against his
nd his Lord? Under what shield will
he take shelter, to escape being reduced to dust by the stroke of the Puissant One, of the power from on high? O, my son, turn not away thy ears from the paternal voice."

When St. Gregory VII., St. Anselm, and St. Thomas came forward in opposition to temporal power, "in the days when the king of Babylon was confirmed against Jerusalem," as Peter of Blois describes the contest, it was in order that the Church, purchased and made free by the blood of Christ, might not become the slave of the state. What the Roman Pontiffs sought for the whole Church, the archbishops of Canterbury in different ages sought for that part of it which was in England. "This was no struggle," as Möhler says, "for mere external emancipation; it was a contest for what is most internal in man, freedom of thought."* Reader, history will be a sealed book to you, if you mistake consequences for causes, and do not consider events as part of the combat which the Church of God has to sustain against evil spirits and deluded men, who are often ignorant of the banner under which they serve.

"Behind the drama of history, therefore," as a learned French writer observes of the middle ages, "were doctrines which were its springs; behind, actions, ideas: for the logical genius of those ages reigned in hearts no less than in schools; and thought was mistress of the world. The pontificate, in its struggle with the empire, had on its side, not alone truth, liberty, and justice; it rested also on the strict law, on the written law, on the positive constitution of Christian Europe, as the Mirror of Suabia, the authentic and legal collection of the German common law or customs of the thirteenth century, and Magna Charta itself for England can attest; 'for, by the latter,' as Sir Thomas More, after his condemnation, told his base judges, 'it was declared that the English Church should be free, and have all its rights entire and its liberties untouched—Ecclesia Anglicana libera sit, et habeat omnia jura integra, et libertates suas illæsas.'"

Before advancing further, therefore, we may be permitted to observe how little one can understand the persecutions of the Church for liberty without having studied not alone theology, but also the legal history of Europe, statute as well as canon law. A Cujas, a de Marca, a Cabassut, a Doujat, a Thomassin—such are the men who, along with the old judges of the land, can alone give us the key that will unlock the secrets

Ps. lxix. r. v.

† *In Ps. lxxii.*

§ *Tertull. ad Nat. i. 4.*

* Möhler's Schriften und Aufsätze, b. i. 3.

of the political history of Christian ages, as long as the canon law, that is, in fact, the Gospel, had dictated or guided the civil institutes of all nations. To this preliminary remark we may add the observation of another foreign writer, who, after saying that these violent collisions between the two powers, when the church shed her blood, as in the time of the heathen or heretical emperors, rather than relinquish her right, are facts which cannot be studied without this acquirement, concludes with observing, that "the moderation and limits of the secular power are not yet so well assured that this teaching of the martyrs has become unnecessary; and that if our statesmen were to consult theologians, such as Lugo, on matters of high politics, they would discover far higher views to guide them in the government of nations, than can be derived from collecting all the modern opinions; and that they would find in treatises De Justitia and De Fide, as cases of conscience, what in acts of parliament in later times they will search for in vain. But what kings at present," he asks, "or what statesmen, have cases of conscience to resolve amidst their trials and dilemmas?"

During the first three centuries the Church had enjoyed under a pagan government, amidst external oppression and bloody persecutions, the most perfect freedom and independence in its internal relations, in its doctrine and discipline. But it continued not so under the Christian emperors, who being accustomed in pagan times to rule with despotic sway, sought to intrude into the province of the Church.* At first they used their power with moderation, but in process of time they went beyond its limits, making their approbation a condition of election to sees, requiring taxes from the elected, making arbitrary depositions, and passing tyrannical sentences of exile. Of this persecution we have a memorable instance in the fifth age. Theodosius the younger, at the instigation of the eunuch Chrysaphius, having required a present from Flavian a priest, on his being elected to the archiepiscopal see of Constantinople, which the holy man refused to offer, replying that the revenues of the church were the property of the poor, a resolution was formed to oppose him, which was executed in the false council styled the Latrocinale, when he was deposed by violence, from which, when he appealed to Rome, his enemies fell upon him and so wounded him that he die a few days at Epipus, the place of h

After the fall of the Roman em same spirit continued to break o tervals. Each heresy, and even the l opposition of paganism, worked in against the ecclesiastical liberty. I the Vandal king who conducted th persecution in the sixth century in sent an order to St. Eugenius, bi Carthage, never to preach to the p admit any Vandals into his church; the bishop refusing, many suffered d entering them. Four hundred an four bishops were sent into banishm innumerable Catholics tortured and death. In the north, the pagans, ev conversion, were slow to admit power greater than their own. T barous sovereigns were at all times aspire at dominion over the Chur confessors consequently soon appear England, Mellitus, the first bishop don, in the seventh century, for pe his spiritual duty as a pontiff, was by King Eadbald to fly to Gaul. the bishop of Rochester, was obl accompany him; and Laurence, arc of Canterbury, was only prevente following them by a miraculous Charlemagne exerted indeed an i influence in ecclesiastical matters was the natural influence of wisd justice, not a violent encroachment. respect to his power in elections, an anecdote related by an ancient which will beguile the tediousness present path. "Charlemagne was when he heard of the death of archbishop of Cologne. After a f he set off to that city. On his way he desired to hear mass as usual in th where he had passed the night; an offertory he gave the little golden h horn which he wore round his neck. mass the priest Hildebold returned to the emperor, whom he did not saying, 'Take back the gold: it is custom here to make us such pr The emperor answered, 'Keep it; is my will." The priest again repli lord, I see you are a hunter; my and breviary are not well bound; you, therefore, send me the skin of stag you kill in your hunting, an your gold.' The emperor smiled, parted. On arriving at Cologne h that the suffrages were divided. 'I w you a bishop,' said the emperor, a sent an express back to the woods to

* Döllinger, Hist. of the Church, ii. 5. Dr. Cox, tr.

bold, who was elected and consecrated. He governed the see with the greatest praise, and consecrated Lewis, son of Charlemagne, king of the Romans."*

We may observe here that the liberty of elections in France was not formally abolished until the famous concordat of Francis I. The successive stages of the persecutions, sustained in defence of the liberty of the Church, may be noted down briefly. The Church was persecuted then by the Emperor Henry IV. in 1056, and by Henry V. his successor. Her next persecutors were Frederic Barbarossa, and his son Frederic II., who succeeded in 1213. Who could describe the sufferings of the holy Popes Paschal, Gelasius, Innocent III., and Innocent IV.? The persecution was steadily carried on by Henry VII., who succeeded in 1308, and by the emperor Lewis, whom Benedict XII. excommunicated, and against whom Clement VI. had to contend. It was pursued by Philippe-le-Bel, and by his legists, who continued it until the persecution by the new pagan scholars broke out, amidst which Constantinople fell. All this long contest between the Holy See and the temporal governments was to defend incontrovertible rights; involving, some the vital interests of religion, others the welfare of society in general; and all of which the common law of the whole of Christendom had established.† In the sixteenth century the empire was emboldened at the spectacle of heresies rising against the Church. In consequence it required that the Pope should be only a bishop with territorial possessions; that he should be the vassal of the civil power; that he should obey the emperor, and yield him up the spiritual sovereignty. Its very language was full of passion, insult, and defiance: then, amidst the Protestant persecutions, the original contest was pursued, at least, theoretically, even by Louis XIV., and the new monarchal system of the Gallican divines; then by the Emperor Joseph II. and his school of unfortunate adherents; then by the men of blood, who succeeded; then by Napoleon, and finally to the present day by the constitutional governments, which have made new all things over which they had any power, excepting follies and injustice.

Such were the most prominent figures in the conduct of this warfare; but there were other chiefs, though seen in less bold relief. The pride of man is not quicker to take umbrage than swift in comprehending, with a sort of instinct, the measures which seem to favour its ill-understood interests. Those sovereigns, who were not from the first personally engaged in this levy of bucklers against the Holy See, felt no less on which side of the scales they should throw the weight of their sword. The holy martyr of Canterbury made this remark, writing to the college of cardinals: "Beware," he said, "lest all the kings of the earth be infected with this disease; for sweet to every tyrant is the bitter servitude of the Church, Dulcis est omni tyranno amara servitus Ecclesiæ."* —Monarchal absolutism, attempted by the Hohenstauffens and by Philippe-le-Bel, was only defeated by the ceaseless labours of the Holy See; until in the sixteenth century it was able in some countries at last to realize its insane and impious views, and compel men to swear to its supremacy. But all throughout, this was the secret aim. Hence the contests in England between her kings during so many reigns and the ecclesiastical power. Nor was the combat only on this portentous scale between thrones and the pontificate. It was carried on the while in many dioceses between the bishop and the chieftain of the province; in many parishes between the priest and the seignior. As is related of the first persecutions, each edict against the Church seemed to be a signal for others, as if the impious in all parts of the world felt at the same moment a new impulse, directing them to evil, and giving birth to projects of oppression. What persecutions, what sufferings for justice, might here be traced if the deeds of old could pass before the mind by night, when bards are removed to their place, when harps are hung in halls, if we could hear the voice of years that are gone, if they could roll before us with all their tears!

In all observations of this ancient and never-ending struggle between the Church and the wills opposed to her, the first thing to remark is, the particular justice of the cause in each instance for which her defenders suffered; for though I would not confound the somewhat over-cautious expression of a learned and illustrious historian, addressed perhaps in a deep ironical sense to the adversaries of her martyr, with the coarse and deliberate depreciation of his cause by those who thought to win the praise of sagacity by congeniality of sentiments with them, or by concessions to their error, we must

* Annales Novesienses, p. 535. ap. Martene, Vet. Script. t. iv.

† Pouvoir du *Pape sur les Souverains* au Moyen *Age, par le Directeur du Sém. de S.* Sulpice.

* Epist. cxlv.

learn to estimate the value in general of the objections of her professed enemies, and the solidity of the doubts of others, who profess to defend her while suggesting that her champions have been martyrs only to a mistaken sense of duty, and to an opinion of which time may have disproved the truth. Now the question at issue throughout the ages of faith, from the conversion of the empire to their close, was the liberty of the Church, which, as we before observed, was, humanly speaking, that of her existence.

Let it not irk thee, reader, here to pause awhile, and with me parley: for at this theme I burn. That any question of a nature purely spiritual, that the voice of the body of Christ should create a sensation in the world sufficient to assume a political importance, seems inconceivable to the guides of public opinion in countries where "all godhead has vanished out of men's conception of this universe;" and where the only dangers deprecated are those that would, directly or indirectly, involve the loss of money, or what is blindly thought by nations, glory. Even men of the learned class themselves, through an unaccountable want of consideration, seem there instinctively opposed to those who suffer persecution for endeavouring to rescue mind from subjection to the state, and ready to cheer on the civil power to whatever lengths it may push its pretensions; as if, to use the words of a great living writer, "their thoughts were for ever regulated by a moral law of gravitation, which, like the physical one, held them down to earth." But in ages of faith, any attempt of this nature would give a certain voice to the voiceless; with such horror was it contemplated by all men who, being within the body of Christ, regarded its voice as their own. The layman, as well as the priest, would say with the son-in-law of Sir Thomas More, that it was "setting aside by human law the commission given by our Saviour to his apostles and their successors, and transferring their authority to the state; it was causing the care of souls to devolve upon the civil power, and the being of Christianity to depend upon the will of the magistrate."

A French writer has remarked, that "the institution of the third orders by St. Dominic and St. Francis, for persons in the world, was expressly provided to extend the influence of this conviction, and so defend the Church from the usurpations of the temporal power."* That this object was in view appears clearly from the first words of the bull of Gregory IX. in 1227, approving of it: "The perfidious heretics," says the pontiff, "similar to the children of Ismaël, have united with the Gentiles; and abusing the power of a proud king, who favours their criminal enterprises, make their glory consist in despising the holy place, and in endeavouring to spoil the Church of Christ of its most precious ornaments; but you, whom the Lord has inspired with a generous resolution to expose yourselves to the efforts of its enemies, and to defend the liberty of the Church, are worthy of receiving proofs of our benevolence." Peter de Vineis, the chancellor of Frederic II., discerning the consequences, wrote accordingly to his master, saying, "The friar preachers and the minors are risen against us; they publicly reprove our life and conversation; they infringe our rights, and reduce us to nothing; and lo, now, to weaken our power still more, and estrange the people from us, they have created two new confraternities, which embrace universally men and women. All run to them, and there is scarcely any one to be found whose name is not inscribed."

Of the great contest between the Church and the empire after its conversion, the source was the abuse arising out of the influence of the feudal system on the clergy. The more ancient of the Carlovingian kings appear not to have required the feudal oath; but the bishops, assembled at Quiercy in 858, refused to subject themselves as vassals by taking it. The military conscription which oppressed the Church in her possessions was another grievance consequent on the same system; but the root of all ecclesiastical evils was investiture; for, until it was removed, the Holy See found it would be impossible to extirpate simony or restore canonical elections. St. Gregory VII., in seeking to free the Church from the feudal chains, declared that he desired nothing new, but only to restore the primitive constitutions of the Church. He imposed nothing but what only expressed the ancient submission to the ecclesiastical authority of the Holy See. As the abbot Godfrey of Vendôme declared, the custom of investiture was simoniacal and heretical, because it implied the sale of benefices and the assumption by laymen of spiritual power. "Every where," says St. Gregory VII., "it is permitted to the poorest woman to unite herself according to the laws with a husband; but to the Church alone, our mother, it is forbidden to remain united with her bride-

* Chavin de M[illegible] S. Franc. 163.

groom upon earth. Could we permit that heretics, adulterers, and intruders, should subject to themselves the sons of the Church, and cast upon her the scandals of their own conduct."* But let us confine our observation to the contests in England between Henry II. and the Church's great deliverer. "Let us examine what is your cause," says Arnulf, bishop of Lisieux, to St. Thomas of Canterbury; "the justice of your cause then," he adds, "is manifest, since you contend for the liberty of the Church of God, which our Saviour once conquered for us on the cross, and redeemed with an inestimable price, and made uniform for all who are called by his name. For as there is one faith, so is there one liberty, which the identity of the sacraments and the simplicity of the Spirit, which worketh all things, consecrate and confirm. For in this consists the wonderful sacrament of the ecclesiastical unity, that as there is one faith, one spirit, and one baptism, so is there also one testament of perpetual enfranchisement, by which the adoption of the divine goodness renders us not only free but also co-heirs; in which, as often as liberty is impaired, it is certain that there is an act derogatory to faith, since being connected together by a mutual relation, each feels necessarily whatever loss or advantage may accrue to the other."† So the holy archbishop, writing to Stephen, chancellor of the king of Sicily, says, "Crimen nostrum est assertio ecclesiasticæ libertatis; for to profess that, is to be guilty of high treason under our persecutor; for he alone is deemed faithful who takes pleasure in the contempt of religion, who opposes the divine law, who delights in the ridicule of priests, who venerates the gibbets of ancient tyrants as the temple of justice."‡ John of Salisbury, writing to Petrus Cellensis, gives the same testimony as to the cause of his own exile. "The indignation of our most serene lord, the king of the English, is excited against me for the last year. If you ask the cause, the profession of liberty and the defence of truth are my crimes. The Searcher of hearts, whom my whole useless and pernicious life has always and too grievously offended, can bear witness that against the king my conscience is ignorant of any other offence."§ He gives the same evidence respecting the adherents of St. Thomas, so cruelly exiled. "The wretched faithful of Canterbury," he says, "are banished and proscribed for this cause alone, for daring to mutter a word respecting the liberty of the Church; for protesting in favour of the privilege of the apostolic see; for preaching that the canonical sanctions of the holy fathers are to be preferred to the traditions of the impious."* "The great object of these men," as Gervaise says of Pope Innocent III., was, "that the Church of God might always receive increase of virtue, both in manners and in persons."† The sum of their offence consisted in wishing that kings and ministers, and all kind of persons in public or private, should walk according to the Gospel of Christ; understanding that this was their law, supreme over all laws, and that whatever was in the Church's keeping should pertain, as Dante says, "to such as sue for heaven's sweet sake; and not to those who in respect of kindred claim, or on more vile allowance."‡ This was the work that from these limits freed St. Thomas. He died for endeavouring to maintain the kingdom of God on earth. This was his unforgiveable offence, styled setting up priests over the head of kings.

"We suffer," says John of Salisbury, again writing to Gaufrid, of St. Eadmund, "by the grace of God, not as adulterers or murderers, not as incendiaries or sacrilegious men, but as Christians, propter justitiam."§ He repeats this in another letter to Walter de Insula: "We do not suffer as criminals, as is publicly known, excepting to those who labour that they may not understand the things of God; but we are afflicted as Christians, bearing with equanimity the dispensation of the Lord."‖

These confessors and martyrs proceed to show that the liberty for which the Church contends can never be injurious to any state. "I am blamed as if I committed injuries against our lord the king," says St. Thomas to the unworthy Gilbert, bishop of London; "but since you specify nothing, I know not for what I ought to answer. As I am accused therefore vaguely, I excuse myself on this head vaguely; yet in the meanwhile take this answer, that I am conscious of nothing to myself, though I am not therefore justified. You need not have laboured much to remind me of

* Döllinger, Hist. of Church. Dr. Cox's transl. iii.
† Epist. S. Thom. xxi. ap. Rer. Gallic. Script. tom. xvi. ‡ Id. Epist. cxxiii.
§ Epist. Joan. Saresb. xii. ap. id. xvi.

* Epist. Joan. Saresb. xii. ap. id. xlviii.
† Gerv. Prædmonstr. ab Ep. iii.
‡ Par. xxii. § Id. xxvii.
‖ Id. xxxix.

the benefits which the king bestowed on me: for I call God to witness that I prefer nothing under the sun to his grace, and to his safety; only, salva sint quæ Dei sunt et sanctæ Ecclesiæ; for not otherwise could he reign happily or securely."* All his great contemporaries were impressed with the same conviction. "We are the more grieved at these events," says Rotrodus, archbishop of Rouen, writing to the Pope Alexander, "because nothing can be more certain than that the ecclesiastical liberty or dignity conduces to the royal dignity, rather than takes aught from it, and that the royal dignity tends to preserve rather than to take away the ecclesiastical liberty: for, as if with a close embrace, the ecclesiastical and regal dignity conjoin; since neither can kings have safety without the Church, nor the Church peace without the royal protection."† So Theobald, archbishop of Canterbury, writing to Henry, king of England, concludes with these words: "The children of this world suggest to you that you should diminish the authority of the Church, in order that you may augment the royal dignity. But certainly in this, whoever they may be, they impugn your majesty, and procure the indignation of God; for it is He who can extend your dominion and advance your glory." All this had been shown by St. Augustin; for, after citing the words of the Psalm, "Et cantent in viis Domini, quoniam magna est gloria Domini," he adds, "Let the kings of the earth sing this; let the kings of the earth be humble, not proud. Let them sing, walking in the ways of the Lord. What shall they sing? that the glory of kings is great! Nay; but quoniam magna est gloria Domini."‡

Again, let the observation be repeated, that in all these contests the holy men, whose persecutions we commemorate, suffered for supporting even the laws of the political order. All these privileges enjoyed by the Church in the middle ages were guaranteed by the laws both human and divine. The common law of Germany, as may be witnessed in the Mirror of Suabia, already cited as containing it, recognised expressly the occasions when the legal consequences of excommunication would be incurred by the emperor. "The Pope alone," says this text, "can excommunicate the emperor, which he can do for these three causes; if he doubts of the faith, if he forsakes his wife, and if he destroys the churches: for thus the great as well as the poor must be judged."*

"This pretension," says the organ of the French ministry in the present year, alluding to the demand of the episcopacy for liberty of education, "tends to nothing less than to the overthrow of all civil society. We admit of intermediate, but not of independent bodies. In a state every thing is subject to the state; dans un état, tout est soumis à l'état. To grant independence to the clergy is to tear and destroy the state."†

Such views in ages of faith would have entitled him who expressed them to a reproof like that bestowed on Antony by Cicero: "Jam illud cujus est, non dico audaciæ (cupit enim se audacem dici) sed, quod minime vult, stultitiæ qua vincit omnes."‡ He would have been told, in the words of St. Augustin, commenting on the verse of the psalm, "Dilexisti malitiam super benignitatem," that he was for inverting the order not alone of grace but of nature; "wickedly, inordinately, and perversely you wish to put water above oil; the water sinks, the oil will float: you wish to put light beneath darkness; the darkness will fly, the light will remain: you wish to put earth above heaven; the earth by its own weight will fall to its place; as you will sink and be overwhelmed, loving malice, above benignity; and therefore it is added in the psalm, Dilexisti omnia verba submersionis."§ You will draw upon yourself shame and ruin; and in the consequences of your own principles, as in a deluge of the fire of the wrath of God, you will yourself vanish. All Christian states had accepted the truth of the Christian religion as a fact, and by express and positive enactments had invested the practical consequences with all the might and authority of the law. Now, as Pope Innocent III. observes, "As those things which have been reasonably ordained by Catholic and devout princes ought to be maintained firmly and unalterably, so such as are enacted wickedly by perfidious tyrants, especially while under the bond of excommunication, ought to be without force."‖

In effect, we find that the martyrs and

* Epist. S. Thom. lxx.
† Id. Epist. ccviii.
‡ In Ps. cxxxvii.

* Cours de Lit. Germ. au Moyen Age, par Ozanam, and the work of the Abbé Gosselin.
† April 2, 1841. Journal des Débats.
‡ Orator. § S. Aug. in Ps. li.
‖ Epist. Inn. Lib. xv. 31.

ssors were mindful of the legality of proceedings. "If any one be a de- r of the law," says St. Thomas, "he nsidered the king's enemy; we are rsed: we are proscribed."* In regard cause, both human and divine laws rred. "Examine if you will," says of Salisbury, "that book of detestable inations," (which contains the customs ated by the king,) "and you will ly see that our adversaries, yea rather of the whole Church of God, turn backs on the sanctuary of the Lord, not only profane but endeavour to row the law."†

d, indeed, how could he entertain a ent opinion? for, as the same John elsewhere to Cardinal Albert, "If the ral office can be exercised only at the of the prince, without doubt, neither rimes be punished, nor the ferocity rants reproved, nor will the Church be able in reality to stand long. As ne," he adds, "whoever he may be advises priests to be silent, and to nble, during the usurpation of such vities, I doubt not that he is a heretic, a forerunner of Antichrist, if he be personally Antichrist."‡ And here edly it will not be a departure from bject of this general outline, if we for a few moments upon the particular for which St. Thomas suffered.

w the first ground of offence was his ning the chancellorship, in which he exercised a general right of all men. second was his opposing the king in njust usurpation of vacant sees and ices, and deferring to fill them, in ion of the canons, in order to appro- the revenues to his own use; the that he would not suffer lay-judges, ary to the law of Christendom, to ion clerical persons before their tribu- subjecting them to the duel and the ; and lastly, his refusal to take an to observe certain customs, in which ew that several notorious abuses and ices were included.

insist on a bishop binding himself secular prince, to observe more than volved in the form of fidelity, was a unprecedented in England, which of he said, ought to be rejected:§ but se was far worse than a question of lity; for these were the propositions he refused to sanction,—that there could be no appeal to the Apostolic See for any cause, unless with licence from the king; that no archbishop or bishop could leave the kingdom to obey the summons of the pope, without licence from our lord the king; that no bishop should excommunicate any one who held of the king, in capite, without licence of the king, or place his land, or that of his officers, under an interdict; that no bishop should coerce any one, de perjurio vel fide læsa; that clerks should be tried by the secular courts, which was to deliver over to the rigour and corruption of the secular tribunals a multitude of the people who had previously found an asylum from oppression and barbarism in the ecclesiastical courts, where alone learning, justice, and charity presided.* The immemorial offices of the episcopacy also were to be renounced, as appears from the letter of John, bishop of Poictiers, written to St. Thomas, relating how he has been forbidden by the king expressly, not to presume to usurp any thing belonging to the royal dignity, such as attending to the complaints of widows or orphans, or any of the faithful, until the king's officers, or the lord of the feud's officers, failed to administer justice.† In fine, it was to be enacted that laics, whether the king or others, should treat causes of the Church,—a power which all preceding ages had denied them.‡

Moreover, the king required from the pope, as he himself declares in his royal letter to Reginald of Cologne, "that whatever St. Thomas did, should be declared null, yet that the archbishop should swear before the pope, that he and his successors would observe inviolably for ever his royal customs; and the king declared that if he or they should ever contradict his petitions, neither he, nor his barons, nor his clergy, should obey; but, on the contrary, that all would resist him, and that whoever adhered to him should be banished."§

I cannot trace even a sketch of the archbishop's noble defence of justice, but we may cite some prominent passages from his epistles, illustrative of its solidity. Thus he writes, in a letter to Pope Alexander: "We answer that none of our predecessors were ever obliged, by any king, to make such a profession as is now required from us, respecting customs which destroy the

. Thom. Ep. cxxiii.
an. Sar. Epist. xlviii.
Epist. xlix. § Ep. clxv.

* Ozanam, Deux Chanceliers d'Angleterre, 1.7.
† Epist. St. Thom. ix.
‡ St. Thom. Epist. iv. § Epist. do. lxv.

liberty of the Church, and the privileges of the Apostolic See, and manifestly oppose the law of God. Rather than consent to them, and through love of life forsake our pastoral care, we ought to submit our necks to the executioner. These reprobate customs which we have condemned, have been condemned before in many councils by the Catholic Church, with an anathema against their observers. Were we to connive at them, the example would be pernicious, and would lead to the ruin of ecclesiastical liberty, and perhaps to the loss of the Christian faith. For who would dare to drop a word about the rest? Who would oppose himself as a wall for the house of Israel? We may add, that such an example has not been left us by apostolic men. Look around and see how the Church is treated in the west. The Lord Otho can inform you, who is actuated, we believe, by the Spirit of God, and who has seen and known what takes place in the dioceses of Tours and of Rouen, as well as in our own, in which are seven sees vacant, to which the king will not suffer pastors to be named. The clergy are given over as a prey to his satellites. If we dissemble these things, holy father, what shall we answer to Christ in the day of judgment? Who will resist Antichrist coming, if we evince to his forerunner such patience and toleration of crime? By such silence, powers grow hardened, kings pass into tyrants, and no right is left to the Church, but what they choose to allow. In vain are proposed to us the examples of the Sicilians or Hungarians, which will not excuse us in the day of judgment, if we prefer the barbarism of tyrants to the apostolic institutions, and regard the insolence of seculars, as the form of living, rather than the eternal testament, confirmed by the blood and death of the Son of God."*

When an accommodation was proposed, the archbishop declared that he was prepared to do what the king desired, and to observe all that had ever been observed, "salvo ordine suo," but that he could not incur new obligations which had never been imposed on them, without adding, "salvo honore Dei et ordine suo."† To this the king would not consent. "But," replies the archbishop, "if such an oath unqualified had been taken by me, not only the bishops, but all the clergy, would have been required to take it; a burden which is not imposed either on soldiers or on the rustics. Other princes would soon follow the example;* and how could a bishop discharge the pastoral office, after having so bound himself? as the archbishop of Sens demands in his letter to Pope Alexander."† "Never within the memory of man, had any bishop in England been required to take any other but the canonical oaths,‡ and never, with God's help," says St. Thomas, "shall I be induced by any necessity, to introduce a new form of oath into the Church of God, which would then indubitably be imposed on other bishops."§

"If the king of England," says John of Salisbury, writing to Pope Alexander, "should obtain the sanction or dissimulation of these customs, what will any prince hesitate to demand next? One thing I know," he adds, "that not only not a bishop, but that no Christian can observe them: Heaven forbid that such an abuse should descend to other ages, beginning from your pontificate!"‖

With respect to the royal requisition which prohibited obedience to the archbishop, how shall faith be preserved," asks John of Salisbury, "if it be not lawful for subjects to obey their prelates and pastors, in the things which are of God? Now no one can retain the king's favour, who continues to obey the archbishop."¶

With respect to the clerical immunities, the pope in his letter to the king reminded him that such was the established order of things, founded on the difference between the lives of ecclesiastics and seculars; that to disturb it would be to confound the kingdom and the priesthood, and that if he were to give to the poor all the fruits of ecclesiastical benefices, it would not be an act more grateful to God, than if he were to strip one altar to enrich another, or to crucify Peter in order to deliver Paul.**

In a word, as John of Salisbury says, writing to the bishop of Poitiers, "in enumerating all the circumstances which concur to the glory of this martyr, we must commence with the justice of his cause. If," he says, "it be the cause which makes the martyr, which no one doubts, what can be more just and more holy than his cause, who, despising all the glory of the world, and the affection of his friends and relations for the love of Christ,

* Epist. clx. † Epist. clxi.
‡ Epist. clxv. § Epist. ccxiii.
‖ Joan. Sar. Epist. lviii.
¶ Do. Epist. lxxvi.
** Epist. St. Thom. xl.

underwent exile with them, and poverty, for seven years, and finally death, rather than sanction abuses of ancient tyrants which made void the law of God; thus following the royal road, and the footsteps of Christ, and of apostolic men?"* He suffered too, not for a mere hopeless speculation; for, as the issue proved, his glorious struggle was not in vain.

Henry III. formally abrogated the iniquitous customs and laws of his father affecting the ecclesiastical liberty, expressly declaring that he did so for the honour of God, and of our holy mother the Church, and to amplify the glory of the martyr St. Thomas, who contended against them unto death. The visible consequences in respect to the freedom of the Church are, therefore, ascribed by Richard, elected to succeed him in the see of Canterbury, to the intercession of the new martyr, and ranked amongst the miracles with which God is pleased to signify his compassion for the English Church.†

But extending now our observations to other instances of collision, we should remark that the justice of the cause for which ecclesiastics suffered was often self-evident, and a consequence, not so much of law, as of natural right, or else of the essential difference which exists between spiritual and material things, which no change of times, or circumstances, or legislation, can ever alter. Thus ecclesiastics suffered for refusing to sanction the plunder of the property entrusted to their care.

"As for these three possessions," writes St. Thomas, "which have been taken from the Church contrary to God and to all equity, we expressly require restitution, preferring perpetual banishment, to making a peace injurious to the Church."‡

"We fly to our lord the king," writes Armanus, abbot of Manlieu, to Louis VII., "for we are troubled on all sides by men who fear neither God nor men, and exercise tyranny over us, to whom, when we offer justice, they as enemies of justice refuse it nothing. At this present moment, Thatard de Boscot, a robber and violator of the highway, has seized our men carrying their wares on the public road. We find no one to oppose a shield for the house of Israel. We are destitute of all ecclesiastical and secular defence. We, therefore, beseech your majesty to obtain justice for us."§

The extent of the persecution inflicted on the faithful in general, by men of this character, is indicated even by many of the curious conditions of tenure or redevances which were so common in the middle ages; as that by which John Auvré, on account of his fief of Coudroy, belonging to the lady Guilberd des Loges, and to Raoul, her husband, was bound to attend the said couple as a guard every year on the vigil of Christmas, and on the three evenings of Tenebræ in holy week, on their way to and from the church for the office.*

In England, the scheme of plundering the ecclesiastical property, by men of a certain class, had never been wholly abandoned. In Henry IVth's time there was "the laymen's parliament, of those who countenanced Wickliffe, and loved the lands far better than they did the religion of the Church: but their designs at that time were defeated by the stout and religious opposition of Thomas Arundel, archbishop of Canterbury, and other prelates." Against these evils the ancient canons of the Church in Germany provided, by prohibiting the faithful from holding any communication with men who disturb priests and the state of the Church.†

Now if St. Thomas and the clergy of the middle ages are to be condemned for resisting such injustice by prayers, and law, and canonical censures, what will be thought of St. Ambrose and other pastors of the early Church, who, by still more uncompromising firmness, believed that they were imitating the apostles? St. Ambrose declares that he will never relinquish the churches to the Arians, as the Emperor Valentinian commands, unless by force. "If any force should remove me from the Church, my flesh," he says, "may be disturbed, but not my mind; for I am prepared to suffer whatever a priest may suffer, if the emperor should exert his regal power. I will never abandon the Church voluntarily, but I cannot oppose force; I can grieve, I can weep, I can groan; against arms, soldiers, and Goths, tears are my arms, for these are the weapons of a priest. Otherwise I neither ought nor can resist. When it was proposed to me to deliver up the vessels of the Church, I sent answer that I would willingly give up what was mine own, whether lands or houses, gold or silver; but that I could take nothing from the temple of God, nor deliver up

* Joan. Sar. Epist. xciv.
† Ap. Rer. Gallic. Script. xvi. 674.
‡ St. Thom. Epist. ccxl.
§ Ap. Rer. Gallic. Script. tom. xvi. 19.

* Floquet, Hist. du Parlement de Normand. t.
† Ap. Goldast. Aleman. Rer. Script. tom. xi. p. 11.

what I had received to guard, not to deliver up. Fear not therefore for me, dearly beloved, since I know that whatever I am about to suffer, I shall suffer for Christ; and the will of Christ must be fulfilled, and that will be for the best. Let them decree the penalty of death: I fear it not; nor will I on that account desert the martyrs; for whither could I go, where all things would not be full of groans and tears, when Catholic priests are ordered to be driven from the churches, or to be struck by the sword if they resisted, and this decree to be written by a bishop who should quote ancient examples to prove himself most learned? Auxentius, with a mouth thirsting blood, demands my Church: but I say with the prophet, 'Absit ut ego patrum meorum tradam hæreditatem.' Naboth was prepared to defend his vineyard at the expense of his blood. If he would not give up his vineyard, neither will we give up the Church of Christ. Do I then return a contumacious answer? I have answered as a priest, let the emperor act as an emperor. Last year, when I was invited to the palace, and introduced before the council, when the emperor wished to take from us the Church, I should have been subdued by the contemplation of the royal hall, and I should not have kept the constancy of a priest, or should have departed with loss of right. Do they not remember then, how the people rushed to the palace, and overwhelmed every force, declaring that they would die for the faith of Christ? Then I was desired to appease the people, which I did by engaging that the Church should not be given up: but now the Arians wish to give law to the Church, and accuse us of sedition in resisting the emperor. Let him take our tribute, or our lands, if they ask treasure; our treasure is the poor of Christ, our defence is in the prayers of the poor. These blind, and lame, and weak, and old persons, are stronger than robust warriors. I am to give to Cæsar what belongs to Cæsar, and to God what belongs to God. The tribute is Cæsar's, but the Church is God's. As for the fire, or sword, or banishment, which are threatened, we fear them not."*

Again, writing to his sister Marcella, he says: "Not only the basilica without the walls is now demanded, but also the new and greater one within the city. When the princes summoned me to resign them, I replied, what was of course, 'that the temple of God could not be given u priest.' The emperor cannot inva house of a private man, and he wi to take possession of the house of The palace belongs to the empero Church to the priest. If he be a t I desire to know it, that I may kno to prepare against him, for I hav power to offer my body. If he think self a tyrant, why does he delay to s By ancient laws, empires were giv priests, not taken from them; and common saying, that emperors have desired priesthood, than priests e The tyranny of a priest is his infi 'for when I am weak, then am I stro

Memorable is his description t the joy of the faithful people, whe danger was for a time removed, ar soldiers were ordered to leave the by the emperor. "How great wa the joy of all the people! How their acclamations! How great thei tude!" It was the same when St. T triumphed.

The refusal to contradict the can obey the secular power in matters spiritual had been another source secution from the earliest time. lumban's crime, for which he s banishment, was his declining to g benediction to a queen's illegitima dren. What can be more just th cause of churchmen on occasions like when they are accused of pride tolerance?

As St. Ambrose replied to thos charged him with acting like a towards Valentinian, "Bishops do as tyrants, but they have often s from tyrants." "What! do you despise Valentinian, while I am said the eunuch Calligone to St. Am "I will have you beheaded." " God for the grace to suffer," repl bishop; "I shall suffer as a bish you will act as becomes your cha "All your subjects," said St. Amb the emperor, "are bound to submit authority; but you are bound to obe and to defend the religion of Jesus C "Who knows not," he says elsewhere in matters of faith, bishops are the of Christian emperors? How the emperors judge bishops? The pe Ambrose is not so important that the hood should be dishonoured for hi The life of one man ought not t

* St. Ambros. Orat. Lib. v.

* St. Ambros. Orat. Epist. xxxiii.

omparison with the dignity of all the ps. Do you think," he says to the e, "that I will abandon you to save fe? You ought to have known that I the Lord of the universe more than mperor. If the emperor acts the e towards me, I will act the bishop. no one say that I am wanting in ct to the emperor. How can one ar him more than by calling him a of the Church? The emperor is in hurch, not above the Church." Did homas say more than this?

e cause of the clergy again was strictly when they suffered for endeavouring event the interference of the secular in ecclesiastical elections. "Who," John of Salisbury, "has constituted Germans judges of nations, to subject niversal to a particular church? Who given authority to brutal and impe- men, to place a prince at their ure over the heads of the people? they have often sought, but in vain. w their intentions, for I was at Rome time of their insolent embassy under ed Eugene. Perchance," he adds, fury of the Teutonic race is left for urgation and proving of the Roman ch for ever, as another Canaan, that ay always teach it erudition, by dis- ing it; that it may be restored to the aces of the Bridegroom, more gracious nore glorious after its triumph. Laics read in pictures in the Lateran palace, e glory of our fathers, how the schis- s, whom the secular power intruded, given as a footstool to the true pon- Judgments ought to be free, and rer tries to disturb them by force, ves capital punishment by the an- constitutions. Moreover, ecclesiastical nents, above all, ought to be most and according to the sacred canons; e election of a pastor in the Church t to be conducted without any previous nation by the secular powers, so it is made in the Church itself, by eccle- cal judges, all secular and formidable ns being removed; and whatever is ed otherwise, is to be considered *

ring the persecutions of St. Thomas, became of this freedom in England? y III., in restoring it, cites an in- e to show that it had perished under npty form; for his father wrote as s to the monks of a certain monas

* *Joan. Sar. xv.*

tery: "Mando vobis ut liberam electionem habeatis, et tamen nolo ut aliquem accipiatis nisi Richardum clericum meum."*

On these occasions, the clergy suffered with a clear conscience, propter justitiam. "Day after day," says St. Thomas, "malice gains ground, and wrongs are multiplied, not ours but Christ's, yea, because they are Christ's, still more ours."† "Therefore in such a whirlwind of things, there is nothing better than to fly to the clemency of Christ, who, although again crucified, is not again slain."‡

"My counsel and earnest prayer to you," says John of Salisbury, writing to him, "is that you commit yourself wholly to the Lord; for his name is a strong tower, and he who flies to it will be delivered. Put off all other occupations, for though they may seem necessary, prayer is more necessary. Laws and canons are, indeed, useful; but, trust me, there is no use for them here. Non hoc ista sibi tempus spectacula poscit. Amidst such straits, let the priests weep between the porch and the altar, crying, Parce, Domine, parce populo tuo!" No one rises more penitent from the reading of laws or canons. I would rather that you ruminated the Psalms, and the moral books of Gregory: and if you apply thus wholly to your edification, abandoning all scholastic and litigious studies, God will help you, and you need not fear the machinations of man. He knows, as I am convinced, that in these present straits there is no mortal in whom we can have any hope.§ How the conviction of a just cause breathes in the letters of these holy men! St. Thomas was so far from thinking to succeed by policy, that he is blamed by one of his correspondents for confiding his secrets to every one that passes; "Nec, ut moris vestri est," says this adviser, "quoslibet per vos transeuntes secretorum vestrorum interpretes constituatis."‖

"Three things bind me to your defence," writes Gratian to the archbishop; "the fear of God, the love of justice, and zeal for ecclesiastical liberty. I should wish to correct your expression, to speak audaciously, saving your reverence, when you style your banishment miserable; for I think that those ought not to be styled miserable who are called blessed by our Lord, as suffering persecution for justice."¶

* Ap. Rer. Gallic. Script. tom. xvi. 645.
† Epist. St. Thom. xiii.
‡ Ep. xxiii.
§ Epist. xxi.
‖ Epist. cclxi.
¶ Epist. cclx.

"As for these enormous acts, brethren," says St. Thomas, writing to the people of England, "which are committed against justice and truth, they will only conduce more to the cause of both. For truth may be bound and fettered, but it cannot be conquered: it is content with the small number of its adherents, and is not terrified by the multitude of enemies."* To Conrad, archbishop of Mayence, as to the half of his soul, he begins a letter with these words: "Inter optimam conscientiam et durissimam fortunam constitutus. . . ."† "O that this lot had not been mine, that I had not been preserved to see the evils of our nation and of the saints! unless that, as the Scripture saith, it is necessary that the just should suffer many evils temporally, through the love of justice. God sees what we suffer; He will examine; He will judge our cause in equity. No, with Christ's help, not if they should burst themselves, will they be able to tear me from the path of justice, from delivering the Church from slavery, according to the duty to which I am called by the charity of God, which subjects us to tribulation until the coming or the Just Judge, who, with an even balance, will dispense to both, to the young and the old, to the king and the subject, to all equally, according to their deserts. For this Judge I wait; to this Avenger of injuries I appeal, strong in a good conscience, strong in a sincere devotion, strong in true faith, certain that, sustaining injury for the love of justice, I shall never be confounded; that, breaking the horns of the persecutors of the Church, through zeal for justice, I shall not forfeit my hope of an everlasting recompense."‡

"Friend of God," says John of Salisbury, writing to Walter de Insula, on occasion of his troubles for aiding the archbishop, "may your consolation be ever the same as mine and that of my fellow-exiles —the testimony of a good conscience, than which nothing in life can be more delightful. Under that Judge, no guilty one is absolved; for on it waits the immortal worm and the inextinguishable fire."§

We have heard the actors and sufferers in these great dramas. Now, let us ask, What is the judgment of the men who from a distance looked on and scrutinized the cause and the character of those who were persecuted? for their testimony and conduct must be heard and witnessed, in order to understand how wonderfu whole body of the Church, during faith, felt the sufferings of each n Throughout this contest, then, all t Church possessed of learning and c was arrayed on the side of St. Tho it was in the quarrel respecting tures on that of the pope. With preme pontiff, such observations o commence, although, in truth, it coul have been a question, as to which s Holy See inclined, after the pass the moment, which prevented me hearing it, had subsided. "We pressed with bitterness and anx heart," says Pope Alexander III., to St. Thomas, "when we call to mi meditate on the sufferings which yo endured with invincible fortitude, t a zeal for justice and for maintain liberty of the Church. That you not be broken by adversity, nor re from the constancy of your resolutio that you should have evinced su mirable virtue and such patienc subject to us of rejoicing in the I Not to multiply such testimonies th us remark how others, of inferior acted, whose position rendered thei ment no less necessarily independent has not heard of the generous and nanimous conduct of the king of I Louis-le-Jeune, when he defend Thomas of Canterbury? Neverthele most unworthy, and, historically spe the most absurd doubts have bee gested as to his motives, by modern of a certain school. "The king, Brial, "defended the cause of the bishop, less, perhaps, from a convic the justice of his cause, than in or embarrass the king of England; for at that time maintained, respectin ecclesiastical and royal jurisdictio other maxims but those which we p at this day in France."† Judgin latter assertion, in its application, undeserving of notice, I believe it not be difficult, from the contem writers, to disprove the validity o former. The whole tenor of the conduct, even to his intervals of supin when John of Salisbury expressed his to St. Thomas, that to depend on hi to lean upon a reed,‡ is a sufficient tion. "I spoke with the king," he

* Epist. ccxlii. † Epist. xcix.
‡ Epist. xcix. § Joan. Sar. Epist. xxxix.

* St. Thom. Epist. cccvi.
† Brial, Recueil des Histor. de la Franc xvi. Præf. ix. an 1814.
‡ Joan. Sar. Epist. xvii.

r letter, "and though he ha[s] n on you and on your fellow- d condemns the king's severity, ems to speak with less fervour e. He replied to me, that, indeed, ly loved your paternity, and ap- your cause; but he feared, lest uld advise the lord pope to do by which he might lose the king nglish, that the Roman Church pute to him the loss of such a f he speaks thus at present, what ope from him when the king of will be present, proposing many himself, and many against you; its one moment, and, at another, and various arguments on his having on his side the king's and, still more, Count Robert, e has lately sent into England dred yards of Rheims' linen, to rts for the king, as a prudent ho, besides all the presents she om him, hopes that he will pro- e matches for her children, of y have many? So that with such fore him, I fear his part will be yed when he arrives."* But, to observe the king's magnanimity, evidently inspired by the justice ferer's cause.

d of Placentia writes to Pope III., to inform him of the im- made upon the king of France, orts that his Holiness was inclined n the archbishop's cause, to king of England. "He en- to dishonour me," cried Louis, to shed the blood of the arch- innocent man, an exile for justice iberty of the Church, impiously him into the hands of his d persecutors, whom, not through past services, (for he injured us ien he was chancellor, serving now persecutes him,) but on the justice of his cause, I have resolved to nourish as if in my long as he shall be in exile;" ncluded by declaring that such would give him no less pain than e were to send ambassadors to his crown.† William of Chartres him to the same effect: "The rance, having heard your apos- s, was confused; and the whole with him, and with all the sons

ar. Epist. xxi.
m. Epist. xcvi.

of the Church was afflicted, that, against a just man and a revered pontiff, such a writing should have emanated from the Apostolic See."* "I cannot conceal from you," writes Richard, prior of St. Victor, to the pope, "that your letters, in which you seemed to assent to the king of England's petitions relative to the archbishop, have greatly scandalized the mind of the king of France, and of many others."†

The words of Louis, when he heard that St. Thomas was obliged to leave Pontigni, in consequence of the king of England's letters in 1166, and his chivalrous reply to that monarch's invitation, that it was always the custom of the kings of France to receive graciously all persons exiled for justice, and that he would exercise his hereditary right towards the archbishop, must leave an impression on the mind of every observer far from favourable, respecting those who would suggest that the king was not actuated throughout by the highest sentiments of honour and religion. The church of Canterbury, under Richard, the successor of St. Thomas, evinced its gratitude to the French king for his fidelity to her martyr, by enacting that three monks there should be appointed to implore God continually for him and for his queen and children; that at his death there should be the same office celebrated as for an archbishop of Canterbury; that each priest should say thirty masses, and others ten psalters; that the yearly provisions for one monk should be given to one poor person; that on his anniversaries for ever, every priest should say mass for him; and that all this was to be inscribed in their martyrology, which should be read before them every day for ever.‡ But it was not alone the king of France, who evinced sympathy for St. Thomas. "I return many thanks to your Holiness," writes Philip, count of Flanders, to the pope, for showing in your letter to me such a benign and paternal affection for that venerable man, who is believed to be dear to God, Thomas, archbishop of Canterbury. I hope that you will always love and cherish him, in spite of every earthly fear or favour, and thus be a protector against the enemies of his Church. Otherwise, great would be the scandal to us and to the whole world; pernicious would be the example, and injurious to your reputation."§

* Epist. cxxxviii. † Epist. clxiv.
‡ Ap. Rer. Gallic. Script. tom. xvi. p. 167.
§ Epist. St. Thom. lxxxi.

In fact, such was the universal voice "Not alone the Roman, but also," says Stephen, bishop of Meaux, "the whole Catholic Church knows how unjustly the lord of Canterbury is exiled, for what good work he is stoned, and how, for being a true son of the Church, he is pronounced a public enemy."* "Your devout son the king of the French," says Peter, abbot of St. Remi, to the pope, "exults in the things which he now hears, that you cherish the cause of the archbishop of Canterbury, contending for the liberty of the Church. The Gallican Church is gladdened; and its sadness, arising from the vanity of some who were lately insulting over truth, is changed into joy."† "There is no Church," says William of Chartres to the pope, "which has been more useful in all your straits, than the Gallican. That Church now supplicates you for my lord of Canterbury, now in the fourth year of his exile, banished for justice by a tyrant and a manifest persecutor."‡

"For the faith and charity of Christ," says St. Thomas to the cardinals Albert and Theotimus, "we beseech you to rise up with us against this man, whom no success will ever satisfy, as long as the Church of God has freedom. If you will not believe us or ours, ask the Gallican Church concerning him; ask Tours and the Aquitains, and the Normans, and those who visit Rome from England: you will not be able to doubt of our sincerity, unless you wilfully blind your eyes, that they may not see the truth."§

"I know not how," says John of Salisbury, writing to St. Thomas from the continent, "but, wherever I go, I find that the calamities of the English Church are well known; and I have heard many things which took place in the assemblies of London and Winchester, which, while I was in England, I never heard. I studiously dissemble concerning all the popular reports which are flying abroad. What will astonish you is, that when I came to Noyon, the count of Soissons related to the dean, seriatim, all the articles of that little council, or rather shall I say, spiteful club of London, as if he had been present, and had heard every word uttered in the conclave. There is no doubt but the French have persons to inform them of what passes there. The dean of Noyon, a man of high integrity of faith, heard of your persecution with great grief, and is prepared to receive you, not only to sacrifice his all for you, but to lay down his life, if there be occasion, for the Church of Canterbury."* Afterwards, in a letter to Radulf, he says, "The archbishop, by the protection of God, has found that favour among foreigners, which he out to have received from his own countrymen."† "In fact," saith he, in a letter to Milo, bishop of Terouanne, "when the archbishop arrived at Sens, after leaving Pontigni, in the monastery of St. Columban, he was received as Christ; for, otherwise, I could not express the affection which was shown to this shipwrecked priest. Thus do our brethren sympathize with us, burning at our scandals, infirm at our infirmity, and in a form of purer ethics, and of more consummate philosophy, thinking nothing human foreign to themselves."‡

But let us hear how the French clergy express themselves. The bishop of Terouanne § writes to the pope, on hearing of the machinations of the bishop of London against St. Thomas, in these terms: "We are the nearest neighbours of the English, and, in consequence of the frequent intercourse between our people and theirs, we cannot be ignorant of what is done by them with such publicity. We implore you to bear assistance to this Church, which is now a prey to wolves in sheep's clothing."‖ William, bishop elect of Chartres, writes to the pope as follows: "The king of the English is endeavouring to subvert that noble Church of Canterbury, that in it he may destroy the liberty of the whole Church, and exclude the authority of the Apostolic See from his territories; that alone he may be able to do all things in his world, who desires all things for himself alone: and it is to be feared that, unless his wickedness be repressed, other princes will be excited by his example to persecute the Church of God. If he should prevail, which Heaven avert! the Church of the English perishes, and the Gallican is in danger. The Churches expect from you, as from their head, that you will bear assistance against the tyrant."¶ The great Maurice, bishop of Paris, writes to the pope in the same sense: "The bishop of London, that wolf in sheep's clothing, is doing the works of Satan, endeavouring to withdraw from their obedience the suffra-

* Epist. lxxviii. † Epist. cxxii.
‡ Epist. cxxxviii. §

* Joan. Sar. Epist. xvii. † Epist. lvi.
‡ Epist. lii. § Near Boulogne.
‖ Epist. cxcvii. ¶ Epist. lxxvii.

he archbishop, who, in our age, n himself an example to the west ssor of truth and virtue."* To effect writes the Church of Rheims ope: "His justice is manifest. : yet before required a Christian, ing to an obligation, to omit a the honour of God? The eyes a are fixed on you, expecting that onsole the confessor; for his ele- ll be the consolation of many. If cause should be in danger, who

afterwards dare to resist the the powers of this world?"† Bald- op of Noyon, writes to the pope erms: "He must have a breast stone who does not feel for the f the Church of Canterbury, and have inhuman eyes who can re- n tears at her tears. To all good bject of pity, to none or to few e French is she more so than to ave seen her glory, and felt her nd known her devotion to the Church."‡ William, bishop of begins his letter to the pope with ds: "If one member suffer, must hers suffer with it? When, there- noble member of the universal hat primal see of the Britains, er of faith in the west, the Church bury, suffers from her unnatural sing their power, we must feel n, and with her and for her procure assistance from the pas- shop of our souls."§ "Neverthe- John of Salisbury assures St. 'although in England many were t were there some among the nd others, who in the piety of a good conscience were expecting om of God, as Joseph was faith- house of Pharaoh, and Lot just "‖ Lastly, let us hear the solemn of the holy retired men of the n order: "The King of kings of lords has opened his hand led your power," they say to king you ought, therefore, to have your eyes that terrible warning y Scripture, Potentes potenter patientur. It is published from nto the west, that you afflict the of your kingdom intolerably, and m them things unheard of, or ch former kings ought never to have sought; and though, in your time, since God has given you much wisdom, such an affliction might be endured, yet, after your death, perhaps such men will reign as will devour the Church with open mouth, and, hardened like Pharaoh, will say, Nescio Dominum, et Israel non dimittam. Have regard then to your dignity, to your nobility, to your race, to your celebrated name, and with a clement eye, behold the sadness of the holy Church, which is almost every where trampled upon."* That the personal love and veneration with which the sufferer was regarded, arose from a conviction of the justice of his cause, is even expressly attested. Nicholas of Rouen, in a letter to St. Thomas, says: "You can write by the regular canon, brother Adam, Qui propter zelum justitiæ, vos diligit."† So also John of Salisbury, writing to him, says: "When I saw the letters which you have directed to the king of England and to your suffragans, I rejoiced with a great joy for the fervour and zeal which animate you for the Church of God, and that, in these perilous times, there should be found at least one man who does not fear to draw the sword for blessed Peter, in the name of Christ, for the injuries of the Church, for the members of Christ, which He has redeemed with His blood, against the servants of iniquity, the enemies of truth, and the persecutors of the Christian name."‡

With respect to the accusations of pride and despotism brought against St. Thomas, the holy martyr might have answered in the words, already cited, of St. Ambrose, when he was accused of wishing to act the tyrant,—"Bishops are not tyrants; but they often suffer persecution from tyrants." The moderns, who feel inclined to doubt his virtue, should remark that Peter of Blois, his contemporary, so keen a critic and so bold a monitor, when he could detect the least passion or ambiguous aim in spiritual persons, invariably speaks of him with unqualified reverence.§ He makes no question for an instant, on hearing of his death, that he is a glorified martyr; and, in a studied summary of his character, represents him as shining in qualities which are incompatible with arrogance. "He was in judgment," he says, "upright, in anticipation discreet, in speaking modest, in counsel circumspect, in

xciv. † Epist. clxiii.
xcv. § Epist. cxcvi.
ac Epist. xii.

* St. Thom. Epist. clii. † Epist. lviii.
‡ Joan. Sar. Epist. xl.
§ Pet. Bles. Epist. xxvii.

anger pacific, amidst injuries meek, in showing mercy perfect, in misericordiis totus."* Extolling his firmness, Petrus Cellensis condemns some who said that he ought to give up to the king to secure peace: "For they say," he writes, "that the archbishop ought not so earnestly to seek back his own from the king of England, as to give up the peace of reconciliation on account of the loss of money. They are deceived by the hope of a true, and by the adulation of a false man. Times, and the different states of times, which change the merits of cases, are to be taken into account. For in the primitive Church patience alone had place, so that to whoever took the tunic the cloak was also to be given; for he who persecuted was without, and he who suffered within the Church: but now that the Church is adult, it is not lawful for her children to do what her enemies did; for it becomes her as a mother to correct a son, as when in pupilage it was her part to tolerate an adversary."† But it is needless to inquire what was said and thought of him by kings and princes, or even perhaps by philosophers and orators, when we know that the people, the devout people, as the Church denominates them, that the instinct of the faithful multitude, which could not have deceived them on such an occasion, proclaimed so unequivocally the right of the archbishop to join the glorious company of those who suffer persecution on account of justice.

"It ought to be a common grief," says St. Thomas, writing to the clergy of Chichester, "when the Lord, and Redeemer, and Judge of all men, Christ, is dishonoured; when the liberty of the Church perishes; when the public safety is in danger."‡ He had the consolation of seeing that it was so. The king of the French might prove a broken reed, as John of Salisbury was inclined to fear, and indeed as he seemed to become, when, after hearing the king of England speak, he turned to St. Thomas, and said, "Lord archbishop, do you wish to be greater than the saints and better than Peter? Why do you doubt?" and then turned his mind for some days against him; so that he neither made him his accustomed visits, nor ministered necessaries and food to his attendants, as he had been used to do by his servants;* the nobles of England might take their stand on the side of his persecutors, as when he arrived at Canterbury after his long banishment, where every thing seemed to threaten his speedy destruction by the enemies who thirsted for his blood; and "scarcely any one of the number of the rich and honourable came to visit him;"† "the great and influential men in England might all," as John of Salisbury says, "be turned into wolves greedy and rapacious, despising authorities and justice:"‡ but the people watched events with other eyes, and acted differently. "Comfort us, father, and be strong," cries the holy archbishop, addressing the pope; "there are more with us than with them."§ He might well say so. "God hath conferred on you a great honour," says Nicholas of Rouen in his letter to him, "hath granted you a great felicity. Christ is witness to your work in heaven, your conscience in your heart; and, what rarely happens, and but to very few, this is added to complete your rejoicing, that the devotion of the whole multitude comes to your assistance in God, and the universal testimony of the people bears witness to the excellence of your cause."‖ John, bishop of Poitiers, writes to him to the same effect: "I was hastening," he says, "before I saw your messenger; but ere I could arrive, all things were known by all, and the earth was full of the glory of the Lord; and every hearer exulted that there was a man found who would speak prudence before the princes of the earth."¶ In France, the common people and the poor boys in the streets, whenever they saw him pass, used to cry out to each other, "Look! there is the holy archbishop, who refused to deny God on account of kings, and who would not pass over in silence the honour of God." Then it was that the king of England, being informed of the fact, expressed his surprise that the French king would suffer his enemy to remain in his dominions.** With the same sentiments the people of England were animated. "Almost all with whom we have spoken," says the procurator of the church of Canterbury, in a letter to him, "so love your person, and desire your arrival and pre-

* Epist. xxvii.
† Pet. Cellens. Epist. Lib. i. 10.
‡ Epist. ccxxvi.

* Gervas. Dorober Rer. Gallic. Script. tom. xiii. p. 132.
† Joan. Sar. Epist. xciii. ‡ Id. c.
§ St. Thom. Epist. cxiv. ‖ Id. xx.
¶ Epist. xi.
** Ger. Dorober. ap. Rer. Gallic. Script. tom. xiii. 132.

with such an ardour of mind, that ould scarcely believe it; but fear com- them to dissemble, as if they did not you."* At the moment of the arch- p's landing in England at Sandwich, soldiers and officers met him, insti- by the prelates of York, London, and bury, who required Simon, archdea- of Sens, who accompanied him on it to some of his friends, to take an of fidelity to the king against all men, ut excepting the pope. "But," says Thomas, in his letter to Alexander, did not permit him to take it, fearing by the authority of such an example, lergy of the kingdom might be re- d to take the same oath, if it were sed on our domestics, in order to pre- the way for destroying the authority of the Apostolic See in the kingdom. But the officers who required the oath were too few in number to be able to compel us to do any thing in that place against our will, because the people who were rejoicing at our return would have been stronger than they were, if any force had been attempted. Thence proceeding we arrived at our church, and were received by the clergy and people with great devotion."* In fact, his whole progress to Canterbury was a long and magnificent ovation, the air resounding with the cry of the people, "Blessed be he who cometh in the name of the Lord." But it is time now to observe the character and deeds of those who persecuted the children of beatitude for the sake of that justice which was involved in the freedom of the Church of God.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE opposition of kings to the ecclesiastical influence began early. Chilperic, whose complaints, as a modern author says, "were not wanting in sense,"† used to exclaim, "Our fisc poverished; our riches pass to the hes: no one now reigns but bishops. honour is gone, and transferred to the ps of cities." This son of the first aire, imbued with the old leaven of Germanic ferocity, affected to regard ergy with a kind of philosophic dis- suffered himself to be governed by ssions unrestrained, and was alter- swayed by avarice and lust; he had wives at the same time than any prince of the Merovingian race; he he murderer of his wife, the inno- Galeswinthe; the murderer of his r Sighebert; the persecutor of his on Merowig, whom he forced to be ed priest against his will, in con- of the canons, whose friends, when rince afterwards procured his own rather than fall into his father's , he caused to expire in tortures in- vable; the husband worthy of Fre- degond, to whose direction he abandoned himself, a tyrant incomparably more ferocious than his other brother Gonthram, who, however, had once put many free men to the torture, to revenge the loss of a hunting-horn, and decapitated the two physicians who had not succeeded in saving Austrehilde. Such was the king, who in the sixth century found the authority of the clergy insupportable, who viewed with jealous eyes the property of the Church and the influence of the bishops, which enabled them to exercise most of the prerogatives of the ancient municipal magistrates; who tried to impose his notions on the Church as articles of faith, saying to St. Gregory of Tours, "Sic volo ut tu et reliqui doctores ecclesiarum credatis;" whose delight it was to annul all legal acts in their favour, and whose complaints of "their encroachments" were bitter and reiterated, though they were the only men who pitied him and would have averted his calamities with sighs, exclaiming, "Alas, alas! the sword of the wrath of God seems suspended over his house, and we fear that it will fall on him and on his children."†

Passing to more civilized ages, we find

. Thom. Epist. ccxcvi.
ierry, Récits des Temps Mérovingiens, i.

* Epist. ccxii.
† Thierry, Récits des Temps Mérovingiens, i.

the same jealousy excited in the breasts of kings. Let us observe what change had been effected in their character. When Innocent III. expressed fears that Philip Augustus hated the bishop of Cambray, "We answer you," replied the king, "that we hate no priest, and that we would injure no priest, least of all one who is a bishop and a priest."* It would have been well if all kings and princes during the middle ages could have borne to themselves with truth the same testimony. But later times have seen royal ordinances against the inalienable rights of the episcopacy passed by religious sovereigns, who seemed to think always that it is well and delectable, as poets say,

"To meet, and in the holy quire breathe up
Our sacred hymns, while angels echo to us.
And heaven, delighted with our harmony,
Opening her azure curtains, will present us
A vision of all the joys we pray and hope for."†

One sovereign, who contributed to a schism by his interference with elections, attached such value to his privilege of chanting the seventh lesson at matins on the night of Christmas, that when the Emperor Charles IV. came to visit him, he sent officers to intimate that he should remain at Cambray for the festival, where being in his own dominions he could observe the imperial custom in this respect, which would not have been suffered if he had proceeded into France to St. Quentin, as he was proposing.‡

Our Norman princes, too, loved to meet with saints and troops angelical. King Richard I. took great pleasure in the music of his chapel on the chief solemnities, and used to pay much attention to it, adorning it with precious vestments, and exciting the chaplains to sing well; sometimes making signs to them with his hand to indicate how they should regulate their chant.§

Some persecutors of the Church during the middle ages, it is true, were undisguised adversaries of all Godhood. St. Gregory VII. suffered from an emperor stained with the abominations of every vice; sunk so deep in crime, that, like the Byzantine emperor Michael, he desecrated, with the wicked mob of his court, the sacred night of the nativity by a shameful mimicry of the holy mysteries;* but in general professed at least a respect for the re which they outraged. They were and skilful men, who never wanted a cuse to palliate their most atrocious d As John of Salisbury observed of the peror Frederic, when he compares hi ginning to his latter end, when fr prince he became a tyrant, and fr Catholic emperor a schismatic and a he "I do not say that in the articles of they did not believe rightly; but bec they did not suffer truth to proceed ac ing to the integrity of the ecclesias order, they may be styled heretics."†

A vain mundane guest like Fro might recount with infinite complac circumstances which denoted the ind ence or connivance of potent princes regard to the desolations of the Ch "One cannot," says that chronicler, often speak about or recommend the l which I observed in the castle of the e of Foix, which conduced to my great sure. There I saw seated at tabl Christmas-day four bishops, two of Clementins and the other two Urbanis But assuredly, while the voices of heralds and the music of the min resounded through the hall, there must been in that immense company of ab knights, monks, and seigneurs, some tho ful stranger on whom such a memen the Church's sorrow acted as a m persecution. Many princes openly espo the cause of men, whose elections t sees they claimed were flagrantly uncan cal and unjust; and where they did r nise the true pastors, it was often on control and molest them.

"Like another Cæsar," says Pope A ander III. to Henry II., "contendin be alone in yourself in all things, yo only seek to obtain the things whic Cæsar's, as his right, but you fear n usurp the things which are God's, unlaw and to the peril of your soul."§ "minds of the adversaries of the Chur God," says John of Salisbury, writin St. Thomas, "are so hardened that will admit of no condition whatever, u one that will utterly destroy the li of the Church."‖ "I know not how," St. Thomas, "but the cause of the L always sacrificed at court, that Ban

* Ap. Martene, Coll. Ampl. i. 1079.
† Shirley.
‡ Chroniques de S. Denis, ad an. 1377.
§ Chronicon Anglicarum, an. 1199. ap. Martene, Vet. Script. tom. v.

* Döllinger, Dr. Cox, iii. 301.
† Joan. Sar. Epist. xliii.
‡ Liv. iii. c. 18.
§ St. Thom. Epist. cliii.
‖ Joan. Sar. Epist. xxxiii.

ape, and that Christ may be
"You are going to the court,"
n of Salisbury to Radulph Black:
you can be Lot in Sodom, Joseph
oh's hall, and Daniel in Babylon,
go there safely and with profit to
."† "In our country," writes St.
to William of Pavia, "you have
ith wild beasts; and in the very
here we are the most fiercely
you have long borne the burthen
t of the day."‡ "If that great
should vomit you from your
ays Petrus Cellensis, speaking of
. to the bishop of Exeter.§ These
ng expressions, but hardly too
"The king being at Caen," says
ondent of the archbishop, "and
against Richard de Humez, burst
neful words. In his usual fury
l up, cast the cap from his head.
l his belt, flung off his cloak and
lothes to the farthest end of the
th his own hand threw off the
ring which was on the bed, and,
ing on the dunghill, began to
the straws of the mattress."‖
l known," says Nicholas of Rouen
omas, "that the youth who pre-
ur letters to the king was imme-
laced in straits, and had fingers
to his eyes until the blood started
had hot water poured down his
ntil he confessed that it was mas-
ert who had given him the letters.
ill in irons."¶ In the letter of
and Maurice, the bishops of
nd Paris, to Alexander, the king
bed as a man not content with
g the lawful liberty of his subjects,
tuitously afflicting the innocent,
his neighbours, and defrauding
s, unless he can trample on the
gainst all law and justice.** "The
of the world," says William, arch-
Sens, to the Pontiff, "must have
you how this most famous, I will
ing of England, but rather enemy
nglish and of the whole body of
malicious against the saint whom
appointed."†† "The advocates
ing say, perhaps," observes St.
to the Pope, "that all this is

cclvii.
Sar. Epist. xxxviii.
cclxxxvii.
el. Lib. v. Epist. iv.
om. Epist. lxvii.
lxviii. ** Epist. cclvi.
hom. Epist. ccccxv.

done through a personal hatred of my name: but from the beginning the liberty of the Church was persecuted as if by an hereditary right. Was I archbishop when his father prohibited the nuncio of blessed Eugene from entering his kingdom? Was I archbishop when Gregory, cardinal deacon of St. Angelo, foreseeing his tyranny, persuaded Eugene not to permit Eustache, the son of king Stephen, to be crowned, saying, 'that it was easier to hold a ram by the horns than a lion by the tail?' Was I archbishop when the king transferred the church of Boscham, or during the affair of the bishop of Chichester and the abbot of Bello? All this was done because the king and the court chose it: let them say who has ever been able to obtain justice from him by the authority of the Apostolic See. Certainly they will not adduce a single instance, and they can name many who have been endangered through his hatred of the Roman name."* In truth, the king's whole life explains that monstrous and unparalleled act, when he refused the humble advances of the archbishop, offered on his knees, on account of his saying that he submitted himself "to God and to the king, to the honour of God and of the king." "For that one word, ad honorem Dei, he would not receive him," say the two holy priors Simon and Engelbert, relating to the pope the success of their mediation.† "With the successors of Peter, with the vicars of Christ," demands St. Thomas, "ought there to be acceptance of persons? What glory is it before God and men to administer justice on the poor, and not on the powerful? See how the king abuses license. Lo, for the last five years he retains for his own use the revenues of the sees of Lincoln, Bath, Hereford, and Ely! All the possessions of Llandaff he has given to his soldiers. Bangor is vacant now ten years, and he will not suffer a bishop to be ordained to it. What shall I say of the abbeys, which he treats in the same manner, of which I know not the number! And this he glories in doing by the law of his customs. If we had yielded to him, neither we nor any of ours would have suffered any loss; and if we were to consent to them now, the way would be instantly open to us to regain the familiarity of the king and the dominion of the whole kingdom. But Heaven forbid that for the sake of personal advantage we should betray the public

* Epist. cxxxiv. † Epist. clvi.

liberty of the Church, root out the privilege of the Apostolic See from England, and incur for temporal benefits an eternal loss. So because we will not overthrow the Church, the king seeks our overthrow; because we will not sacrifice the law of God to the iniquity of tyrants, he seeks our removal to another church, that he may exercise a sort of commerce in our blood with the associates of his wickedness."* But one need only open any of the king's letters, to be able to estimate his violence and his pretensions. Thus to the king of France he says, "You should know that Thomas, who was archbishop of Canterbury, is publicly judged in my court, by a plenary council of the barons of my kingdom, as a perjured villain and a traitor, under which name he has wickedly departed. Therefore, I beseech you not to suffer in your kingdom a man so infamous for crimes and treasons, nor any of his adherents; for he is my enemy, and I would never permit any enemy of yours to remain in my kingdom. Assist me therefore efficaciously to revenge my shame upon mine enemy, and to maintain my honour as you would wish I should do to you if there were occasion."† Clearly it is known," he says elsewhere, "how iniquitously he acted against me and my kingdom; how pompous, how rebellious and seditious he has always shown himself against me; and how he has nefariously attempted to injure my reputation, and to diminish the dignities of my kingdom."‡

Nicholas of Rouen, in a letter to St. Thomas, relates his own interview with the Empress Mathilda, with a view to persuade her to mollify the king. "We related to her," he says, "all in order, as you enjoined, and enumerated verbally, because we had lost the paper, the customs of the king, observing to her that some were against the Christian faith, and almost all against the liberty of the Church; so that they were fraught with eternal, and also temporal danger to herself and to her son. She then required to see the paper, and, by the will of God, we found it the next day. So all other persons being removed from her bedchamber, in which she received us, she ordered us to read it in Latin, and to explain it in French; the woman is of the race of tyrants, mulier de genere tyrannorum est; and some things she approved of, as that no officers of the king should be excommunicated without license from him. I would not proceed until I had discussed that point, showing her the evangelic precept, Dic ecclesiæ,—not die Regi, and other things. She thought, however, that the customs ought not to be written, nor the bishops compelled to swear that they would observe them."*

Her notions of defending the persecuted may be gathered from her letter to the archbishop, in which she says, "The pope having enjoined it on me to intervene between you and my son, the king, I have sent to inquire from you respecting your dispositions towards my son, and how you wish to conduct yourself, if he should grant my petition, and make peace with you. One thing also I will tell you truly, that unless by great humility, and the most evident moderation, you will never recover his favour."† It was not difficult to divine what these words meant. The mulier de genere tyrannorum est, gives a sufficient explanation.

It was observed at the time, that the conduct of the king throughout was marked with a deep cunning, a characteristic feature almost always of such persecutors. The Italian diplomatists saw through him, though at first even they were deceived. "He does not contradict plainly," says the legate Vivianus, "but he changes words, in order craftily to bind one afterwards. This we have discovered later; for in almost all his words to the Church of God, he is sophistical and captious."‡ "How much this legate laboured to make peace, we cannot express in words," says St. Thomas, in a letter to the pope, "and unless we had been present, scarcely could we have believed it."§ But Richard de Welcestre assured some, that the king, if it were necessary, would remain till his death disobedient, not only to the pope, but to God himself, rather than have peace with the archbishop.‖

"No one ever yet escaped his snares," he says again to the bishop of Nevers, "who has come into contact with them. You must regard every thing around him with suspicion; for all will be full of deceit. If he should find that he can either corrupt or intimidate you, from that instant your authority is gone, and he will deride you; but if he should not be able to move you from your path, he will pretend fury at

* Epist. clxxxii.
† Ap. Rer. Gallic. Script. tom. xvi. p. 107.
‡ St. Thom. Epist. xxvi.

* Epist. xx.
† Id. Ep. xxv.
‡ Ep. ccxxxv.
§ Ep. ccxxxvi.
‖ Ep. S. Thom. cclxxiv.

ill swear and forswear; he will
itheus, and will at length return
and seem all divinity. The
ng other things, boasts among
r friends, that he is an explorer
rs and manners, a deluder and
he good; and if an incautious
ld escape any one, immediately
witnesses, and pretends injury.
be sparing of words in his pre-

was immediately accessary to
hop's death, could not at the
oubted. "The bearer of these
rites the procurator of Canter-
t. Thomas, as the archbishop
point of returning to England,
de his peace with the king, but
ving obtained the promise of his
will relate some secrets to you
mouth, which are abominable,
ı be believed, and yet they are
s not necessary, my lord, that
d be revealed to many; but if
ou, let them be buried when you
l them without a witness. This,
again, my lord, we commend to
ory, that you ought not to hasten
England, until you can obtain
e from our lord the king: for
ot one man in England, trust-
l faithful to you, who does not
your being at peace with him."†
meanwhile the king gives him
ounsel. "I could not meet you
ised," he writes to him, "but I
n, dean of Salisbury, (John of
sinister name in this history,)
ar clerk, to accompany you into
and to signify to my son, that
be well and honourably received;
all things shall be arranged as
. And as many things are told
ming your delay and hindrance,
, which perchance are not true,
is expedient that you do not de-
nger to go to England."‡
st is well known. The arch-
urns and is slain. Then follows
of William, archbishop of Sens,
e: "O man of God, put on the
of him whose seat you occupy,
your duty demands, towards the
o persecutes God, who hath so
ly and so inhumanly slain your
ul murderers. This act exceeds
s of Nero, the cruelty of Herod,
y of Julian. The peace publicly

clxvi. † Epist. ccxcvi. ‡ Ep. cccviii.

made did not recall the traitor from pursuing his iniquity, who, as if he could not rage enough by himself, had instigators of his fury in those false and ever to be detested brethren, Roger, that archdevil of York, and the apostates, not bishops, of London and Salisbury."*

How does the king himself write to the pope on this event? "Health and due devotion. Through respect for the Roman Church, and love for you, which, God knows, I have faithfully sought, and constantly preserved, I indulged Thomas, archbishop of Canterbury, according to the form of your mandate, with full restitution of his property, and I allowed him, with an honest escort, to return to England; but on his arrival, he brought not the joy of peace, but fire and sword, proposing a question against me, of my kingdom and my crown. Moreover, he excommunicated my servants. So not being able to endure the insolence of the man, some of the persons he had excommunicated rushed on him, and, I am sorry to say, slew him. Therefore, God knows, I am grievously troubled, because I fear, the anger I had against him may have lead to this crime. And since I fear more for my fame than for my conscience, I beg your serenity to assist me with wholesome advice in this article."†

"Alas! what shall we do to the soul of the king of the English, lately our sister?" says Peter Bernard, ex-prior of Grandmont, to William the prior. "It has become blacker than extinct coals. Alas! he who founded our churches, has violated the church of Canterbury! Alas! if you knew what I have heard, you would think of our late legation with horror. Henry, king of England, has killed St. Thomas, archbishop of Canterbury. I wish that I had slept more profound than the earth, when the most holy Pope and the French bishops sent me to the same Henry, with the prior of the Carthusians. I wish they had left us wandering in our solitudes, hidden in the caves and dens of Grandmont. I can write no more. Let there be prayers without ceasing to God for me, who am overwhelmed."‡

As soon as the assassins had slain the martyr, they returned to his palace, searched all his shelves and cabinets, and then sent over all the writings which they could find to the king in Normandy.§ Even long be-

* Ep. cccxv. † Ep. cccxviii. ‡ Ep. cccxix.
§ Joan. Sar. Epist. xciv.

fore the consummation. John of Salisbury remarked, "that the plots and spies of the king were every where, and that he feared and suspected every thing."* The tyrant might well say now to the Pope, without diminishing the presumption of his guilt, "that God could witness he was afraid."

There is a distinction to be remarked generally between the French and English kings, in their persecution of the Church. The former were served by legists, and men that wielded pens; the latter, by unworthy priests, and by men of blood like the slaves who slew Pompey, and who said to Cæsar,

"Si scelus est, plus te nobis debere fateris
Quod scelus hoc non ipse facis."†

The same elements indeed were in some degree found every where, more or less developed; for if the parliaments of France, while slaves of the king, attacked bulls of the sovereign pontiffs and apostolic legates, under colour of defending the liberties of the Gallican Church,‡ which only meant riveting its chains, those of England were often violent and unjust towards the spiritual power; and Sir Henry Spelman's History of Sacrilege will show how in every age worldly men of riches and power made havoc of the Church. In Henry IVth's reign, in England, an attempt was made upon the lands of the clergy, and in the reign of Henry V. the priories alien were suppressed. He gives numerous instances of sacrilege committed by knights and barons in the middle ages. On the other hand, on the continent, a modern French writer describes as a religious reformation, the coalition of princes and barons in the time of Otho, to reduce the Church to its primitive poverty. "One murmured," he says, "in the camps against the riches of bishops and monks; one spoke of seizing their goods, to distribute them amongst men of arms and vassals, who longed to exchange their poverty for the fiefs of the Church."§ Thus both elements were together.

But in France, in general the proceedings assumed more a legal and literary form; so that in the thirteenth century the devil used to be qualified, "as the pleader or jurist against the priest." The encyclopedial romances of the four century, such as the Songe du Verg the Songe du Vieux Pélerin, prepar way for the decline of the spiritual and the confiscation of the goods Church.* Chiefly in France the ments, and above all the legists, serv false interests of the civil power wall, t the latter could despise its instrume when Philippe de Valois was heard "The Popes are better legists tha men of law." Their cry was that Pharisees of old, "Turba hæc, qu novit legem, maledicti sunt." N Plasian, and Pierre Flotte were mir Luthers of the fourteenth century, the king and the sword on their s the sacrilegious Philippe-le-Bel a nobles.†

The legal method was tried, ho elsewhere. St. Thomas, describing Pope what passed in England, ob that those who remain proof against violence, are assailed in a more artfu as our Lord himself was betrayed kiss; that, under pretence of justic through respect for the law, they r subverted, and God, as it were, legal legitimately impugned.‡ Thus Sir T More, according to Cromwell's report been openly detected and lawfull victed, judged, and condemned o treason, by the due order of the this realm, having such malice roo his heart against his sovereign, t was well worthy, if he had had a th lives, to have suffered ten times a terrible death and execution than suffer."

From the first, the legists or ju sults joined the persecutors of the C Among that class of men in heathen there was something narrow, hard exclusively formal, which could neve well with the generosity and freed the new law. According to the l the emperor was a personification city and people of Rome, and sovere religious as well as in civil affair the second century Plautien the ju sult excited Septimius Severus agai Christians, representing them as a the imperial power, the religious po the state, and social order. Thirty later, two other jurisconsults, Ulpia Paul, prepossessed Alexander S against them, and advised edicts of

* Joan. Sar Ep. xxviii. † Lucan. ix.
‡ La Roche Flavyn, les trèze Livres des Parlement de France, xiii. 45. Floquet, Hist. des Parl. de Norm.
§ Capefigue, Hist. de Phil. August, tom. iii. 211.

* Michelet, Hist. de France. iii. 490.
† Id. iii. 166. ‡ Ep. lxxiii.

cution, collecting into one body all the laws directly or indirectly against them, and instructing the public officers to be implacably severe in their execution.

In the middle ages, there were legists willing to act the same part, as far as the change of circumstances would permit; and as in the old mysteries, in which Pilate and Judas were represented in close brotherhood, so the legists and such kings as Philip-le-Bel seemed to have been made expressly for each other. The legists were detested by the people. Candelarius, to express the singular virtue of a particular epoch, says,

"Et jam legistæ populo placuere volenti,
Quorum nemo alio tempore gratus erat."*

Infidelity, as we observed, entered largely into the views of some royal persecutors. Indeed, as Philippe de Comines argues, "No king, duke, count, prince, or princess in the world would have been such foes to human happiness, as to violate the sacred rights of others, if all had believed firmly what God and the Church commanded them to believe: so that we must conclude that all these evils came from the want of faith." Many made no secret of their indifference respecting the Crescent. Faith could not be very strong in the Emperor Frederic Barbarossa, when he proposed to his officers, before risking a battle with Charles V., to kill ten thousand Christian slaves who were in the arsenal, which proposal those brave men rejected with abhorrence; or in Frederic II. when he kept twenty thousand Sarassins in Italy, where he gave them the fortress of Nocera, which still bears the name of Nocera dei Mori, whence they used to issue, ravaging the country, and pillaging the monasteries, as when St. Claire delivered that of St. Damien at Asissi, by her prayers; or in King Manfred, when he used to walk forth by night, as a Moorish troubadour, along with two Sicilian musicians, while he was carrying on war with the pope, and replying to the Neapolitan envoys, who begged him to make peace, saying, "that Naples being excommunicated, the archbishop could not say mass," that he would send three hundred Sarassins to Naples, who would take care that mass should be said there by force.† Hence, as a most honourable distinction from other princes, Froissart observes of the Count Gaston de Foix, "Qu'il n'avoit ni oncques nul Mahomet decoostes lui."‡

In England, analogous seeds had been sown in royal breasts, or rather from the Conquest by the Normans were indigenous to the soil. William arrogated a control over synods and bishops, and their correspondence with Rome; William Rufus and Henry assumed the right of investiture. King Stephen, indeed, as St. Thomas observed, "was restrained from persecution by incurring an anathema without appeal, and having his kingdom placed under an interdict. It was thus," as he says, "by the staff and the clamour of the dogs, that the wolf was kept off from the fold."§

But many others were inclined to act like Frederic II. who, when he heard that he was excommunicated, put his hand on his sword and cried, "Hitherto have I obeyed him. From this moment no more peace with the proud one."‖

They had all men in their parliaments, like the Cromwells, the Riders, the Russells, and the Paulets, under Henry VIII., ready to yield to every mandate of their will, bent with every breath of their capricious humour, willing to sanction illegal trials, iniquitous attainders, sanguinary statutes, and impious enactments against the Church, "constant only in the rapacious acquisition of estates and honours," and, like the earl of Argyle, secretary of Scotland, ready to declare on all occasions, that if they should be required to swear and to subscribe that they were Turks, they would do it before they would lose their office.

It is an empty boast of modern times, that they first have seen men emancipated from the fear of the Vatican thunder. "Some persons less intelligent," says St. Anselm, "complain that I do not excommunicate the king; but wiser men advise me not to do so; for, besides other reasons, they assure me that my excommunication would be despised by him and turned into ridicule."¶ John was so little fixed in faith, that he is thought to have embraced the Mahometan superstition.** Political fears might work on such men, but not the religious apprehension of ecclesiastical censures.

When the bishops of London, Ely, and

* Encom. 7. Lib. ii.
† Matt. Spinelli, Ephem. Neapolitanæ.

* Chroniques, liv. iii. c. 13.
† St. Thom. Ep. lxxxiv.
‡ Audin, Hist. de Luther.
§ S. Anselmi Epist. Lib. iii. 40.
‖ Hurter, Geschichte, tom. iii.

Winchester interceded with king John for the monks of Canterbury, whom he treated with such tyrannic barbarity because a worthy pontiff had been placed in that see, the king replied, "If an interdict be laid on, I will send out of the kingdom to the pope, all the bishops and clergy, and seize their goods. Yea, perhaps every Roman found in my kingdom shall be sent back with his eyes put out, and his nose cut off."*

Writing to Gilbert, bishop of London, St. Thomas shows himself aware of what ground lies beneath his feet, and in consequence foresees an occasion when the arms of the Church will prove of no avail; for he says, "although the indignation and hand of the chief pontiff are slow, nevertheless they are efficacious and heavy, inflicting an incurable wound sometimes according to merits: for there is no one under the sun who can deliver from his hand. An infidel alone, or a heretic, or a schismatic, may refuse to obey his mandates."†

Many of these kings, if not awed by the political consequences, would have cared little for his mandates, heedless whether or not they incurred that vice of paganism, as William, archbishop of Sens, terms it, which consisted in such disobedience.‡ Their satellites cared as little for ecclesiastical censures. "Those who do not avoid the men excommunicated by my lord of Canterbury," says John of Salisbury, "do not injure him, but themselves."§ Who were these satellites? As I observed, these were generally in England, men of blood and unworthy priests. Among these former, in the time of St. Thomas, we read of Richard de Luci, the enemy of his own name, endeavouring vehemently and irreverently to blacken the person of the archbishop; so that through hatred of the fables he used to relate concerning him, the king himself used to say that he wondered he could invent so many.‖

Such were also Randulph de Brock, who used to plunder the goods of the Church, and deposit them in the castle of Saltwode, in whose old towers, still habitable, I have beguiled a tedious hour. He used to boast, in the hearing of many, that St. Thomas should not long enjoy his peace with the king, and that he should not eat a whole loaf in England before he would take his life. "But, my serene lord," says the archbishop to the king, after mentioning this boast, "what could Randulph do, unless confiding in your will, and armed with your authority? If you neglect to correct him, you will be partaker of his crime."* Such, in fine, were the immediate instruments of the martyr's death, William de Traci, Reginald Ursi, Hugo de Morevilla, and Richard Brito, some of whom have descendants still in England, who, it is said, delight, through penitence, no doubt, in showing a representation of the deed of blood sculptured over their castle-gate. It remains to observe the unworthy priests and bishops who constituted the other class of ministers and assistants of the king in persecuting the Church. The race is of all times; Sir Thomas More beheld them enabling Henry VIII. to accomplish his direful end. He calls them "a weak clergy, lacking grace; who, for want of it, stand weakly to their learning, and so shamefully self-abuse themselves."

"For the glory of the saints," says St. Thomas of Canterbury, "and for the condemnation of the reprobate, it is necessary that scandals should come, that the elect may be proved by tribulations, who through patience, acquire a crown for themselves, and a benefit for others by their example."†

So it must be always, even in ages, of greatest faith and tranquillity. "The martyrs," says St. Augustin, "suffered corporal tribulation, but we, being at peace, must suffer spiritual tribulation; and it is necessary, that, amidst scandals, and tares, and chaff, the Church, that mass of heterogeneous elements, should groan, until the harvest, until the threshing, until the last winnowing, which is to separate the wheat from the straw, that it may be brought into the barn."‡

It is a melancholy page in history that no tears of the holy can blot out, which records the opposition of unworthy priests to holy popes and prelates, who sought to correct abuses and restore liberty to the Church. What had not St. Gregory VII. to suffer from false pastors, who opposed him by their deeds and by their pens? Wibert, archbishop of Ravenna, the artful cardinal Hugo, and the fierce Cenci, whose hands were stained by murders—these were the heads or the conspiracy at that time. The emperor's other instruments were bishops, whom he had formed for the purpose in his own school. Otho of Con

* Hurter, Geschichte, tom. iii. 11. 123.
† St. Thom. Ep. lix. ‡ Ep. cccxxiii.
§ Joan. Sar. xxxviii. ‖ St. Thom.

* Ep. cccix. † Epist. clxxxviii.
‡ In Ps. lxix.

nce, Pibo of Toul, Rupert of Bamberg, zmann of Spire, William of Verona, illiam of Utrecht, Siegfred of Mentz, ho of Ratisbon, Burchard of Lausanne, d Verner of Strasburg; all men of fame torious, who were willing, as the empe- 's vassals, to acquiesce servilely in his asures against the pope. St. Gregory rvived the apostacy of two men who had od near him, the bishop of Porto and chancellor Peter. All who, in consee- nce of their crimes and demerits could ect nothing from the pope but depri- ion, were naturally opposed to peace h him.

Turning to the scenes in England, we d the same part played by fitting actors. o were the most effectual opponents of Anselm and the pope in their glorious uggles to enforce religion, and to resist influence of the court? His own suf- gan bishops. Who assisted William fus and Henry I. in their measures of pression on the discipline of the Church? ne English bishops. Who threw the f obstacles in the way of St. Edmund, n he sought to establish a better dis- line of the clergy of his own pro- ce, by publishing his constitutions to rect abuses, which at that time were ltiplied? English priests, part of his gy, even some of the chapter of his cathedral, who declared against him, used him of scrupulosity, and tried to at his pious efforts. No one loved e more than that holy primate, but he not wish to purchase it by a cowardly criminal compliance with evil. He e rather to be persecuted, even by his nds, while no persecution could weaken charity for all the world. In fine, who ised St. Thomas to resign rather than tend against Henry II. for the sacred se of ecclesiastical liberty? His brother ops, with the exception of two, Roger Worcester, who observed that he would belie his conscience by saying that the of souls might be resigned for the of pleasing any mortal man; and ury of Winchester, who declared that interests of religion were at stake, and ld be lost if the primate set the ex- ple of resigning his dignity at the g's pleasure. The most monstrous es perpetrated by the crown were thus ly regarded by all the bishops except e; and of these, he who opposed them ngled out for vengeance by his brother ates. Well might a recent historian ark, what important lessons are to be derived from the records of these past events.

"What other bishops," says St. Thomas, "have you ever seen or read of in our whole island, excepting those of Canterbury, who have opposed themselves to princes, to defend the liberty of the Church, and the constitutions of our fathers, and through reverence of the holy see? In our age there has not been one, and if you open ancient histories, you will find none."* As for his own contemporaries, a correspondent assures him generally that "all labour under such imbecility, that they seem to fear God less than man."† "O with what subtlety," says St. Thomas, "do they argue in favour of their servitude, furnishing wings and suffrages to the king's excesses; for he would have rested unless they had acquiesced. When is constancy more necessary than amongst persecutors, when his intimates approve of his persecutions? How shall they obtain what is essential, if they always succumb? They must resist sometimes."‡ "They who minister arms to iniquity in England," says the archbishop, "are almost all men of the clerical order."§ It was such as these, in fact, who inflamed the minds of many against him, who so spread the flame, that his glad honours changed to bitter woes.

Amongst his chief persecutors were Roger, archbishop of York, Gilbert, bishop of London, Hilary, bishop of Chichester, Roger of Worcester, and Jocelin of Salisbury. These were the loudest in flattering the king, like slaves in a comedy, rendering themselves contemptible through the boldness of their adulation, waiting on the prince's nod. "These are they," said St. Thomas, "who give horns to the sinner, and instigate him when he does not sufficiently rage of himself, placing cushions under his elbows, and causing him to sleep, by the soft pillows which they place under the head, which vices have made languid."‖ The bishop of London, who found men to represent him to the pope as a holy and calumniated man,¶ among other works of open malice after he was excommunicated, proposed to have the primacy transferred to his own see, while the archbishop of York, who when he was to go to Rome to justify himself, had provided that no one should proceed there to speak for St.

* Epist. lxxxiv.
† Epist. x.
‡ Epist xvii.
§ Epist. ccxxvii.
‖ Epist. cxiv.
¶ Epist. cxx.

Thomas without the king's license, which could not be obtained without giving bail not to appear agains this persecutors,* was to obtain permission to have his cross borne through the province of Canterbury.† The bishop of London used publicly to deride St. Thomas, saying, in allusion to his resisting the king's demand of forty-four thousand marks of silver for payments made to him before he was archbishop, that "the archbishop thought debts were remitted in promotion, like sins in baptism." With these bishops were united unworthy priests, some of whom, as Geoffrey Riddle and John of Oxford, gained the sad distinction of being notorious to foreign Churches and princes, for their triumphs over the Holy See by perjury;‡ while others, abusing the patronage of laics, presumed to celebrate mass after they had been excommunicated or prohibited, and renounced their obedience to their spiritual superior, at the nod of the powerful.§ To these must be added some few cardinals, "whose good works," as Adelaide, queen of France, said in her letter to the pope, "had not yet been heard of in our land," and perhaps some legates, whose love was doubtful, to whom the archbishop writes, wishing them, in his first salutation, fortitude against princes,‖ men who, as he says, would rather be hammerers of priests, obeying princes, than an offence to kings by gaining divine grace; loving gifts more than justice, and, unless delegated, seeming more worthy of removal than of legation. What must have been the agony of those who witnessed the persecution of the Church by these unworthy members of the episcopacy or priesthood, when the bare traces it has left in history cannot be marked without leaving the reader disheartened and discouraged! "Your suffragans have proved renegades, and have forsaken you," writes Arnulf, bishop of Lisieux, to St. Thomas, "in your necessity; they have left nothing undone, by dissimulation and contumely contending with each other, that each might be thought to hate you most. The Roman Pontiff, and those who have with him the care of the Church, are astonished that the sheep should thus rise against their pastor, sons against their father, and direct swords so vehemently against themselves: for if they could effect what they desire, not even the name of liberty, nor any hope of liberty, would be left, but all ecclesiastical matters would be involved in such confusion, that the pristine institutions being removed, nothing could be well ordered, nothing accomplished."*

"The nobles favour the Church," says St. Thomas, "but the clergy, by exhortations and instigations, cherish and promote the pertinacity of fury, some in England, rejoicing in the agonies of the Church, others making rapid journeys abroad to obtain friends elsewhere, and when they cannot find princes to be of the number, boasting of having found them in Rome."† To these priests of Baal and sons of false prophets, who were incentors of all discord from the beginning, St. Thomas ascribed the conduct of the king in refusing to make peace with him. They told the king that it would be dishonourable to him not to confirm all his unjust donations to themselves, and not to insist on the archbishop's observance of "the customs," for there was nothing that they so much feared as the peace of the Church, lest their works and excesses should be corrected.‡

"One thing might have been learned from the silence of others," as John of Salisbury says, "that they who were mute when the Church was under such afflictions, did not seem hastening to martyrdom." "Our bishops," says John of Salisbury to St. Thomas, "erect an altar of contradiction and scandal, endeavouring to elude the vigour of justice under pretext of law, and of the right of appeal. From what excommunicated person has the king ever withdrawn his society? Have not always bishops and priests stood against the Lord and against his Anointed? Yet I believe there are some of the bishops who are with you, or rather with God and his Church, in vows and prayers firmly persevering, although they communicate in many things with the persecutors of the Church, thinking it better to remain usefully among enemies, than to be exiled uselessly to themselves. Some of the bishops, and the greatest part of the clergy, I doubt not, favour you; but, from necessity or pusillanimity, they dissemble: for who could think that all the stars should simultaneously fail."§ Writing to the bishop of Exeter, he says: "I do not feel this solicitude through any sinister

* Joan. Sar. Epist. xcvi. † Epist. clxxxix.
‡ Epist. cxxxvii. § Epist. cclxxxiii.
‖ Epist. ciii.

* Epist. xxi. † Epist. ccxxxix.
‡ Epist. cccxii. § Joan. Sar. Ep. xxxiii.

suspicion, but through charity for a friend in danger. For I know the perseverance of the persecutors, the pusillanimity of some bishops, the envy of others, and the dangers of false brethren, armed with authority and learning. We hear that the bishops of England meet often, to deliberate and decree; but what do they decree, excepting that they should fear immoderately? What do they decree, excepting that they would rather yield imprudently, than manfully repel an injury? What do they decree, excepting that iniquity should prevail, and that they should not announce the way of God to sinners? Can they be thought faithful, who expedite all ways of sinning for the king, and are studious that he should prosper in what he presumes against the justice of God? Truly, I can never esteem such counsellors faithful to their prince or to their friend."* "Your suffragans are prone to disobedience," he says to St. Thomas, "they are pastors feeding themselves, who, through love of rest, and luxury, and fear of temporal losses, decline from announcing his impiety to the impious; at every subversion of law, saying, Euge! euge! and getting over all obedience to whatever displeases them in Apostolic mandates, under pretence of an appeal."†

"Forbid it, Heaven!" cries the archbishop Theobald, writing to a priest, "that any one should dare to suspect that the most vile of things, money, can move your mind where souls are in danger, quod vilissima rerum, opes scilicet, animum vestrum moveant, ubi periculum imminet animarum."‡ Yet the schemes of men who persecuted the Church would have but ill prospered, if such suspicions had been always groundless.

But let us hear what men of this class say for themselves, as Veith puts down the words of the enemies of Christ, in order to derive from them a lesson of eternal interest. In Germany, during the combat with the empire, their language was that of open defiance. Their letters to "Hildebrand, the false monk," required St. Gregory VII. "to descend from the chair of St. Peter, and to give place to one more worthy." They bound themselves by oath no longer to obey him. Some priests of the dioceses of Cambray and Noyon, in the year 1076, bitterly complained "of the usurpation of the Romans, who by the legate Hugo endeavoured to interrupt their marriages, and forbad them to possess more than one prebend; whilst, as they had families to provide for, they could scarcely subsist upon two or three." They cited passages from the Old Testament, and employed in their cause the history of Paphnutius, bishop of Nice, which, however, Bernold before had proved to be apocryphal. As creatures of the Emperor Henry IV., they asserted with Sigebert that kings had no judge upon earth, and that they could not be excommunicated. With Benzo, bishop of Alba, in his panegyric of Henry IV. they loaded the character of St. Gregory VII. with outrage and calumny; with Cardinal Benzo they condemned "the heresies devised by Hildebrand," and cast into the flames the decrees of the last popes.* In the contest between St. Thomas and Henry II. the creatures of the king were more measured and artful in their conduct. We may select instances from two sources, from letters addressed by them collectively to the pope, and from their expressions separately conveyed. Nothing can be more insidious and plausible than the former. The letter of the English bishops, in 1164, to Pope Alexander might be taken at first for having been written by the archbishop's friends. "The holy Church," they say, "in punishment of sins is placed between the anvil and the hammer; the see of Canterbury is like a ship without a pilot, its pastor being banished by the royal power, who, to their peril, as well as his own, has exposed himself, non considerans, quoniam blandiri oportet, non detrahere potestati; who, although we compassionate his sufferings, is ungrateful, and persecutes us who are in the same condemnation as himself. They then state that between him and the king, "quædam controversia versabatur," that he has offended the royal majesty, most rashly exposed the Church to persecution, and ungratefully requited the king for his past favours. Thence the necessity of their informing the pope, that he may preserve the Church of Canterbury from shipwreck.† The letter of the clergy of England, in 1167, to the pope is a similar document. They inform his Holiness that his conduct has put the king into a glow of anger more than can be uttered; so that scarcely can they by their united supplications recall him to his usual gentleness and benignity towards him. They throw out hints that a schism may be the result. They say that the archbishop uses his power not to edification, but to the de-

* Epist. xxxvi. † Epist. xxxvii.
‡ Epist. iv.

* Döllinger, Dr. Cox, tr. iii.
† Ep. S. Thom. xviii.

struction of the Church, that he endeavours to involve others in the king's displeasure; imposing grievous burthens on others, while he will not move a finger nor bear any part on his own shoulders: he invites them to death and effusion of blood, while he declines the death with which no one threatens him, and has preserved his own blood, undiminished hitherto by a single drop. He frequently blames the customs of the kingdom, and represents them very different from what they are. He censures themselves, and contradicts the canons, excommunicating them; and, in fine, he will not pay the king the debt he contracted when chancellor, which he ought not to withhold from a heathen or a publican.*

The clergy of the province of Canterbury addressed also their letter to the pope, complaining of "the hard and irreverent conduct of the archbishop, in threatening the king with excommunication, and his kingdom with an interdict. If humility is to be thus remunerated, what will be left to enact against the contumacious? If the prompt devotion of obedience be thus esteemed, what punishment is reserved for obstinate perversity? The familiar friends and secret counsellors of the king too, some of the first nobles of the land, the prime ministers, are involved, without their being conscious of any fault. What can result from such preposterous and disordered proceedings, unless a rupture between the kingdom and the priesthood; and we, with the clergy committed to us, will either be driven into exile, or else, what heaven avert, renouncing fidelity to you, we must fall into the evil of schism and the abyss of disobedience. This is the most compendious way to the subversion of clergy and people. Therefore, that under your pontificate the Church may not be subverted, and our lord the king, and the people serving him, led to renounce their obedience, we have appealed to your sublimity."†

This is sufficiently bold; but yet it is from the private and unguarded communications of individuals that we derive clearest insight into their character. Thus they say "that it would have been altogether better for the archbishop to have yielded than that the Church should be troubled."‡ They say "that the king would perhaps renounce the Roman Church, if they were to obey the interdict."§ They say, and those too who seem to be columns of the Church, "that the archbishop should refer the whole cause of the Church to the king's judgment."* They say, "Reus est mortis, qui contradicit Cæsari." They say, but with what conscience God sees and judges, "We do not deny that our lord the king may have sometimes sinned, but we confidently affirm and proclaim that he is always ready to satisfy the Lord." Thus, with a front harder than adamant, not blushing, as they say, confidently to proclaim the innocence of a man whose malice and iniquity the whole Christian world proclaims and detests."† When the archbishop refused to omit the salvo honore Dei, many stood round and pressed him to make that omission.‡ The bishops say, or perhaps, to speak more truly, the bishop of London says, "Quoniam pax est, and all cry out on the contrary, Quia pax non est, sed amaritudo omnium amarissima."§ They say, and adds John of Salisbury, "I cannot sufficiently wonder how any priest could say so to a priest, that the archbishop should take example from the Hungarians and Sicilians, and tolerate those customs which exist also with them."‖ They say, "the archbishop ought to observe the royal customs, and that it ought to suffice to him to follow his predecessors; for we are not better than our fathers:" to whom he replies, "that none of his predecessors were required to give such a promise excepting blessed Anselm, who on that account was often banished; and that our fathers ought not to be followed in evil, who lamented having committed it, and were on that account holy because they lamented having sinned, and were unwilling that either their contemporaries or successors should imitate them; and that their faults are recorded in order that we should be warned against them, not that they should generate a necessity of imitation for their successors."¶

"The bishops," says John of Salisbury, "who ought to have guarded the king, reply to us in the words of Abner, 'Quis es qui clamas et inquietas regem?' as if they wish to say, 'Permit us, in contempt of our duty, and for the persecution of the saints, to lull our king to sleep, in scorn of the divine law, that we may lead him to the sleep of death;' thus disobeying their commission, Argue, obsecra, increpa, opportune, importune."** In fine, others who undertook to chronicle

* S. Thom. Epist. cxvii.
‡ Epist. cxiv.
† Epist. lxxii.
§ Epist. cxv.

* Epist. cclxxxiv.
‡ Ep. S. Thom. clvi.
‖ Epist. lviii.
† Joan. Sar. Epist. xli.
§ Joan. Sar. Epist. xlii.
¶ Epist. lxxx.
** Joan. Sar. Ep. xxxiii.

rents, like William of Newbury, although ney do not proceed to such length as to in- nate that the cause itself was doubtful, ould lead their readers to conclude that the rchbishop's zeal was not secundum scien- am, since he ought to have dissembled, cording to the text, Prudens in tempore lo tacebit, quia tempus malum est."*

As was natural, these surmises lost no- hing by being repeated by writers who nly judged at a distance from reports. ence Cæsar of Heisterbach relates, "that me said he was condemned as a traitor to he kingdom, and that even at Paris the uestion was agitated, some swearing that e was worthy of death."† He does not nform us who these were. In effect, from rst to last, the system of his persecutors was misrepresent every thing he said and did. Some, whose malice is accustomed to de- se what it knows not of the conscience of hers, think that your conduct proceeds om pride and not from virtue; that you ffect to preserve the ancient manners of the ancellor in this dignity also; that no one ould dare to resist your power or your ill." It is thus that Arnulf, bishop of isieux, writes to St. Thomas, but he takes are to add, "that the sanctity of his inten- ons has at length been recognised by all."‡ thers asked, "Why did he fly? Why did e not lay down his life for the Church, if e customs were so execrable? Why did e consent to them at Clarendon?"§ After s martyrdom, John of Salisbury disdained defend his memory from such charges. Si quis autem," he says, "hujus tanti mar- ris gloriam avacuari desiderat, quicumque t ille, antequam ei credamus, aut majora it saltem similia operetur: alioquin pec- re creditur in Spiritum Sanctum, cujus eribus detrahere non veretur."‖

To the misrepresentations of the saint ould be added the praises which his per- cutors lavished on the king, and the ex- ses which they were everywhere discovering r his perversity. When such men as Theo- ld, archbishop of Canterbury, could assure e king, in their letters, that on his safety pended the safety not alone of the whole land, but that also of all the surrounding ations,¶ we cannot be surprised at finding is praises paramount on the tongue of the ishop of London, and of those who were is professed apologists, who were resolved to misrepresent the zeal of St. Thomas and the cause for which he suffered.* "May God deliver the king from their hands," cries John of Salisbury; "for they are subvert- ing him and inflaming him with their malice."† "Quasi vulpes in deserto pro- phetæ tui, Israël. They are laying snares for those who have succeeded to the pro- phets, ingratiating themselves with the king, and sophistically abusing reason to obscure the cause, that they may conclude at last, Reus est mortis; crucifige eum."‡ "All the world knows the impatience of the king, and yet they have the effrontery to assert that he is most gentle under the hand that cor- rects him, when he offends God; if, they add, he should ever offend; as if it were doubtful to them whether he has offended in attacking the liberty of the Church, prefer- ring his ancestral perversities to the Gospel of Christ, in unjustly proscribing you, and, by a sentence not so much cruel as insane, compelling women, and children, and babes in the cradle, to wander, deprived of all means of subsistence, in exciting a schism, and reviving the tempests which assail the vessel of the Church, in which he does all he can that it may sink. What will they call crime when they boast of this as inno- cence?"§ "It is believed," says John of Salisbury, speaking of the archbishop's mar- tyrdom, "that some treacherous disciples and chief priests, more malicious than An- nas and Caiaphas, were accessary to his death."‖ Be that as it may, it is certain that the language of this fraction of the clergy was not that of men who fully ap- preciated the enormity of such a crime. Let us hear how they speak of it, and first that bishop of Lisieux, of whom John of Salis- bury said before, "One thing I know be- yond a doubt, that if he comes to Rome, there is nothing that he will scruple to affirm, for I have known him, and experienced his deceits."¶ In his letter to the pope, en- treating him to acquit the king from all blame in the event, this prelate uses these expressions: "Some of the archbishop's enemies, provoked to anger and madness it is said by his harsh treatment, rushed upon him. The king, on hearing of it, showed himself more like his friend than his king, and indulged in such grief, that we, who at first were lamenting a priest, began now to despair for the safety of a king. He called the omnipotent God to witness that

* Guil. Neub. Lib. ii. c. 25.
† Lib. viii. 69.
‡ Epist. xxi. § Joan. Sar. lxiv.
‖ Epist. xcv. ¶ Epist. vi.

* Joan. Sar. Epist. xvii. † Epist. xxxix.
‡ Epist. xli. § Epist. xli.
‖ Epist. xciv. ¶ Epist. xvii.

the act was committed without his knowledge or consent."*

Richard, abbot of Wally, and the other agents whom the king sent to Rome to avert the censures of the pope, adopt the same style in the letters which they send to him, giving an account of their embassy. "On arriving at Rome, we found Richard Barre, who had been prudently and fervently labouring for your honour, but who was very sad because the pope would not receive him, and scarcely would any cardinal hear a word from him. When the lord abbot of Wally and the archdeacon of Lisieux had at length obtained an audience, they had no sooner uttered your name as a most devout son of the Roman Church, than the whole court resounded with 'Sustinete, sustinete!' as if your name was abominable to them. We have acted as became us who are your debtors, supporting the honour of your person and endeavouring to ward off the evils which our enemies are preparing for us. May your sublimity long flourish. Be comforted in the Lord, and let your heart exult, since the present cloud will soon pass over to your glory."†

A few passages may suffice to convey an idea of the apostolic spirit, the mildness and the firmness which breathed in the epistles of the pope and of the holy archbishop, in answer to this unhappy portion of the English clergy. "Many things are related of you," says Alexander III. to Gilbert, bishop of London, "which vehemently disturb us, and subvert altogether the opinion and hope which we entertained of your religion; for you ought not to neglect your office, and sacrifice ecclesiastical liberty, through the favour, or love, or fear of any one; but it became you, as an immoveable pillar of the Church, to oppose yourself constantly and manfully for justice, and to prefer the fear of God to all things: for it became you to be kindled with such fervour of charity, that against vices and the oppressions of the Church you ought not only to cry out, but to raise your voice like a trumpet, having before your eyes the prophecy, Nisi annunciaveris iniquo iniquitatem suam, sanguinem ejus de manu tua requiram."‡ To the archbishop of York he says, "The depression of the English Church and the diminution of its liberty by your king, whether proprio motu, or rather by the advice of others, has long afflicted our mind. Instead of correcting the evils committed by his ancestors, he adds prevarications to prevaric makes and confirms iniquitous s under pretence of the royal digni which the liberty of the Church pe and the statutes of apostolic men, as in him lies, are made void; and n tent if this silence of the divine law last only during his time, but he se compel his kingdom to sit for ever v an ephod and without a superhumer that purpose he caused these usurpat be confirmed with an oath by you an brother bishops, and judged as an all who dissented from him. In pro time, the archbishop being exiled fo ling his duty, and requiring the us sistance of the Roman Church, we sen of our best brethren to the king, a thought that his hardness would be by our humility and gentleness, and would be, as Solomon says, 'Patien nietur princeps, et lingua mollis iram:' but it was otherwise, and o ferance was deluded. In all this, tho vehemence of the king disturbs us, ye still more moved by your infirmity, a of your brother bishops, who are, we to say, facti sicut arietes non haben nua, abiistis absque fortitudine ante subsequentis. If to excuse such pre tion, any one should object, that sti grievous and enormous things are trated in other kingdoms, we can r truth, that hitherto we have found n dom to have shown such a contempt divine law as to require the sanction manifest enormities by the bishops; the example of schismatics should leged, who have evinced unheard-o after being cut off from the commu the faithful. Therefore, since yo placed your bodies on the earth to way over you to him who passes, we be silent any longer, lest we should volved with you in the sentence of t of judgment. Beware then, lest it said of you, Quia tu scientiam repuli pellam te, ne sacerdotio fungaris mih

Then in a letter to the suffragans c terbury, he says, "When first our de King Henry proposed these things ought to have raised your eyes t ven, and ascended for the house Lord, that the ecclesiastical dignity not be shipwrecked, while you were l on in silence. And truly, if any of y shown a zeal for the pastoral car would have known how to eradicate

* S. Thom. cccxvii. † Id. Ep. cccxxv.
‡ Id. Epist. lx.

* Epist. ccxciii.

plants from the kingdom, and to insert seeds delightful to the Lord: but now, since the reverence of the temporal prince prevails in you over the fear of God, for a vile dish of potage, you have, like Esau, despised your birthright. Though you may have yielded at first to terror, ought you not after such a length of time, to have resumed the sacerdotal firmness, and sacerdotally protested against such enormities, in sorrow for your past transgression? But adding obstinacy to that detestable act, you have persisted in the observance of these usurpations, appearing to follow the king's will in the depression of the Church, and in proscribing the ecclesiastical laws. And we, indeed, have hitherto waited, hoping that the divine grace might visit the heart of the prince, by your office, or by his own inspiration, and make him a lover more of the supernal glory than of his own; for this seemed the better course, that asperity should be mollified by patience and gentleness: but he has changed nothing of his former severity; he shows no repentance, but perseveres immoveably in imposing the customs. Meanwhile you have refused all fraternal assistance to our persecuted brother, your archbishop, and have added grief to his wounds. Therefore, because the faults of secular men regard none more than tepid and neglectful prelates, who often nourish a great pestilence by omitting to apply the proper remedy, and since after long expecting it, we find that you evince no sorrow against yourselves, and no fervour against these iniquitous usurpations, we proceed to the sentence of your suspension."* Yet these letters were not executed, for St. Thomas, as he writes to the pope, "feared lest the tender ears of a very powerful man might be ulcerated by them, so as to injure the prospects of peace," and he, therefore, implores him to omit mention of the king's excesses, while censuring the prelates.†

The letters of the archbishop to the false brethren, who sided with his royal persecutor, evince the same union of firmness and benignity. That addressed to his suffragans, in 1166, begins by wishing them so to pass through temporal goods, as not to lose those that are eternal. "My dearest brethren," he says, "wherefore do you not rise up with me against the malignant? Why do you not stand with me against the workers of iniquity? Know you not that God will scatter the bones of those who seek to please men? They will be confounded, since God despises them. Your discretion must be aware that an error which is not resisted is approved of; and that truth when not defended is oppressed.* I admonish, I entreat and implore you, brethren, not to allow schisms to separate us, nor deceptions to overshadow us; but let us have one heart and one mind, in the Lord, and let us hear him who says, 'Pro justitia agonizare, pro anima tua et usque ad mortem certa pro justitia, et Deus expugnabit pro te inimicos tuos.' Let us not forget that strict Judge, before whose tribunal placed truth alone will judge us, remote from all fear or confidence of human power."†

Nor was it only from the pope and the archbishop, that these men received counsel. Holy and learned men in France wrote to them, and nothing can be more affecting than their remonstrances. Thus Evise, the abbot, and Richard, the prior of St. Victor, address a letter to Robert, bishop of Hereford, in which they remind him of his ancient reputation in the schools.

"Our Church," say they, "received great joy on your promotion, and we were filled with hope. All the scholars who were animated to the love of letters by the example of your labours and success, were gratified. But we, above all others, were glad; for we loved the Church of the English, with a certain especial affection by the impulse of nature, over and above the love which we bear to all churches; and we had hoped that your example would have greatly profited all its members; but now we grieve beyond measure, because neither are our wishes fulfilled, nor our prayers heard. I wish that your ears were open to the words of the scholars, and that you might hear the sighs of the religious, that so your spirit might be elevated, which is said to be oppressed with the weight of riches, and to be weakened by the love of a mitre and by the affluence of delights. For, as they say, you are now comforted by those riches, which in the school formerly you used to call in familiar conversation, canigenas. Then you pourtrayed in words a true bishop, whom I wish you would exhibit in your life. Never then did you perform the office, 'vice cotis, acutum Reddere quæ ferrum valet, ex sors ipsa secandi.'‡

"It is strange, if your ears do not tingle with the talk of the scholars, the detraction of your rivals, and the complaints of your

* Ep. ccxciv.
† Rer. Gal. Script. tom. xvi. p. 450, note.

* Epist. lv. † Ep. lxx.
‡ Hor. de Art. p. 304.

friends. Against your father and consecrator, an exile for justice and the liberty of the Church, you have lately appealed with others, who seek the subversion of justice and their own elevation, and thus placing your portion with the impious, you have blackened your reputation. For did you not see the letter of appeal which the bishops transmitted to their archbishop? Certainly if you did not, it was a folly that we may speak charitably the truth, without offending you, to sign without examining a document concerning such a matter, which was to be sent to the Roman Church; but if you did see them, with what conscience, with what front did you dare to assert, and, as you write, to proclaim with all confidence, what not only the neighbourhood, but almost the whole Latin world knew to be false? For the manners of the king, to whom you bear such a testimony, are well known, so that when you proclaim such things, you must seek a stranger, but one from without the Latin orb. The Lord will judge these things; and he that doeth them, and he that consenteth to them, will have the same punishment. Meanwhile, consider what opinion will be formed of such bishops, who patronize such injuries. In sincere charity we write this to you, sweet father, to remind you of your doctrine, of your office, of our desire, and of the divine judgment, that you may redeem your fame, and endeavour to restore the Church, which is falling under your hands."*

This letter was deeply conceived, as appears from what John of Salisbury writes to St. Thomas. "I have heard from those who say that they knew the bishop of Hereford intimately, that when he was in the schools, he was greedy of praise, and such a lover of glory that he seemed to be a despiser of money. It is thought, therefore, that nothing is more likely to move him, than if the masters of the schools, and religious men, such as the prior of St. Victor, and others with whom he was familiar in France, should excite his indolence, by letters, and encourage him to prove himself such a bishop as he used to paint in the schools, and to redeem his fame by refraining from the vices which he used to blame in others. The same advice is given respecting the bishop of Worcester. Nevertheless, I do not hope much from either of them."†

A characteristic of this persecution, not peculiar to it in any particular instance, for it has always recurred, and it ever will recur at analogous epochs, was the hatred evinced by those who conducted it for Rome and the Holy See.

The spiritual persecution always revolves round the same thoughts. "If you study the new dogmatism," says a French historian, "which rises against the old Catholic wisdom, you will be astonished at its resemblance with that of Luther, which itself was but a revival of an old system, and you will be amazed to see in what a uniform circle of falsehood heresy is condemned by God to turn. It may boast of conceiving truth; it will bring forth only error, a deformed being, marked on the front with a character that declares it, at the first sight; one has already seen it in the world, passing and making a noise, and then falling back into nothing, whence God will permit it again to return, for He has said, 'There must be scandals.'"*

Only under one form it seems to have the privilege of an uninterrupted existence, more or less developed and organised, and that consists in jealousy and hatred against Rome, against the rock on which the Church is built, against the successor of St. Peter, and those who assist him in the government of the universal Church.

From this disease, the breasts of few kings have been exempt. Henry VIII. was not the singular isolated tyrant that some suppose. While he was rejecting the pope's supremacy, Francis I. was endeavouring to induce Clement VII. to further some measure by threats. "The two powerful kings of France and England," he said, "might renounce their obedience to the Roman Church, and draw many others after them."† The witty satirist, who comprehended kings within his range, alludes to this fond aim of many, when he describes the facetious library in Paris, where among the titles of the books which seem the counterpart of all that could be met with at St. Victor's, his student finds one, "De auferibilitate Papæ ab ecclesia."

Indeed it is obvious that while human nature is subjected to trial, this jealousy must exist in it. When Philippe Auguste found that the pope persisted in requiring him to take back his lawful wife, and dismiss Agnes, he cried out, "Well, I will become an unbeliever. Saladin was happy, to have no pope."‡ The same avowal was made by Frederic II., the same by Philippe-le-

* S. Thom. Epist. lxxi. † Joan. Sar. xli.

* Audin, Hist de Luther, i.
† Mém. de Martin du Bellay, liv. iv.
‡ Capefigue, Hist. de Phil. A. ii. 151.

Bel, the same by other sovereigns, some of whom were permitted by God to realize for themselves the impious wish, and bequeath to their descendants a desolation that no tongue can adequately describe,

—— "for art and eloquence,
And all the shows o' the world are frail and vain
To weep a loss that turns their light to shade."

But let us mark the uniformity even of the arts employed to further the unholy project. Pierre Flotte, the servile instrument, as chancellor of the sacrilegious Philippe-le-Bel, when attacking the pope's bull in 1302, began by asking, "if the French could, without cowardice, submit that their free and independent kingdom should be under the vassalage of the pope;" thus confounding cunningly the moral and religious with the political dependence, which Boniface never desired; for on the contrary, as Becchetti remarks, he declared, "that the government of the kingdom belonged to the king alone; that in that he had no superior, and consequently that he could not incur censures for what was governmental:" but the insinuation was no less efficacious by touching the feudal fibre, and awakening the contempt of the warrior against the priest. Then the comte d'Artois exclaimed, "that if the king were disposed to endure the pope's enterprises, the lords would not suffer them," which brutal flattery, under the form of independence, as Michelet observes, "was greatly applauded by the nobles."*

There was no novelty, therefore, in the conduct of Henry II. or in his bursts of indignant eloquence. But let us hear him. "Henry, king of England, to Reginald the schismatic of Cologne:—Since a long time I have desired to have a just occasion of receding from Pope Alexander, and from his perfidious cardinals, who presume to hold by the hand against me my betrayer, Thomas, lately archbishop of Canterbury, therefore, with the counsel of all my barons, and with the consent of my clergy, I am about to send to Rome some great men of my kingdom; namely, the archbishop of York, the bishop of London, the archdeacon of Poitiers, John of Oxford, and Richard de Luci, who publicly and manifestly on my part, and on that of my whole kingdom, and of all the other territories which I possess, shall propose and denounce to the Pope Alexander, and his cardinals, that they shall no longer hold by the hand my betrayer, but that they must deliver me from him, that I may institute some one else, with the advice of the clergy of the church of Canterbury, and that they must declare null and void whatever Thomas does. Therefore we ask you, dearest friend, to send quickly to me brother Ernold or brother Rodulph, hospitalers, who on the emperor's part may give to my ambassadors a safe conduct, going and returning through his territories."

On receiving this letter, Reginald asked the emperor, what answer he ought to make to the king of England? and the emperor wrote back that he should consent to the will of the king, because the more solemnly these things were done, if Pope Alexander should consent, the greater will be the confusion of the pontiff.*

The king's letter to the pope is short and insolent. "I have received your letters, which you directed to me, and having seen and understood them, I was greatly sorrowful and angry: but let your discretion know I am incredibly surprised that the court of Rome (it is always the same expression on such occasions,) should so manifestly work against me, and my honour, and my kingdom, for which I am responsible to no one, but to God alone. For you cherish and sustain the traitors who iniquitously and treacherously have acted towards me, as is known to the whole world. It is a thing unheard of, that the Roman court should defend traitors, and nominate those who are traitors to me, which treatment I have not deserved. I am exasperated to greater fury, because it not only defends my betrayers, but refuses, to do me justice, which is granted to every wretch, and which many of the most insignificant clerks obtain, as I have seen with mine own eyes."†

His language was the same when he received the legate of the Holy See. After the interview, as they were departing, the king said aloud publicly, and for their hearing, "I wish that my eyes may never again see any cardinal," and so he dismissed them abruptly. Their horses consequently not having arrived to convey them back to their hotel, they were obliged to take whatever they could find by chance.‡ Thus there were precedents in the English court to encourage the Duke of Suffolk, under a later Henry, when he started from his seat, and, striking the table, exclaimed with vehemence, "that never had they been merry in England since a cardinal came among them."

* Hist. de France, iii. 70.

* Epist. S. Thom. lxv.
† Ep. lxvi. ‡ Ep. cxv.

The solemn acts of Henry II. were as significant as his letters. By his edict, "if any one should be found bearing letters of the pope, or of St. Thomas into England, he was to be judged a traitor to the king. If a bishop, or abbot, or priest, or a layman, should obey the sentence of interdict, all his lands and possessions were forfeited to the king. All clergymen out of England, who had property in it, must return to it, on pain of forfeiture and perpetual banishment. An appeal to the pope or to St. Thomas, or obedience to their decrees, is prohibited under the penalty of forfeiture of all property. All soldiers and freemen in England, with their servants and others, from the age of fifteen years, shall be obliged to swear that they will obey these royal mandates."*

On this occasion, the archbishop addressed a letter to the people of England, to expose the gravity of the oath required; and at the same time he absolves those who should be compelled to take it against their wills, and shows that they cannot be bound by it, since to abjure the pope is an act of disobedience equivalent to the crime of idolatry, as the prophet says, "Quasi peccatum hariolandi est repugnare, et quasi scelus idololatriæ nolle acquiescere."†

The noble bishop of Winchester, Henry, declared that he would never fail to obey the voice of the Holy See. The bishop of Exeter imitated him, and retired into a monastery, until iniquity should pass; as did also the bishops of Norwich and of Chester. Others, compelled by shame, were unwilling to consent to the king's edict."‡ "This is what they charge me with as my chief crime," says John of Salisbury, "that I encourage others to invoke the Roman name. If any one has the courage to do so, they impute it to me, and hence my persecution."§

Nevertheless, there were not wanting among the clergy, men of the same desires with the king, even one of the legates being thought favourable to the king's views. "Many insult us," says St. Thomas, "observing that rightly the cardinal of St. Peter ad vincula is sent against us, in order that by his ministry Peter may be chained, though I trust his familiarity with the king will rather conduce to the glory of God than otherwise."‖

The policy of others seemed to consist in attempts to intimidate the ecclesiastical power by representing the schism as imminent, and the nobles anxious for it, against whose indignation their own efforts to preserve unity would be ineffectual.* But, however, the wish of some might be father to the thought, as St. Thomas observes, the iniquity of such a measure was too clearly apparent for the king to proceed further with any chance of success. We should attend, therefore, now to the ordinary policy of those who persecute the Church in all ages, and observe the multiplied arts by which they endeavour to accomplish the same ends, in neutralizing the resistance of the Holy See, or deceiving the faithful as to its real intentions.

"Our persecutors are greedy, and fabricators of lies," says St. Thomas, to the cardinals of St. John and Paul, "in all affairs circumventing their friends, and all who trust them; and when they have deceived and injured them, they laugh, and, as if triumphing over enemies, they boast of their wisdom."† What could be more ingenious than the measure of appeal to Rome adopted by the bishops opposed to Rome, against the great defender of the privileges of Rome? Hence Philip, count of Flanders, writing to Pope Alexander says, "It is for you, holy Father, to consider diligently and investigate what is this appeal, which seems made for no other purpose, than that justice should be oppressed, and that the pressures of the Church should have no end."‡

So John of Salisbury says to St. Thomas. "Concerning the appeal of the bishops, I will say what I think; because they wish to be free, I fear lest their servitude should be perpetual. They treasure up riches; they give themselves up to various pleasures; and they would rather, under the yoke of their pleasing vices, be kept in their ancient servitude, and have their ears bored, in sign of perpetual bondage, professing to obey the servile manners of perverse customs, than escape to the liberty of the spirit. Under pretence of an appeal, all of them are ready to incur disobedience, expecting meanwhile either the death of the lord pope, which they greatly wish, or your own death, or some other accident which may be favourable to their malicious views."§

St. Thomas also says to Pope Alexander, "The persecutors of the Church expect and

* Gerv. Dorober, ap. Twisden inter Angliæ Script. X. 1409. † Ep. ccxlii.
‡ Ep. ccxl. § Ep. xi. ‖ Ep. civ.

* Ep. cccxxviii. † Ep. clxxxiii.
‡ Ep. lxxxi. § Joan. Sar. Ep. xxxiii.

sire, what the divine mercy, I trust, may ot grant them, to see the grief of the ithful lamenting your death, that after ur day they may subject the Church to avery, without any one to contradict them; r it is with that view that they implore elays against God and justice."* Another tifice was the deputation of men to Rome ke John of Oxford, who might triumph y perjury.†

Hence, St. Thomas says to Pope Alexander, "If you are waiting until his ambassadors and the promoters of his malice hall have no lies and pretences, life will fail oth you, and us, and them; and we shall all e called to render our account in the strict idgment, without acceptance of persons."‡

Thus the king, having obtained from Rome a suspension of the archbishop's ower of excommunication until he had ntered into favour with him, immediately riumphed, and adduced the apostolic letrs in testimony of the archbishop's conision, and to render him more odious, He boasts," says St. Thomas, "that the erm granted to him is until he shall wish o receive me into favour, and that, if he leases, shall be put off till the Greek calends, that is, for ever."§

Similarly, writing to Pope Alexander, t. Thomas says, "The king despises your onganimity, not knowing or dissembling hat your patience studies to lead him to epentance. He is deaf to prayers, boasting to the ignominy of the Apostolic See, nd in scorn of your blessed name, that ou have indulged him with a privilege by hich, as long as he likes, he will be safe gainst us and the church of Canterbury, hough he may persecute us both more trociously than ever; and, in order to ake men believe more easily a thing false nd incredible, he causes to be published hrough Germany, France, and England, he rescript of your letters of indulgence gainst us, I trust not against yourself. t is thus he rewards your benevolence."‖ nother stratagem consisted in keeping he pope's letters carefully concealed. Thus correspondent of St. Thomas says, "The tters of the lord pope ought to have been nown in England long ago, but they have ot been shown to any one, nor published ny where. Of what use are they when hus kept secret, and while the evil work is ursued, as if they had never been sent!"¶

Meanwhile the persecutors boast of being the pope's most familiar friends. "The men here," says St. Thomas to Pope Alexander, "who minister arms to iniquity, are almost all clerics; some of whom boast of your intimate friendship, and of the privilege which they have from the Apostolic See; and they say that whatever they do they will be responsible to no one but to the Roman Pontiff."* "They who have least deserved," says John of Salisbury, "the favour of the Apostolic See, boast the loudest that they have gained it. They boast that they have obtained this and that: but I know that no wise man will believe them, especially in regard to things which would seem elicited against justice, unless they can produce authentic and original documents. One thing I know, and, whatever the world may say, I will assert it, indubitably and freely, that he who adheres to Christ will not have to repent in the end. The joy of the impious is momentary, and like a point, but the moth and worms soon destroy it; while God will console his elect, and not suffer them to have a twofold tribulation."† The persecutors of St. Thomas were repeatedly crying out that they had gained their cause at Rome. "Lo," he says, "John of Oxford, and other nuncios of the king have just returned, exalting themselves above whatever is worshipped, and saying that they have obtained from the court of Rome all that they desired."‡ And, again, on another occasion, he says to the pope, "You have expressly forbidden them to do this; and yet they boast, on the contrary, that they have obtained from you permission to do it."§ His allusion to the boasts of John of Oxford is affecting. "What will be the end we know not; but this we know, whether these things asserted be true or false, that we are profoundly grieved; for all proceed as if they were true; none obey us, neither bishops, nor abbots, nor any of the clergy, as if all were sure of our deposition."‖ A letter from St. Thomas to an apostolic legate concludes with these words: "Farewell, and God grant that you may not accept gifts which scarcely any one can avoid taking away with him."¶ One is almost tempted to regard such a sentence in the light of an unjust suspicion, until reading the letter of this very legate to the king, which proves that the advice was not

* St. Thom. Ep. cxxxi.
‡ Ep. ccxiii.
‖ Ep. clx.
† Ep. cxxxviii.
§ Ep. cxlix.
¶ Ep. cclxxiv.

* Ep. ccxxvii.
‡ Ep. xcviii.
‖ Ep. xcviii.
† Joan. Sar. lxxxvii.
§ Ep. celv.
¶ Ep. ccxxxiii.

uncalled for. Here is the reply of master Vivian to the serene king: "How much I have laboured for your honour, and what diligence I have employed, endeavouring to make your peace with the Church, God knows, and your prudence ought to have known. Therefore, I am astonished that, after refusing to hear me for your honour and utility, you should wish to render me infamous by corrupting me with money; but, since I have begun with serving you, and that I am not accustomed easily to withdraw from my friends, I pray and advise you to return to your senses, and to confirm the petition of my lord of Canterbury."* St. Thomas relates, in another letter, that Vivian, detesting the king's duplicity and malice, sent him back the money;† which, from another epistle, we learn amounted to twenty marks.‡ Stephen, bishop of Meaux, in a letter to Pope Alexander, uses strong language to represent the danger arising from this stratagem of the persecutors. "With filial devotion we suppliantly implore you to use your accustomed circumspection, that while the arts and money of the English are employed to betray you, there may be no diminution of the papal constancy, but that you may continue to evince immoveable perseverance."§ That even deadly arts were practised to win over some foreigners to procure his destruction, is intimated by St. Thomas. "The king," he says, "solicits the people of Milan, Cremona, and Parma, corrupting them with money to procure our destruction as we pass. In what have we ever injured the men of Pavia, or of other Italian cities, that they should procure our banishment? What wrong have we inflicted on the wise men of Bologna? Richard, the Syracusan, corrupted with the hope of gaining the see of Lincoln, assists our persecutors with money. Have they not led the Frangepani, and the Leonina family, with that of the Latroni, and other most powerful Romans, like a host, not so much to bend as to break the Roman Church, promising the emperor's peace and plenty of money, provided the pope would satisfy the will of the king of England in ejecting us? It is clear what preparations are made for our having a safe and pleasant journey. By the same arts of these procurers, for we do not believe that the name of the king should be involved in this suspicion, the utensils in the inns can be poisoned, and it is difficult to be secure from one who has power over a whole family."* But let us turn from the persecutors, and observe the noble and heroic conduct of the blessed men who, by their means, with patient magnanimity, went calmly and pauselessly on to the joys of eternal beatific rest.

CHAPTER IX.

THE heroism which we are now to witness is not the courage for which man so often has to rue his power misused; it is the heroism of patience and longsuffering, of generosity and gentleness: for such is that of the Holy See in presence of the persecutors whose acts we have been observing; and it is to the conduct of Rome, as to the head, that our attention should be first directed.

St. Gregory VII., so little influenced by ambition that he sought by flight to avoid the dignity of supreme Pontiff, commenced his proceedings against King Henry of Germany, in a spirit, not alone of mildness, but of personal friendship, complying even with the custom of having his election confirmed by him, though warning him against the consequences of such abuse. When the storm burst upon Henry from the Saxons, St. Gregory sent his legates, to express in unequivocal terms his wish that he should be retained upon the throne; and he prevented the princes from entering on a new election. When, afterwards, he subjected him to public penance, in which there was nothing dis-

* Eph. ccxxxiv.
‡ Ep. ccxxxix.
† Ep. ccxxxvii.
§ Ep. lxxviii.

* Epist. clxxii.

ırable, according to the usages of the
, other kings and emperors having
gly submitted to more severe con-
s, there were no other means possible
vent his deposition by the German
es. Intrepidity in purpose, but gen-
s in execution, characterized the con-
of the Holy See from the beginning
e end of this great combat, which
ed the purification and freedom of the
:h, which was at length ratified in
ıinth general council convened by
tus in Rome. Turning our regard to
ide of the battle, of which England
the field, we find the same spirit
ting the Holy See. When, for the
ime, one investigates, in the original
es, the history of this collision between
piritual and temporal powers in the
ns of Henry II. and St. Thomas, it
possible not to feel at the commence-
an impression of painful astonish-
at the forbearance evinced by the
See, which seemed to indulge at
its pacific conciliatory spirit to an
s, so as to sacrifice the interests of
Church and of its defenders, rather
adopt against its enemies those
ures which justice demanded. "Mise-
nostri, Domine, miserere nostri," cries
homas to Pope Alexander, "for there
one, after God, who fighteth for us;
nly thou with the faithful. Have
on us, I say again, that God may
mercy on thee in the strict judgment,
thou wilt have to render an account
r stewardship. There is no one to
we can fly for refuge, after God,
s to thee, since even those who, by
stinct of piety and justice, and even
ount of reverence for the holy Roman
h, ought to stand with us and fight
s, oppose themselves to us, for the
f the favour of men."* Yes, strange
may sound to some, instead of tyran-
r imposing burdens upon kings, the
See seems at moments to have passed
nits, beyond which patience and for-
ıce were commendable. The charge
st which it is to be defended, is not
f having been despotic and arrogant,
rone to usurpations, but precisely the
ary, that of having incurred the guilt
lies in level opposition with it; that
ring waited too long, of having en-
too much, of having yielded too far,
cordance with the desires of those
persecuted the faithful. Confining

* Epist. cxxi.

our observation to the instance of this particular struggle, let us hear what was thought and said at the time, respecting the conduct of the Apostolic See. Lewis, king of France, in a letter to the pope, after observing with what reverence St. Thomas deserves to be regarded, and how greatly he has been astonished at recent events, which seem to indicate that the solicitude of the pope towards the archbishop has been relaxed, says, "You should know that many are scandalized, and do not hesitate to blame your paternity. We ourselves are, indeed, surprised and indignant, and we shall be still more surprised, unless your integrity should show that the reports abroad are false. It would be expedient that no time should be lost in taking fresh counsel respecting these things. It would appear like presumption in me to speak more on the subject, and what I have said will suffice to your wisdom."* The pope, accordingly, writes to the legates, William and Odo: "Saying that, on account of these reports, which seem injurious to his reputation, he commands them to address letters of consolation to the archbishop, to remove from his mind all bitterness and suspicion, and to assure him that he will stand by him and endeavour to procure his peace with the king: he tells them that the public opinion, the common voice of all men, condemns their backwardness as well as his own, and he charges them to silence detraction by a conduct, circumspect, mature, and provident."† Philip, count of Flanders, also writes to the pope, thanking him for his benevolent expressions to the archbishop, and assuring him, that if he did not love and cherish him, it would be to himself, and to the universal world, a great scandal and a pernicious example, and that the pontiff's own character would suffer in the estimation of men."‡ "Good God!" exclaims St. Thomas, "what vigour will there be in the members, if the strength of the head should fail? It is already cried in the streets, and proclaimed through towns and villages, that the powerful need not fear justice at Rome."§ "Vigorous measures, with regard to the affairs of England," as the archbishop of Sens assured the pope, "could alone re-establish the fame of the Roman Church amongst the French clergy, and throughout the whole west; and this advice he gives, not through any rancour

* S. Thom. Epist. c.
† Epist. cvi.
‡ Epist. lxxxi.
§ Epist. cxlv.

of mind against the king, with whom he is now reconciled, but, impelled by what he sees, and hears, and handles, for the sake of truth and justice, for the honour of the Church, and by reason of the faith which he owes to the Apostolic See."* The testimony of the foreign bishops on this point is, indeed, most frankly given. "Scandals are multiplied in our time," says Stephen, bishop of Meaux, to Pope Alexander, "but woe to him by whom the scandal cometh; for if he be worthy of being cast into the sea, who scandalizes one of the little ones of Christ, what judgment does he deserve who fills the whole Church of God with scandal, and strikes the hearts of the saints, so as, if possible to move even the elect from devotion to the Apostolic See? Truly, last year, the Church was most grievously scandalized, when those whom my lord of Canterbury had excommunicated were absolved, though persisting in their wickedness, without satisfaction, or the shadow of satisfaction; and, what cannot be said without grief and confusion, while still retaining the possessions of the Churches, and boasting that they are safe in their iniquity, under the authority, not only of the king, but, of the Roman Church.

"Yet this scandal, great as it was, was but a jest, if compared with that arising from the letters lately read, by which the archbishop, a man eminent for erudition, and virtue, but still more for his brave defence of the cause of God, is deprived of his power until he returns into favour with the king, with whom he cannot be in favour unless he is ungrateful to God, faithless to the Apostolic See, and pernicious to the whole Church. The most Christian king is confused, and the Gallican Church is filled with stupor, that the persecutor should have so far prevailed with you. May it please you, therefore, to console my lord of Canterbury, and deliver the Gallican Church from such a scandal, by binding, not the innocent, but the impious; for it is to be feared lest other princes should follow this example, to the destruction of the Church."† Maurice, bishop of Paris, and Baldwin, bishop of Noyon, wrote to him to the same effect. "My lord of Canterbury returns with the affair unfinished; the king of France, and our whole kingdom suffering with him in his grief, and all men wondering that the Apostolic See should be circumvented in such a manifested cause. For who will ever be condemned, if for such an evident of Christ and the Church, the k England escapes judgment? What cence will be delivered from the hand calumniator, if my lord of Canterbu his fellow-exiles be not assisted? hoped by all men that your pru could not be any longer deceived, o sanctity mocked; but the misery Church and the infinite affliction innocent, which we behold, oblige raise our voices. The height of our is to see you remove, as quickly as ble such a scandal from the whole Ga Church, by making the king of En content with such things as belon Christian king."* Benedict of P borough, ascribes the reconciliation king with St. Thomas to the person ertions of the archbishop of Sens. went," he says, "to Rome, and obt consent from the Apostolic See, that out any appeal the English king s be subject to anathema, unless he peace to the Church."‡

"I do not presume," says John of bury, writing to the pope, "to rais voice against Heaven. I confess, it is that the Roman Pontiff can do all th that is, understanding all things whi long, jure divino, to the ecclesia power; he can make new and abr ancient laws; but he cannot change t which have a perpetual authority fro Word of God. I fear not to say that himself could not absolve any one per ing in his wickedness; nor did he re the keys to open to the impenit "When Peter's power is thus boun he says to him again, "I cannot b that his successor can do more. I co that much is to be conceded to con the king as a most glorious prince only so far as not to offend God; for wise it would be a kind of idolatry to fer the creature to the Creator, pretence of caution and utility; for not to be committed that good may co

"I cannot dissemble, being the se of your sanctity," says Lombard, su con of the Roman Church, to the "the things which are publicly spol in derogation of your name, and to th triment of the whole Church. The r of John of Oxford, boasting of your fa and insolently proclaiming that he

* Epist. clxi. † Epist. cxxxix.

* Epist. celvi
† Ker. Gallic. Script. xiii. 144.
‡ Joan. Sar. Epist. xlvii. § Epist.

'our privilege, against the arch-
ıd every bishop, and that he has
for the king what no king has yet
. . . . this gives occasion of malig-
ı and the Church of God, and
ns those whom your indulgence
changed, though your authority
ve repressed them."*
'monstrances of St. Thomas are
and dignified. "You admonish
ays to the pope, "meanwhile, to
tience. You do not consider,
ıow expensive to the Church is
'meanwhile,' interim, and how
derogates from your reputation.
le he keeps the bishoprics and
cant, and will suffer no one to be
to them, that he may keep the
Meanwhile he rages against all
ı churches and venerable places,
whole clergy with incredible
eanwhile he and the other perse-
) what they like. Meanwhile,
to take care of the sheep of
Who is to save them from the
Have you not disarmed and
every pastor? What bishop is
nded in our suspension?"† In a
he college of cardinals, he uses
ger language: "Say, holy fathers,
: conscience do you dissemble the
mmitted against Christ in me;
ou, who exercise the vicariat of
earth? Do you pretend not to
: the king of England subverts
/ of the Church, and lays hands
ıointed of the Lord every where,
ing some priests, killing others,
ıt the eyes of others, compelling
have recourse to the duel, others
eal of fire and water; requiring
disobey their metropolitan, priests
ops, and not to consider them-
ɔmmunicated when they are duly
ıt is worse, he takes all liberty
Church, like your great schisma-
:ssor, Frederic. If these things
y our king with impunity, what
ne by his heirs? If the fear of
:fore your eyes, you cannot suffer
ıgs to pass thus. Trust not in
ır in the sons of men, in whom is
ɔn. Treasure not up for your-
th against the day of wrath, but
ısure in heaven, by resisting the
:, and by assisting the oppressed;
ise God will judge between you
ıd these exiles, these orphans,
widows, and babes in their cradles, and all these priests and laymen. Be persuaded by those who are faithful to you; resume your strength, gird on the sword of the Word of God most powerful; draw the sword of blessed Peter; vindicate the injuries of Christ. Do judgment and justice without delay to every one who suffers injury. This is the royal way. The way which leads to life. Walk in it; and follow the footsteps of Christ and his Apostles, whose vicars you are. Not by simulation, not by ingenuity, is the Church to be governed, but by justice and truth, which will free you from all peril; Non simulatione, non ingenio regenda est ecclesia; sed justitia et veritate. Do this and you will have God for your defender, and you need not fear then what man can do unto you."* In a letter to Cardinal Albert, he says: "Our miserable fellow-exiles seem out of favour with you, because they are weak and unwilling to depart from the justice of God; while men stained with sacrilege and homicide, and impenitent plunderers, who could not be loosed even by Peter himself, are absolved."†

These seem to be painful testimonies, on first hearing them, and we may close them by the letter of St. Thomas to the pope, in 1170, which begins thus: "God has looked upon his Church with an eye of pity, and at length has changed its sadness into joy. Nor can there be a doubt, father, but that, if you had believed us from the first, speaking the truth to you, the horns with which these men have wounded the Church, would have been bent backwards. From the moment that the king discovered that you were determined not to spare him any more than Frederic, he made peace with us to the honour of God, and, as we hope, to the great utility of the Church."‡ Yet so far removed was the archbishop from any desire of appearing to enjoy a personal triumph, that he writes again to implore the pope, in the interests of the newly cemented peace, to permit him to have mercy on the bishops of London and Salisbury, though he admits that the former was the standard-bearer of the whole sedition, not to call it schism.§ Throughout this distressing crisis of ecclesiastical affairs, it appears that Pope Alexander felt conscious that he might have erred on the side of too much patience. Thus, writing to King

s. Epist. xcvi. † Epist. cxxxiv.

* Epist. cxlv. † Epist. cclvii.
‡ Epist. cclxxxiii. § Epist. ccxcvii.

Henry, he says: "We believe it has not escaped the memory of your royal sublimity, how much we have derogated, utinam non contra justitiam, from our venerable brother, Thomas, archbishop of Canterbury, in condescension to you."* Again, in another letter to the king, he says: "Since, hitherto, we know not by what judgment of God we have made no proficiency in these affairs, we are filled with affliction for you and for the holy Church, which is daily more and more scandalised, so that by great princes, and nearly by the whole Church, we are blamed for our tepidity and neglect of the duty of our office, insomuch that we have contracted no slight disgrace in the estimation of many who insult over us, as having abused patience."† Nevertheless, it is clear, that the greatest prudence and moderation were required in the alarming state of the world, when this collision first took place; for schism was then seated on the patriarchal throne of Constantinople; the Christians of the east were demanding new crusades in their defence; an anti-pope possessed Rome, being confirmed by Frederic I., who raged like Alaric or Attila, having on his side the kings of Denmark, Bohemia, and Hungary: such were the difficulties in which Pope Alexander was engaged; and, indeed, the injustice of the accusations against him seems sufficiently proved by the affecting letter, in which he explains to St. Thomas the reasons and motives which have actuated him throughout the contest.

"Among the multiplied cares, which, from the malice of the times, disturb our mind," it is thus the pontiff addresses him, "your fatigues, encountered for defending the ecclesiastical liberty, have not a little caused our perturbation, while we desired to be at your side, and our wishes were retarded by various obstacles; for where many formidable things press on, the mind cannot easily determine to what part it ought rather to incline, especially if it be not given to it to understand when it will gain more advantage, and where escape a greater danger. For if sailors are often so much in doubt in the diversity of winds, that they cannot agree amongst themselves whether they ought to proceed to the proposed point or return to the port which they have left, it ought not to seem worthy of surprise or censure, if in this great and wide sea, where monstrous reptiles without number impede our course, and where the dangers to be feared are not so much of bodies and of material merchandize, as of souls and of spiritual virtues, he who rules the ship of the Church cannot easily discover to what part he should direct his assent, when different councils arise from the diversity of wills. While a matter appears in one light to him who promotes a single cause, it appears in another to him who ought to provide and to consult for the whole in common. Therefore, dearest brother, if we seem to have acted more remissly in your cause, and in that of the English Church, and not to have answered your petitions according to your will, that did not proceed from our not believing your cause and that of the English Church to be common with our own, or that we wished in any respect to be wanting to you, but from our believing that we ought to use patience, in order that we might be able to overcome evil by good. For we feared, if there had been a greater division in the Church, that it would have been imputed to our severity; but now that we have lost all hope of bringing to compunction the oppressors of the Church, who are only dragging after them their sins like a long chain, we proceed to pass the canonical sentence against the bishops, incentors of this malice, who have sworn to preserve the iniquitous customs, and whom we, therefore, suspend from the episcopal dignity."*

This pacific exercise of the supreme authority is so sublime a characteristic of the Holy See, that I cannot pass on without referring to other instances from the history of the ages of faith, to show how faithfully the successors of St. Peter, in the exercise of their divine vicariat, adhered to the example of the Lamb of God.

Much is often said respecting the policy of the Holy See; but it would be well if all who seek to learn in what it consisted, would bear in mind, that its aim was ever in accordance with that desire which the Church expresses in her collect on Holy Saturday, when she prays that God, having regard to the wonderful sacrament of His whole Church, may accomplish the work of human salvation in a more tranquil manner, by the effect of His perpetual Providence.

For the guidance, indeed, of all ecclesiastical authority, the rule in this respect was the same. "Sanctorum clamat autho-

* Epist. cli. † P.

* Epist. ccxcii.

ays Peter of Blois, "securius nobis ropter misericordiæ humanitatem, i propter districtiorem justitiam ar."* "In judgments," he says to , "never be moved by rumours or as. Our Lord did not condemn hom he knew to be a traitor, be- had not been convicted. He did roy Sodom until He descended and ther they were guilty. From an n annexed to your office, you must patient, more moderate, more fer- n others."† St. Bonaventura finds ion to instil this duty while treat- the six wings of the seraph; for owing that the first wing of the ec- al seraph is the zeal of justice, and nd piety or fraternal compassion; s that the third wing is patience stant longaminity; "Patience is y to superiors, first, because they oidably drawn into various affairs icitudes; secondly, on account of progress of those for whom they for they sow much, and see but uit; what they personally com- nd ordain is negligently fulfilled, y often see latent evil creep in un- blance of good, when they dare not the evil because of the superficial ough eventually the real good is hed, and the manifest evil in- ; but as the rude in religion, who not internal things, defend what ith great zeal, the spiritual prelate thout being able to resist the dan- . so wonderfully exercises himself nce. Thirdly, patience is neces- cause of the ingratitude of those n he labours, whom he can never for they will misinterpret all he ld think that he might do better; y will oppose him to his face, and tters, and excite others. Therefore, s a triple shield of patience. First, st and benign manner in answering nlike him of whom we read, Ipse s Belial, ita ut nemo possit ei loqui.‡ y, a pacific and loving state of hich prevents him from wishing to them from him, for he should be e inclined to retain them in order ise himself in patience, that he may l of the Most High; for, as it is e to teach virtue, if he remove the whom will he teach? If a physician ie sick, whom will he cure? Thirdly, esolution not to relax in his labours, on account of such obstacles, but to proceed with perseverance, looking only to the future recompense."*

Innumerable examples might be adduced to illustrate the operation of these principles. Let us observe a few as they may occur.

"We do not wish," say the capitularies of Rodulph, "to bind by oath those who are to be excommunicated for refusing to pay tithes, lest there should be danger of their committing perjury."†

Wazo, a holy bishop of Liege, whose life was often in danger from the violence of the unjust men whom he resisted,‡ replied as follows to the bishop of Chalons, who inquired from him how he ought to act towards certain Manichæan heretics in his diocese. "Imitating the Saviour, who was meek and humble of heart, we must tolerate such men; for, as blessed Gregory says, in vain would Abel have obtained innocence, if Cain had not shown malice; and the grapes, unless bruised, yield no wine. That we may have a prompt solution of this case, let us only hear the parable of the sower in the Gospel; for the servants who sought to root up the weeds, are the preachers, who, while they desire the good to be separated from the evil in the Church, seek to root up weeds with the wheat; but our Lord's answer shows what patience must belong to preachers; especially as what is weed to-day may be wheat to-morrow. Your ardent zeal for souls deceived by diabolic fraud, would purge the ground before the time; but we rather must obey the divine sentence, lest while we think we execute justice, we may be impious offenders against Him who desires not the death of a sinner, but who knows how, by patience and longanimity, to lead sinners to repentance. Cesset ergo judicium pulveris, audita sententia condemnatoris; nor let us seek by the sword of temporal power to take from life those whom God, our common Creator and Redeemer, knows how to spare. We must so act the part of sowers, as to tremble for ourselves, and hope for all others; for those who now oppose us in the way of the Lord may become superior to ourselves in the celestial country, as Saul, from being a persecutor, was made an apostle. We that are bishops receive in ordination an

t. L. † Pet. Bles. de Institut. Episcopi. g. xxi.

* S. Bonavent. de Sex Alis Seraph. c. 5

† Capit. Rodulfi, c. xxi. ap. Baluze, Miscellan. ii.

‡ Gesta Episcop. Leodiensium, ap. Martene, Vet. Script. tom. iv. 885.

unction, not a sword; therefore, we are not to kill but to make alive, and in this particular case, all that we have to do is to command the faithful to refrain from associating with the infected."*

The Inquisition itself, though in Spain, strictly a royal tribunal, was directed by the same rule in the exercise of its power; for the priesthood refused to take part in its judgments, until the crown granted to it the grand prerogative of mercy; so that it bore on its banners a motto necessarily unknown to all the tribunals of the world: "Misericordia et justitia."†

We should observe, too, how well the guides of the middle ages could distinguish the guilt of certain sophisms, in regard to a co-operation between the clergy and the state in the infliction of punishment, which are often adduced against them, with a view to intimate that the patience of the ecclesiastical authority was not sincere. That these sophisms were not allowed to pass current however, appears from the words of Peter of Blois, who says, "It excites the anger of heaven, and is a crime worthy of eternal damnation, when priests, although they do not pronounce judgment of blood, yet treat on it, disputing for and against it, and think that they are blameless, because though they decree death or mutilation, they absent themselves from the pronunciation and execution of the sentence. But what is more pernicious than such dissimulation? Is it lawful to discuss and determine what cannot lawfully be pronounced. Saul thus palliated his malice against David by saying, Non sit manus mea in eum, sed sit super eum manus Philistinorum. This dissimulation only rendered him more damnable before God. There is an express example of the same in that consistory in which Christ was condemned to die, when the Pharisees and Scribes said, Nobis non licet interficere quemquam; though, by their cries, they had dictated sentence of crucifixion. You are a prelate of souls not of bodies. Unless you are associated with Pilate, you will not have to render an account to Cæsar, but to Christ."

But it was, above all, in regard to the authority of the Holy See that the rule was most strictly laid down and observed, as innumerable monuments can bear witness. St. Leo supposes "that the prince of the Apostles was permitted to fall, exp order that he might be the more i to others who are fallen." Even strongest censures were required, See always expressed itself in a gentle tone, repeating these formu ought to be more ready to pronoun diction than commination; we conjure you to do this mercifu benignly." What sweetness of di breathes in the epistles of the pontiffs to the Greek emperor, ex their desire of peace and union betw Latins and the Greeks.* What ested solicitude did not the Holy Se in bearing with the tyranny of pers as when Alexander III. writes in the to Louis, king of France, explain cause of his delay in the affairs Thomas: "If," he says, "we have to favour the will of the English k have only acted as skilful physicia grant every thing to a patient, o recovery they dispair, making expe to see if any thing can produce a whereas, to one whom they think t cure, they flatly refuse every thing from the first. Therefore, since custom of the Roman Church r incur much loss and damage by de waiting, than by precipitation offence, your serenity ought not to prised if we have borne with that long, hoping, by the sweetness of b and gentleness, to recal him fr projects, and to mollify his hardne

The popes, too, invariably pres the episcopacy the observance of th rule; for such were the counsels given to it by those who, as St. says, "have received from God a to dispense justice and the will of s mercy."‡ Thus, to Henry, archbi Rheims, Alexander III. replied i terms respecting certain heretics: prudence of your discretion ought that it is a less evil to absolve the who ought to be condemned, t condemn the innocent by eccles severity; that it is better that eccles men should be more indulgent proper, than that they should moderation in correcting vices, and to be severe; the Scripture sayin nimium esse justus; and elsewh multum emungit, elicit sanguinem

* Gesta Episcopi Leodiensium, ap. Martene, Vet. Script. tom. iv. 901.
† De Maistre, Let. sur [illegible]

* Ap. Martene, Vet. Script tom. vii.
† Epist. S. Thom. cxliii.
‡ Epist. clxxi.
§ Ap. Martene, Vet. Script. ii. 683.

The same archbishop having unjustly deprived Huldevin, one of the clergy of Rheims, of a certain benefice, the letter addressed to him by Pope Alexander furnishes an instance of the manner in which the Holy See always wishes to accomplish its object by the way of persuasion, rather than by the threat of authority; for thus he writes to him: "We ask your fraternity, by apostolic letters, more advise and exhort you, as what becomes you more than following the suggestions of others, or the impulse of your own mind, to restore the said benefice without difficulty and in peace, laying aside all rancour, and, for the reverence of blessed Peter and of us, and in consideration of the devotion which Huldevin has shown towards you; so that we may rejoice to have obtained this rather by our prayers than by our mandate."*

The same delicate solicitude appears in another of his letters to the same prelate, in which, after desiring him to reverse what he had ordained respecting the place of a chanter of Douay in the choir of the church of Arras, he concludes, "We would rather that this should be done by your fraternity; that what was formerly done by you, should now, by your authority, be restored to its pristine state, than that we should use our authority, as we may by rights, in this affair."†

Even the ill-timed remonstrances of this prelate are remarkable for the beautiful expressions used to signify the custom of the Holy See; for, in his letter to the cardinals, asking permission for Drogo to leave his cloister and accept a secular office, he says, "If the divine mercy hath placed you in the highest authority, He sought that you should be like himself, who declares his love for man, and received this testimony from his servant: Tu autem, Domine Sabahot, omnia nostra tranquillitate judicas, et cum magna reverentia disponis nos. If the divine dignity condescended to your abjection, if the eternal majesty hath exhibited the gift of love, and tranquillity, and reverence to the servile race of men, what ought man to give to man his fellow-servant, under the empire of his Creator."‡

Even in the choice of instruments, to further the pacific conciliatory views of the Holy See, one can trace the spirit which ever seeks to avoid scandal and the publicity of faults. How beautiful is the illustration of this fact furnished by the few simple words which conclude the report made to Pope Alexander III. by Simon and Engelbert, relative to the monks who had been commissioned by him to present his letter to king Henry, enjoining on him to make peace with St. Thomas, for it ends thus: "And because it is not the custom of the brethren of Grandmont to write to any one, we have written this to you to express the conscience and desire of brother Bernard, who was employed in this commission."* Thus the agents of the Holy See were not men to mar the projects of pontifical solicitude, by recklessly or maliciously divulging circumstances which could widen breaches, or cut off an honourable retreat to a defeated adversary. The popes seemed always intent on securing a golden bridge for all whom they could induce to retrace their steps and abandon measures of error or persecution; it was not only commands, admonitions, and counsels that they gave; they offered their treasures; they gave their tears; they would, if occasion required it, have given their blood. But it is to these letters we should refer for proof of their unwillingness to use authority when they could prevail by love. One may repair to the papal archives, which contain them, as to a sanctuary, which cannot be violated by human passions, or as to a hermit in the wilderness, according to the suggestion of the poet, when he says:—

> "I'll find out a hermit
> That dwells within the earth, or hollow tree,
> A great way hence; there I shall be secure
> And learn to pray, for I want charity."

He might have learned to pray from a bare perusal of the apostolic letters; he might have learned from them without flying to the woods, that security of a firm conscience, against which nothing can ever prevail; he might have learned patience, long-suffering, and to taste what they proclaim with such a deep conviction of its power, the sweetness of an ineffable love. Let us take, for instance, the letter of Pope Adrian to Erasmus, in which, after calling on him to write in defence of truth, he proceeds thus: "I cannot express to you with what a flood of joy my heart would be inundated, if, owing to your assistance, those who have been corrupted by the poison of heresy were to return to the way of truth, without waiting till the rod of the canons and of the imperial decrees should strike them. You can say whether rigorous measures are accordant with my disposition; you, with

* Ap. Martene, Vet. Script. ii. 774.
† Ap. id. ii. 720.
‡ Ap. id. ii. 789.

* St. Thom. Ep. clix.

whom I have been associated amidst such pleasures in our sweet solitude of Louvain."*

Pope Silvester, writing to the empress Adelaide, after remarking the decree of the Nicene synod, forbidding any one to be received who incurred excommunication, observes, "That great moderation must be used with regard to the treatment of souls, and that no one is to be too hastily removed from the body and blood of the Son of God, by which mystery he lives with true life, and being justly deprived of which he living dies. Therefore," he adds, "we deem it right that this military man should be first admonished, in order that he may perhaps return to himself and satisfy your reverence."†

But let us refer again to the history of St. Thomas, for instances of the pacific gentleness of Rome. To the archbishop, Pope Alexander writes in these terms. "We hope to mitigate the mind of our dear son, the illustrious king, and induce him to be reconciled to you. Therefore we entreat and advise your prudence to bear with him patiently, until we can see the end of this affair, and not to take any step which may cause him displeasure; but if he will not acquiesce after the intervention of our nuncios, and if he cannot be otherwise recalled, you shall have full authority to exercise your office."‡

Then, in another letter to the king, he says, "Although filial devotion towards us, and your mother the Holy Church, seems to have cooled in you, yet we have not ceased to regard you, and the kingdom committed to you, with paternal affection. Your serenity, therefore, considering that the blows of a friend are better than the kisses of an enemy, should carefully observe that the customs of which you require the observance are inconsistent with the laws of the Church, and that if you pervert them, and usurp the things which are Christ's, you will doubtless in the last judgment be called to an account; but that our admonitions may not be tedious, remember that a father corrects the son whom he loves, and that it is in consequence of our ardent love for your person, and of our gratitude for your past acts of sincere devotion, that we intimate this to your excellence."§ In his letter to the prior Simon, and to Bernard de Corilo, whom he charges with the delivery of his letter of admonition to the king, he says, "That they should add their own remonstrances in a spirit of fortitude and lenity;"* and he expressly makes choice of them, as being men for whom the king entertains a peculiar respect. Writing to Roger, bishop of Worcester, he says, "We have borne long with the king, as you have known, in patience, as it became us, and desiring to conquer him by humility; hoping, in the mercy of Christ, that He in whose hand are the hearts of kings, would mitigate his mind, and incline his will to do what is pleasing in his sight."† In fine, to the archbishop of Rouen he expresses his constant desire to concede every thing that he can to the king of England with a placid countenance, as far as will be consistent with justice, and his duty to God."‡

Assuredly, the observers of that time might well be astonished at such invincible patience, and might even be pardoned for recalling with the archbishop the zeal of the patriarchs and prophets, of the apostles and apostolic men, opposing themselves as a wall for the house of the Lord. "You have wished, as was indeed right," says St. Thomas, "to admonish the king repeatedly. He has been admonished by letters, by foreign nuncios, by subdeacons, by your cardinals, by bishops, by abbots, and now, after five years, by my Lord Gratian and Master Vivian; and still always his last are worse than his former acts."§

But if the patience and humility of the Holy See were thus exercised to the farthest limits possible, we must not suppose that its conduct was ever wanting in dignity or courage.

St. Gregory VII. saw, from the very commencement of his pontificate, the difficulties and dangers which awaited him. He knew that to purify and restore the Church, he had to commence a contest of life and death with the complicated interests of worldly power and of a degenerate clergy, a contest of which he could not hope to see the end, and in which all human means of victory would be arrayed against him. Writing to Lanfranc, archbishop of Canterbury, imploring his prayers, he said, "to avert the judgments of God from myself, I must encounter kings and princes, bishops and priests." He wrote that letter from a sick bed on which these anticipations threw him; but how gloriously did he redeem his pledge to draw the Church at any price, from its state of slavery and corruption! "Contrary, perhaps, to the rules of ordinary prudence,"

* Epist. Eras. 639. † Epist. Gerberti.
‡ Ep. S. Thom. xxxix.
§ Ep. xl.

* Ep. clv. † Ep. cc.
‡ Ep. cccxxix. § Ep. ccxiv.

öllinger, "he began by attacking the angerous of his enemies, the corrupt and powerful nobles; so that when vere added, he brought into array himself the whole power of Europe, even in Rome the ground trembled i him, in consequence of his zeal to purity. But penetrated with the f his station, and of the duties which sed upon him, and filled with horror corruptions of his age, he stood firm k in his unconquerable conviction of cessity and justice of his under- and heedless of the persecution ie might bring upon himself."*

, however, the highest grandeur of oly See was often witnessed in the forbearance, to which it could appeal r occasions with an advantage that not slow to learn. In fact, this alone en sufficient to refute the arguments nemies, when they advanced against deceit upon their lips; as when e VIII. replied to the sacrilegious e-le-Bel on his proposing to confis- e Church property in 1296. "When ou or your ancestors had recourse to e, without having your petitions l? And if a grave necessity were o menace your kingdom, not only the Holy See grant you the contri- of the prelates and other ecclesias- ut, if the case required, it would lay ls on the very chalices, crosses, and vessels, rather than not defend a n so dear to the Holy See?" Indeed, disregard for all temporal interests, heir sacrifice could in the least pro- spiritual end, was always evinced by man Pontiffs. If Pope Alexander ne pecuniary assistance from the f Flanders, adding, "that he believes is will be more acceptable to God, ose which he may give to him for ng the liberty of the Church at that t,"† he shows on many occasions would never suffer considerations of to interfere for an instant with the ent of a spiritual object. Thus, preparing to strike the king of Eng- ith anathema, and offering him the ms, he takes care to charge those he entrusts with the commission of ir, to yield on every point in which aterial interests are concerned. With to the provisions promised for the op's expenses on his return to Eng-

t. of Ch. III. Dr. Cox's transl.
xc.

land, "if the king," he says, "cannot be induced to pay the thousand marks, we are not willing that this should be an obstacle to peace, provided the king should consent to the other conditions."*

The same spirit breathes in his letter to all the brethren of the Cistercian order. "Although we are not ignorant of your faith and devotion to us and to the Church of God, we cannot on that very account but feel astonished that you should have caused our venerable brother, the archbishop of Canterbury, a man religious and honourable, and dear and acceptable in every respect to God, and to us, and to the universal Church, to remove from the monastery of Pontigni, instigated by threats and the fear of losing all your possessions in England. Therefore, since true charity expels fear, and that it is not the part of a religious man to prefer human to divine fear, we command your university, by apostolic writings, never in future to act thus, lest you, who ought to be a refuge of the oppressed exiled for the liberty of the Church, should give a pernicious example to others; and we charge you henceforth to receive the same archbishop into whichever of your houses he may choose, treating him with benignity and honour."†

From such fear, indeed, the Holy See had always been delivered. Pope John, though he was come into France to implore the protection of Louis-le-Bègue, refused to crown his second wife as he desired him, because his first, Ansgarde, whom he had repudiated, was still living.‡ But the dangers were often immense; so that, alluding to them on one occasion, Bernardo Davanzati, speaking of the reasons which inclined Henry VIII. to believe that Pope Clement would favour his wish respecting the divorce, says, "Perhaps the pope would have gratified the king, if God had not by the chair of Peter given him assistance."§

The letters of Alexander III. to Henry II. are models of firmness and mildness. "We who cannot fail in paternal affection to your person," it is thus he writes, "desire to honour you as a Catholic prince and a Christian king, and to listen to you in all things, as far as honesty will permit, firmly believing and hoping that you are aware how much more glorious it is for you to have your will conquered, than for it to conquer in things which compromise the

* Ep. ccxlviii. † Ep. lxxiv.
‡ Chron. de S. Denis, An. 878.
§ Lo Scisma d'Inghilterra, Lib. i. p. 17.

cause of God and of the Church."* Again, in another letter he reminds him, "That the more he has received as a king, the more will be required from him; that he is therefore peculiarly bound to seek the honour of God; and that, through paternal affection, he must consequently remind him of the demand of the last farthing, and admonish him so to think of things eternal, that he may hereafter reign in heaven."†

After all, we must remember that in resisting the persecutors of the Church, the Holy See could only command a power, for the efficacy of which, the existence of faith was indispensable. Not even in the middle ages could it in general exercise any other. But we may pause an instant, to admire the array of its mighty strength thus limited. "What sublime eloquence! what poesy!" exclaims a modern historian, alluding to the bull that was at last fulminated against Luther. "The exordium," he adds, "is itself a vast picture in the style of Michael Angelo. The heavens open, and God the Father rises in all his majesty: he inclines his ear and listens to the supplications of his Church, which cries to Him to drive off this fox which infests the holy vineyard, this wild boar which desolates the forest of the Lord. Then St. Peter, the chief of the apostles, attentive to the prayers of this Church of Rome, this mother of churches, the mistress of the faith, whose first stone he has cemented with his blood, rises up all armed against the master of lies, whose tongue is a burning coal, whose lips distil poison and death. St. Paul too, who has heard the tears of the faithful, advances to defend the cause for which he also has shed his blood, against a new Porphyry whose teeth fasten upon pontiffs, who died in the faith, as did formerly those of Porphyry on the holy Apostles. In fine, the whole firmament is revealed. One beholds the Church universal, the celestial cloud, the angels and thrones, the cherubims and dominations, the prophets of the ancient law, the martyrs, doctors, apostles, and disciples of Christ; and all this blessed host with hands stretched out to the throne of the living God, implores Him to put an end to the triumph of heresy, and to preserve the holy Church of Christ in unity and peace."‡

And now methinks I hear sung these words of the offertory of the mass of certain blessed martyrs: "Dico autem vobis amicis meis, ne terreamini ab his qui vos persequuntur." I said at first that this was an heroic theme; nor will my words prove false, when we proceed now to speak of the courage with which the episcopacy, and the clergy in general, defended the sacred cause of the liberty of the Church. The spectacle will still be that of high honour, achieving triumphs of heroism so transcendant as to demand exclusive gaze, though allied with graces, at the bare remembrance of which separately a world might adore.

"Sancti mei, qui, in carne positi, certamen habuistis." The responses of the Church are history. Truly the saints had combats; and when the choir sings, "Isti sunt qui viventes in carne, plantaverunt Ecclesiam sanguine suo; calicem Domini biberunt;" and the response echoes, "Et amici Dei facti sunt," the anthems are history, pregnant with instruction for later times; for it is not said that they were made friends of the king, friends of the ministry, friends of this or that political party; but that they drank the chalice of persecution, and were made friends of God.

The clergy of the middle ages, when true to their own standard, fulfilled the divine prophecy that there should be in Sion men powerful in justice, who should be plants of the Lord to render Him glory.* They were ready servants to execute the counsel of the Highest, at the risk of all things; and the faith which many bore to their high charge, cost them the life-blood that warmed their veins. From time to time, a few hirelings might consent and prosper, like the canons of Cologne, who now side with persecutors; but the old adversary sought out the brave, those on whose heads the fiery tongues of celestial gifts still shone; here alone he struck his quarry, and elsewhere disdained to pounce upon the prey.

On the death of Lanfranc, St. Anselm, who was then abbot of Bec, inscribed to commemorate him these lines, which expressed the obligations of his office.

"Archiepiscopus non divitias, nec honores,
Lanfrancus subiit, sed curas atque labores."†

Such was in fact the prospect associated with a mitre. When the holy Wazo first took possession of his cathedral as bishop of Liege, we read that he wept, and seemed like a boy of seven years of age under the rod of a master.‡

* Ep. cxxix. † Ep. cxcviii.
‡ Audin, Hist. de Luther, i. 287.

* Is. lxi. 3. † Nuestria pia.
‡ Gestæ Episc. Leodiens. ap. Martene, Vet. Script. iv. 888.

h a view to the persecution of bishops. ther. superiors, an ancient author, about to write the life of Bernard, hop of Treves, begins with a general on, saying, "As Walter de Castellione s, it is strange that the human race lly created good, should be so far ed, as to be more ready to condemn yield indulgence. Hence detractors, ostile to peace, and deservedly styled to God, interpret in the worst sense, er is doubtful. As for us, let us be benign and mild towards our prelates, ting one another in patience, knowing the waters of Siloë flow in silence ."*

suredly to the rank which I possess," atthew, archbishop of Treves, to Pope der III., "there is annexed much , but far more of burden, so that my ers must of necessity fail, unless the lends me his hand. For if your nce will deign to turn your eyes s these parts, it will see that there are torments for many good men, and ts contests for them; which evils I, unable to correct as a bishop, and not through fear of the divine judgment, to ble as far as regards my office, whoever ubt whether I am placed in straits is at of my condition. But my hope is , and in you to whom I now appeal alf of one of my fellow sufferers for and for the honour of God, my most lord of Canterbury, who is now a bed exile with us here."† Thus were s well aware of the extent of their ions in regard to the cares and labours they had to endure: "They knew," Thomas says, "that if pastors either h love or hatred, cupidity or negli- or through hope or fear of temporal should desert their post, or yield to their candlestick would be removed, e people would perish,‡ that shame n would then be their portion; for salt is lost its flavour is good for nothing; worthless, they observed, that it can- en be compared to the dung which for manuring the land. They knew s the martyr Cyprian says, Episcopus, lus est, actum est de eo, that it is all ith him," as St. Thomas adds, "be- ne is thenceforth absolutely useless: it charity expels this fear, and makes to lead the people."§

They were aware also of the full extent of the personal danger attached to the discharge of their duty. "You have to deal with one," says Arnulf, bishop of Lisieux, to St. Thomas, "whose cunning is dreaded by those who are far distant, whose power his neighbours, whose severity his subjects fear; whom repeated successes and the smiles of fortune have made delicate, so that he deems an injury whatever is not obsequious; who the quicker he is excited, the more difficult it is to appease him; with whom impunity not merely nourishes temerity, but leads to crimes which call for unmeasured vengeance. Whatever he does, must seem to come from his will, not from impotence; for he seeks glory more than success, which would be commendable in a prince, if virtue and truth, not vanity and a meretricious adulation, were the matter of glory. He is great, and the greatest of many; for he has no superior who might intimidate, nor subject who can resist him; nor is he exposed to any external enemies, by whose injuries he might be tamed in regard to his innate disposition of domestic ferocity; but all who have any cause of contention with him would rather agree to the delusive bonds of a vain peace, than come to trial of strength, since he exceeds in the abundance of riches, in the multitude of his adherents, and in the amplitude of his power."*

"Dangers surround me on all sides," writes St. Thomas to this formidable king. "I am placed between two great and fearful perils. If I am silent, I shall not escape the hand of the Lord; if I speak, I shall incur, I fear, your indignation. What shall I do then? Shall I speak, or shall I be silent? Both are perilous. Nevertheless, since it is safer to incur the wrath of man, than to fall into the hands of the living God; trusting in the mercy of the Most High, in whose hands are the hearts of kings, which He can turn as it pleaseth Him, I will speak to my lord, since I have once begun consulting your utility rather than your will."†

The danger on this occasion is intimated also by one of his correspondents, saying, "the king's ambassadors have denounced me before the pope, as his especial enemy; and it would not be expedient for me for all the gold of Arabia, that he should get me into his power. Yet my faith is not terrified, and I can say with Peter, Paratus sum tecum in mortem et in carcerem ire."‡ "Pursuing these measures, we are aware,"

stæ Trevirens. Arch. ap. id. iv. 342.
Thom. Epist. cxciii. ‡ Ep. clxxi.
clxxiii.

* Ep. xxi. † Ep. xlv. ‡ Ep. vi.

says St. Thomas to the pope, "that great, yet surmountable labours are awaiting us; but we prefer following the strait and narrow way which leads to life, rather than the wide and spacious way which through worldly deceits draw on to hell."*

Again, he says to him, "that experiment is the mother and nurse of philosophy, was a celebrated saying of the ancients, approved of by the testimony of Apollo; and rightly, since each person can judge best of the things in which he has had experience, while to others who are inexperienced, there is but a vain and fraudulent imagination; which I premise, in order that the lord pope may now be no longer unwilling to credit me in regard to the perils which assail the Church and myself, or rather the Apostolic See, whose privilege I am defending, not without great and evident peril."†

Such then were the dangers to which those who defended the cause of religion, and especially the ecclesiastical liberty, were in every age more or less exposed. But to meet them, the holy Church had been always provided with choice spirits tempered to the true heroic height of beatitude, uniting undaunted courage with gentleness and humility; and these two features of the sacerdotal character, we must illustrate by examples from the histories of the ages of faith. And first let us regard their fortitude.

"I know," said the emperor Theodosius, "that Ambrose is inflexible, when it is a question of his doing his duty, and that he will do nothing against the law of God, through respect for the imperial majesty." After citing these words, Olier, the institutor of the seminary of St. Sulpice, used to exclaim, "Oh! if there were to be some hearts like that of St. Ambrose in the Church, how would Jesus Christ be glorified in the world! Oh, that it may please his goodness to raise up again some with the same spirit." Such men, however, were not wanting in the middle ages, when occasions called for them; nor do we look for them in vain, at present, as appears from the astonishment and confusion of those who thought that the age of moral heroism for a spiritual end was irrevocably gone.

When the Neustrian duke Rokkolen, the general of Chilperic, advanced with his army to the gates of Tours, and sent this message to the bishop; "If you do not make the duke Gonthramn leave the basilica of St. Martin, I will burn the city and its suburbs;" St. Gregory replied calmly, "That the thing was impossible." But h a second message, still more th "If you do not expel the king's e very day, I will destroy every thin the green herb, within the space o round the town, so that the plough every where." The bishop Grego impassible as before.*

The history of the Merovingi might furnish other similar instan merable; and if we descend to remote, we shall find that at each between the Church and the mater holy men of the same fortitude we rise up.

Such were the pontiffs and ab co-operated with St. Gregory VII. ing his decree at the synod of Rom respecting simony and incontinenc fried, archbishop of Mentz, Altma of Passau, the archbishop of R Walter, abbot of Pontisare, who risk of their lives to procure his ex

Let us hear the old chronicle some instances of courage in bles resolute to obey God before his cr

"The emperor Henry being e nicated, yet still on account of hi receiving accustomed honours, cam with a great company, and with mu to visit the monastery of Prufenin Ratisbon. It was thought that the abbot, the blessed Erminold, wo the bells to sound, and that he ar brethren would come forth process the accustomed manner, to meet peror; but the thoughts of the God were not as their thoughts, w pillows under every arm. He wa a reed shaken by every wind of favour, but as an immoveable col sensible alike to fear or favour. A he heard by messengers, that the was approaching, he ordered all th the monastery to be shut close, and any one to leave the walls, or any admitted within. Yet, in order motives might be understood by came himself before the walls of th and said, 'I would gladly receive peror, if I were ignorant that he w communion with the Apostolic See inconsiderately and precipitately,' re emperor, 'do you deprive yoursel honour;' to whom he answered, ' God, the searcher of hearts, know act thus, from no other motive, but justice, and obey the Papal mandat

* Ep. cclxxxiii. † Ep. ccxci. * Thierry, Récits des Temps Méro

the bishop here interposing, and saying, 'We ought not to avoid any one, unless we know for certain that he is excommunicated,' the blessed man calmly replied, 'I cannot be ignorant of a sentence which was promulgated by my own tongue.' The emperor, considering that the abbot acted in the spirit and virtue of Elias, reverently departed with all his company."*

When this wicked Emperor Henry IV. commanded Desiderius, abbot of Monte Casino, to come and receive investiture from his hands, the holy man assembled the brethren in the chapter-house, and spoke as follows: "I am in great straits on every side, for if I do not go to the emperor, the danger is great, and the monastery may be overthrown; if I go and fulfil his will, I risk my soul; and if I go and do not fulfil his will, I risk my body. Nevertheless I will go, delivering myself to death and danger. Neither will I make my life more precious than that of the most holy father Benedict; but for your common safety, both of soul and body, and for the safety of this place, if it cannot be otherwise, I wish I may be anathema from Christ; for though I were to be slain a thousand times, no one shall separate me from the love of this place. I am ready to go, I do not say to the emperor who is a Christian, but to any pagan or tyrant, provided I can deliver the goods of this monastery from the barbarian hands." So commending himself, he departed. The emperor used towards him both threats and promises, but all in vain. Desiderius said that he would not receive investiture from his hands for all the honour of the world; at length leave was given him to depart, and he returned in safety to the brethren.† Perhaps nothing can show more strongly the fixed resolution with which men resisted the least invasion of ecclesiastical liberty, and clung to the observance of the canons which protected it, than the fact, that when the emperor Henry IV. died in excommunication, his body remained during five years unburied, in a desert chapel;‡ notwithstanding the power on his side, so adequate was their courage to enforce the ecclesiastical discipline.

The ancient author of the life of the blessed Hartman, bishop of Brescia, furnishes an instance of episcopal courage in presence of an emperor, who espoused the party of an antipope, which he relates in these terms. "When the emperor on his journey besought this holy bishop to consecrate a portable altar for his use, the prelate replied that he would do so gladly, but on condition that it was done under the authority of Pope Alexander, whom the emperor did not acknowledge, choosing to favour the election of Victor. Nevertheless, he gratefully accepted it on such terms. Who would presume?" exclaims that old writer, "thus to resist such majesty face to face?"

The victory of St. John Nepomucen took place on the sixteenth day of May, 1383. His martyrdom was the more illustrious, because the religious seal of confession had found no previous victim. Appointed almoner at the court of Wenceslas, whose residence was at Prague, the pious and accomplished empress Jane chose him for her director, an example which was followed by most of the ladies of the court. The emperor loved his wife, but with fits of jealousy which neither her prudence, piety, nor unspotted life could appease. At last, he resolved to learn the secrets of her confessions; sending for John, he first endeavoured, indirectly, to elicit the information he desired from him, and then openly made his demand. The saint, struck with horror, represented to him, in the most respectful manner, the utter impossibility of complying with his sacrilegious request. The tyrant dissembled his anger. But, shortly after, John daring to remonstrate with him for a most outrageous act of cruelty, the tyrant sent him to a dungeon. Then he endeavoured sometimes by caresses, and at others by the most cruel tortures, to extort from him the confessions of the empress. But the holy man being proof against his attempts, at length, in a fit of fury, he ordered him to be drowned in the river Muldow; which order was executed from the spot upon the bridge on which his statue is now placed.

But let us return for illustrations to that glorious epoch of English history, from which we have already so largely drawn; for of all that we could find, however far we might pursue this course, in which heroic images abound, none else would be more worthy of regard than the last Canterbury martyr.

St. Thomas, however, had had predecessors endowed with a spirit as undaunted as his own. "Non fugio mortem," said St. Anselm, "non abscissiones membrorum, non quælibet tormenta, sed peccatum et ignominiam ecclesiæ Dei, et maxime

* De Vita S. Emenoldi, Lib. i. c. 9. ap. Menckenii Script. Rer. Germ. tom. iv.
† Chronic. S. Monast. Casin. iii. 50.
‡ Chronicon. Nurnbergens. ap. Menckenii Script. Rer. Germ. tom. i.

Cantuariensis."* He had also the assistance of those encouragements which holy men were in the habit of addressing to each other, whenever the tempests of persecution assailed them, and which he was not backward to repay with usury to his brethren. Let us hear how they write on these occasions.

"As for any consolation here," says John, bishop of Poitiers, to St. Thomas, "in vain you expect it. Therefore whatever you do, beloved father and lord, with a view to preserve the liberty of the Church, you have only to look for help from God, and from him to whom God has committed the defence of it. I indeed expect, not alone a similar, but a harder trial. I wish that I may be, and that I had already been, a partaker of your exile. Nor will it be inglorious to us, that we who have often abused worldly prosperity for purposes of vanity and secular delight, should now, if it be necessary, suffer together without fear, and bear adversity for a celestial retribution."†

Arnulf, bishop of Lisieux, writes to him in these terms. "Your holiness, recognising the duty of the episcopal office, would forfeit your power and your possessions, and offer your person to every injury, rather than neglect it. You keep in memory the evangelic text, taught by the chief Shepherd, and confirmed by His example, that we should lay down our lives for our sheep, and for our brethren, not provide delectable matter of gain to their detriment. And indeed your burden would be lightened, if a common cause were defended by all in common: but all others prevaricating and turning back, you are left alone to stand for Israel, and to redeem a second time with blood, that liberty which Christ once purchased for us by His own blood. For though the cause has not yet come to the effusion of blood, yet the devotion which not only exposed, but offered your person to threats and terrors, supplies the merit of a passion. God can witness, I sympathise with your adversity, and with true charity embrace your person and your cause."‡

John of Salisbury, in a moment of discouragement, uses these words to him. "I do not say, that even in the Roman Church should be the foundation of our hope, but in Him alone on whom it is founded, and in whom every work that is rooted faithfully will bear fruit, a consummated in glory. Let Him be foundation of our conscience; and, less, man will not prevail, nor ne fear either the threats of tyrants, snares of those that are carnally w the perfidy of traitors, or the pusilla of a judge, or the avarice and incon of those who seek in all things wh theirs, and what are of the flesh, no are of Jesus Christ."*

Again, in another letter he says t "Above all things have recourse to and other exercises of the Christian w and commend your combat amid intercession of the saints to God: an proceed to do that, whatever it m which the Holy Ghost by his organs is, wise and faithful men, and your may require. I believe that you als the Spirit of God, because he wh zeal to one undeserving, must in the of necessity minister counsel to o well deserves. I do not advise you, fore, as lord Theobold was accusto say, to conceal in darkness the which the Lord inspires in your hea to prefer the opinions of others less v in your cause."†

In like manner, the holy arch writes to encourage and commend by inflaming them with words of lo burn with a divine intensity. Th Henry, the noble bishop of Winches writes as follows. "In this manner a priest of Christ consummate h honouring his ministry while livin after his death leaving an exam probity to edify the Church, that may imitate or improve upon his a Therefore, since the Holy Ghost a innumerable gifts has conferred up the talent of counsel and fortitud than all your fellow-countrymen an temporaries, we entreat your pater confirm our brethren, to anima strengthen them by your exhortatio example; for a brother aided by a is like an impregnable city, and you ought to be the armour of the stron what the others may do ought to be a to you whom they behold labouring indeed, as we hear and hope, that them are already risen, and are d to stand with you against the mem Satan, is imputed by them to your m

* S. Anselm. Epist. cviii.
† S. Thom. Epist. xi. ‡ Ep. xxi.

* Joan. Sar. Ep. xxxiii.
† Epist. xxxiii.
‡ Ep. S. Thom. clxxxviii.

Again, in another letter he says to him, "Your faith and constancy have shone forth; you have preferred the divine commands to the threats, as well as flatteries, of all the officers of the public power, and, with a word of truth and an example of fortitude, have taught that one should obey God rather than man."*

To the chapter of Canterbury his words in conclusion are these: "Let all of us have but one heart and one soul in the Lord, lest any one should seek what is his own, and not that which is Jesus Christ's, and that which conduces to the public utility, and to the liberty and dignity of the Church hereafter. Comfort ye, ye who are weak in mind, for the time is near when all will see the glory of God, and the confusion and ignominy of those who persecute his Church. Let no one trust in the furniture of earth, or in the familiarity of satellites, because sordid booty has never a good end, and there is no faith in infidels."†

To Roger, bishop of Worcester, he says, "Let not your faith, dearest brother, vacillate in doing these things; for God is faithful, who will not suffer you to be tempted above your strength; trust in Him who overcame the world; and remember that he who fears the hail will have the snow falling on him, and that he who declines from arms will fall beneath the brazen bow. Fear argues a degenerate mind; and those who dare bravely, will grace assist and glory crown. Whatever others may do, we are convinced that no force of any tempest will break your constancy."‡

"Tu ne cede malis, sed contra audentior ito,
Quam tua te fortuna sinat."

How his calm indulgence in the memory of gentle studies, in such times of peril, indicates the unshaken resolution of the man! John of Salisbury, in like manner, conveys the same encouragement to another of his fellow-soldiers, in the familiar language of the Æneid.§

But let us hear how St. Thomas writes to the terrible monarch who was to place the everlasting crown upon his head. Well did I observe in the beginning, that this would prove a happy theme. Truly these letters alone are sufficient to justify my estimate. Does not the heart dilate beyond itself at the sound of such solemn, such impressive words, so brave, so calm, so powerful, to inspire an heroic joy, tempered with that still small voice of heaven's own blessed patience which makes it ineffable, like a foretaste of beatitude?

"The daughter of Sion is a captive in your land; the spouse of the great king is oppressed by many, afflicted by those who have long hated her, by whom she ought to be honoured, not afflicted, as most of all by you. Call to your remembrance the benefits which God has conferred upon you in the beginning and middle of your reign, and even until now. Discharge that debt, and suffer her to reign with her spouse, that God may befriend you, that your kingdom may recover its health, that shame may be removed from your generation, and that there may be peace in our days. Believe me, beloved lord, most serene prince, the Lord is a patient rewarder, a long-suffering expectant, but a most grievous avenger. Hear me and do well; otherwise beware lest the most Mighty should gird His sword upon His thigh, and should come with a strong hand and an immense army to deliver his spouse, not without great slaughter, from the oppression and servitude of him who troubles her, and to take vengeance on her enemies."*

Writing to the pope, he says: "The apostolic authority and the liberty of the Church will wholly perish here, unless the germ of these evils be eradicated; for the king has heirs who will imitate his cruelty. As for me, I would resist, not only unto blood, but unto death itself, rather than leave the Church exposed to such evils."† To John, bishop of Poitiers, he says: "If he speaks great things, if he introduces marvels, we do not admire, nor will we succumb to admiration; for it is better to perish by another's wickedness than by our own fears; but hold it for certain, whatever perjury may swear, whatever the captious austerity of a torturer may threaten, that, by the mercy of God, neither death, nor life, nor angels, nor any creature can separate us from the charity of God, which subjects us to tribulation."‡ Again, to Gilbert, bishop of London, he says: "A dreadful tempest assails the ship; I am at the helm, and you bid me sleep. You remind me of the past favours of the king; but what has a Christian, a learned and religious bishop, to say on this head? For, supposing that they were even much greater than you say, ought I for their sake, though they were to be multiplied a hundred-fold, to expose the

* Ep. clxxxix. † Ep. cxci.
‡ Ep. cclxxiii. § Joan. Sar. Ep. ii.

* Epist. xcv. † Epist. lvi. ‡ Epist. xciv.

liberty of the Church of God? In this I will spare neither you, nor any one, nor an angel, if he should descend from heaven; but my reply to such advice will only be, Vade retro, Sathana; non sapis quæ Dei sunt. Far be from me the weakness, God avert from me the insanity, of being persuaded by any artifice to make a trade of the body of Christ; that I may be assimilated to Judas who sold, and my lord the king to the Jews who bought Him."* Then to the pope he writes in these terms, "I have no doubt but that this contention would have been long extinguished, if the king had not found patrons of his will, not to say of his perversity. May God return them whatever is expedient for His Church, and judge between us. Their patronage would not have been necessary to me if I had wished to expose the Church of God, and acquiesce in his will. I might have flourished and abounded in the riches and delights of the kingdom; I might have been feared, reverenced, and honoured by all men; I might have provided all the pleasures and glories of the world for mine own. But, since God has called me, who am an unworthy and most wretched sinner, though flourishing in the world above all contemporaries, to the government of His Church, with His grace preventing and co-operating, I have chosen to be abject in His house, and to finish exile and proscription and extreme misery only with my life, rather than make a sacrifice of ecclesiastical liberty, and prefer the iniquitous traditions of men to the law of God. Let them do this who promise to themselves length of days, and, from the consciousness of their merits, better times. But I know for certain, that my days are short, and if I do announce to the impious his iniquity, his blood will be required from my hands by Him to whom, unassisted by any patronage of man, I shall have to render an account of all that I have committed and omitted. There, gold and silver, and the gifts which blind the eyes, even of the wise, will be of no use. We shall soon stand before the judgment-seat of Christ, by whose majesty and tremendous judgment I call upon you, as a father and lord, and the highest judge on earth, to administer justice on those who seek my soul, and not to suffer His Church to be trampled down under the feet of the impious."† To Bernard he concludes a letter with these words: "If it be the will of God that we should die in banishment for the liberty of the Church, may the sacrifice be pleasing to Him; for we have determined to die, rather than for any price of the world to betray that sacred cause, and sell to an impious king the inheritance of our fathers."* Again, to the bishop of Worcester, he says: "Is it for us to be silent amidst such contumely of Christ? Let hirelings be silent, as they will be silent; but whoever is a shepherd of the Church, without doubt, will join us. If we were to dissemble farther, we should fear lest the avenging sword of God should fall upon our heads."† Then to the pope he says: "We are proscribed and miserable; for we have acted, not with a view to live more securely and more quietly, avoiding the importunity of such a persecutor, but that the Church of God may flourish in our times, and may breathe with more freedom in those of posterity. For happily are hard and grievous things endured for a time, in order that happier may succeed."‡ "During the last five years the king has raged against the Church; and, what I fear to say, almost daily have I beheld Christ crucified in His members, and I have not drawn the sword of the Word of God. When I read of the zeal of Phinees, Heli, Mathathias; when I read of the apostolic fervour; when I read of the holy fathers who opposed themselves to princes and powers for the house of the Lord, I tremble for myself, and at the danger of my miserable soul, and I fear a just condemnation of my unjust patience."§ "Are these things," he continues, "written to be the fables of a narrative, and not examples of manners and a form of life? These things, indeed, are on the tongue of every preacher; but, I blush and grieve to add, the lives of some demonstrate that they are not in their hearts."‖ Then to Cardinal Albert, after a terrible reproof of venal ministers in the Roman court, and a complaint of his own efforts being counteracted by them, he says: "God sees and judges; but for the liberty of the Church, we are prepared to die. Let whatever cardinals will rise up; let them arm, not only the king of England, but, if they can, the whole world for our destruction, I, with God's help, will not depart from my fidelity to the Church either in life or death. To God, in fine, I commit His own cause, for which

* Epist. lxx. † Epist. cxxxiv.

* Epist. cxlviii. † Epist. clxxx.
‡ Epist. ccli. § Epist. ccxiv.
‖ Epist. ccxiv.

a proscribed exile. He will take
ge of it as He knows best. Henceforth
not my intention to trouble your court.
them repair to it who prevail by ini-
, and who return boasting of the
sion of the Church. I wish that the
to it had not proved fatal to the
ent. Who in future will dare to resist
ing when the Roman Church seems
imate and arm him to leave a perni-
example to posterity?"* "Behold
they who seek to abolish the authority
pope in England are punished by the
an Church! Behold the reward of
who are faithful! These things are
by God, that terrible majesty which
judge the ends of the earth, and take
the spirit from princes. We, by His
, whether living or dead, are and will
r ever His, prepared to sustain, for the
ty of the Church, banishment, pro-
tions, and all the sufferings of the
l; I only wish that we may be found
ay of suffering persecution for the sake
stice."† Finally, in his last letter
the continent to the pope, he con-
s with these words: "We seek not, as
knows, in any thing our own glory;
ho wish that we had never received the
ral office, pregnant as it is doubtless
many dangers, and with eternal
h; but we wish that in our and your
, the occasion of schism may be cut off,
perpetual peace by your means restored
e English Church. These things we
o you in the presence of Him who will
e us both, and to whom we must
er our accounts. May He inspire and
you what you ought to do. You have
d of our combat; but, as the proverb
, He alone who is near the fire feels the
. We believe that we are about to
eed to England; whether to peace or to
we know not; but the lot which is to
l us has been divinely ordained, there-
we commend our soul to your pater-
returning thanks to you and to the
stolic See, for all the consolations which
s ministered to us and ours in such a
ssity."‡

The archbishop," says William of Can-
ury, "walking on the sea-shore with
ompany, to judge if the weather were
y to permit his voyage, Milo, the dean
oulogne, came hastening with letters
Matthew, count of Boulogne, to this
t: 'Provide for your safety! They
who seek your life are ready waiting for you on the English coast, that they may assassinate you as you disembark, or else put you in irons and convey you to prison.' The archbishop replied: 'Believe me my son, not if I were sure to be torn limb from limb would I desist from this journey; neither fear nor violence nor torture shall move me more. It is sufficient that the shepherd has been seven years absent from the Lord's flock. My last petition, for when men can do nothing else any longer, they ought to express their last will, is that, to the Church, from which I have been banished while living, they may permit me to be borne dead."* O blessed! who, for death preparing, went on thus with constancy, invincible to the end.

We ought not to pass from this theme without remarking the heroic courage displayed by other generous spirits in the same great struggle. In the letters of St. Thomas we find mention repeatedly of religious men in England who were not to be moved by the fear of the king's officers, nor by the public commands of the government.† Henry, bishop of Winchester, publicly and solemnly protested that he would obey the Holy See with all devotion, as long as he lived; and he required his clergy to make the same declaration. The bishop of Exeter imitated him, and retired into a monastery until iniquity should pass. The bishop of Norwich, though prohibited by the king, yet, in presence of his officers, excommunicated Count Hugo and others, as he was commanded; and then descending from the pulpit, placed his crosier upon the altar, saying that he would see who would put forth a hand against his Church, and then entering the cloister, lived with the brethren. The bishop of Chester acted similarly, and, in order to escape the king's officers, withdrew into that part of his diocese within Wales."‡

In adopting this course, these prelates only followed an ancient custom observed on similar occasions. Thus, in the sixth century, at a council of Lyons, eleven bishops braving the menaces of King Sigismond, passed a resolution to stand by each other, if any one of them should be attacked by the temporal power, and in that event to retire into different monasteries, until peace should be restored to the Church.

But we must not omit to cite some

Epist. cclvii. † Epist. cclix.
‡ Epist. ccxcvii.

* In Vit. S. Thom. Lib. iii. c. 3.
† Epist. cxc. ‡ Epist. [illegible]

expressions of John of Salisbury, testifying the devoted intrepidity of that generous friend of the holy martyr, in the same sacred cause. To the bishop of Exeter he writes in these terms: "If it be a question of making my peace with the king in your presence, I beseech you to take care that the form agreed upon be such as not to involve me in the least stain of perfidy or baseness, for otherwise I would rather remain for ever in banishment. If it be required from me to deny my archbishop, which no one as yet has done, far be it from me to be either the first or last to acquiesce in such turpitude. I have been faithful to my lord archbishop, but only conscientiously so, and with a saving of the king's honour, against whom, if any one should say that I was guilty, if I cannot produce a good excuse to his honour, I am prepared to amend as far as is consistent with justice. For the Searcher of hearts, and the Judge of words and works knows that oftener and more severely than any one else, I admonished the archbishop not to provoke him unadvisedly; since many things were to be dispensed with in consideration of place and times and persons."* Again, to Raimund of Poitiers he says, "If my peace is to be made with the king, it must be in such a form as not to offend God or tarnish my name; and if it can be so made, I will thank God, and you, and every one who contributes to it; but if oaths be required, my lord bishop knows with what subtle reverence, I am bound in such matters. I can never swear in that prescription of words, or rather proscription of salvation, which, as I hear, is required and admitted by others, in which there is no mention made of saving God, or the law, or our order; and who but an alien from faith and a despiser of all oaths, would take an oath to observe reprobate customs and laws, unknown or repugnant to the law of God?"† Again, to Roger, bishop of Worcester, he says: "I do not fear that I have been speaking to the wind, or that it is dangerous for me to have spoken truth to the ears of such sanctity; yet I do not dread the snares of those who oppose truth; but I wish that I had devoted my whole life to truth, and that I may spend the rest of my life in asserting it."‡ Finally, to another correspondent, he writes thus: "Charity at least cannot be prohibited; for where the Spirit of God is, there is liberty. Is it not lawful to hold and defend the ecclesiastical liberty? Certainly it is lawful to proclaim the commands of the divine law: it is lawful, for the Word of God, which assumed flesh and suffered death for us, to expose not only our possessions and the perishable goods of this world, but also our lives. May the Inspirer of all good spirits vouchsafe us perseverance in this affection, since He has given us the will of this affection. My lord of Canterbury will consent to no conditions unless the Church of the English shall enjoy its due liberty; and when I say its due liberty, I do not say that this is to be determined by reference to the times of any Henry, but to the legitimate sanctions of the Word of God; because, by profession, he ought not to be a Henrician, but a Christian: quia ex professione Henricianus esse non debet, sed Christianus."*

We have seen the courage of these great and holy men; let us observe how faithfully they adhered also to the meekness and humility which became their state, meriting that praise which has been inscribed upon the medal in commemoration of De Quelen, the late archbishop of Paris: "Et de forti egressa est dulcedo."

A modern writer says, that in one sense or other there is something of the savage in every great man. He can have only studied pagan and modern times. The preceding books will have amply disproved his assertion, as far as the Ages of Faith are concerned: here our observations are to be confined to those who evinced heroism in defending the Church; and it will not require much delay to demonstrate, not that there was nothing of the savage in their character, for it is not so much this charge which is brought against them, but that nothing entered into it which was opposed to the humility, and gentleness, and pacific desires of the ascetically Christian mind.

"Sacerdotes," said St. Ambrose, "turbarum moderatores sunt, studiosi pacis, nisi cum et ipsi moventur injuria Dei aut ecclesiæ contumelia."† Such is the character that the clergy merited during the middle ages; a testimony which cannot be denied to them without flagrant injustice: nor does the epoch of St. Thomas of Canterbury form an exception, as some writers pretend; for, without extending our researches beyond it, we can easily adduce

* Joan. Sar. Epist. xxiv.
† Epist. xxxii.
‡ Epist. lv.
* Epist. lxiv.
† Epist. xxix.

evidence in proof of the fact. The truth is, that so accustomed were the clergy to revere the authorities of the state, and to breathe only peace towards all men, that whenever occasions required them to resist the king, and to denounce the injustice of his government, they were alarmed at the heroic virtue of their own members in fulfilling their strict obligations. Hence all those letters of advice, addressed to St. Thomas by persons who beheld his intrepidity with admiration, but at the same time, with fear. Thus one of his correspondents writes, "Whatever the perversity of the malignant may design against your innocence, I advise and beseech you to acquire and preserve the king's favour, as far as you can, consistently with fidelity to God; for this is expedient to the Church. Nor do I see how you can govern with utility, so long as the king is adverse to you in all things; as the Roman Church will only give you words, and all losses will be imputed to you."*

"We cannot indeed behold, with dry eyes," says John, bishop of Poitiers, "the vineyard of the Lord demolished; though we do not persevere in opposition as we ought, though we dissemble many things in consideration of the dangers of the time."† "I think no one wise," says John of Salisbury, "who dissuades us from peace, if it can be had in the Lord, and without derogation of honesty. Let there be only peace in our days, I say devoutly, if it can be with a safe conscience and unspotted fame, and not merely pretended and momentary. But this depends on God, and its attainment is beyond our power."‡ "We exhort your fraternity in the Lord," says another correspondent, "with all earnestness, to persevere as you have begun. May you be strong and patient, sitis fortis et patiens; for the more patience you evince towards him, the more heavy will be the hand of the Church against him if he should not correct himself."§ Nor was the conduct of the archbishop contrary to patience and the love of peace. Indeed, his compliance at first with the king's demand, and the tears he shed when reproached for it by his cross-bearer, prove how willing he was to avoid a struggle. He who wept at the voice of such an humble monitor as his cross-bearer, could hardly have been proud. Necessarily indeed, his elevation of mind appeared pride to those who knew not God, "the loftiness of the humble and the fortitude of the right, Celsitudo humilium, et fortitudo rectorum," as the Church says on Holy Saturday. Describing his own conduct, St. Thomas says, "We heard all things patiently, hoping that the king's indignation would be mitigated if he were to pour forth, without being contradicted, all the acerbity which he had conceived in his mind."* "Let no one belie the truth, saying that I was adverse to concord, provided it was in the Lord, and without injury to the Church. For I am not so insane as to sacrifice, with such readiness, the things which are most grateful to other men, and to despise what is greatest in temporal matters, if I could preserve them without making shipwreck of things eternal. Let no one defend his own error in the appetite for vain rest or for worldly goods, by accusing me of being contemptuous; for God, who cannot be mocked, before whose tribunal we shall all stand, will soon reveal with what mind each man has lived; I have, for the inspector of my conscience, and my witness, Him whom I look for as my judge."† When the king made his second demand for three hundred pounds, which St. Thomas had received while he was warden of Berkhamstead, the archbishop replied, that more than that sum had been expended in their repairs; "but," he added, "he would pay it; for mere money should be no ground of quarrel between him and his sovereign: but when the king requires such new and undue customs, let no one persuade you that I form an impediment to peace; for it is he opposes it, who subverts the law of God and disturbs the whole Church. Whatever I can do, saving my order, and without giving a pernicious example, I will willingly do to restore peace and recover his favour; but far be it from me to do any thing knowingly against God for the tranquillity of a moment, and for goods not so much perishable as the cause of men perishing."‡ To the king himself he says, "The Searcher of hearts, the Judge of souls, and the Avenger of faults, knows with what purity of mind, and sincerity of love, we made peace with you, believing that you acted towards us with good faith. But, whether we live or die, we are, and ever will be, yours in the Lord; and what-

* S. Thom. Epist. v. † Epist. viii.
‡ Joan. Sar. Epist. xxxii.
§ Epist. S. Thom. ccxx.

* Epist. clxxx. † Epist. ccxiii.
‡ S. Thom. Epist. ccxv.

ever may befal us, may God be gracious to you and to your children."* In fine, John of Salisbury bears this testimony to the archbishop: "He was desirous of peace, but still more desirous of ecclesiastical liberty. He desired the salvation and the glory of the king, and the indemnity of his children."† Methinks we have already seen sufficient proof that he did not stand in need of the counsels of men of these latter days, to learn by what means, and with what spirit he should pursue this great contest. Yet hear him farther: "We return thanks to your worthiness," he says to the pope, "that you have been so solicitous respecting our peace. The king of France himself proclaimed our innocence, and removed the suspicions excited against us; for we are not so dull and slow of heart to believing the law, and the prophets, and the Gospels, as, in such a necessity, to leave spiritual weapons, and the muniments of apostolic discipline, to trust in carnal arms; for we know that there is no trusting princes, and that he is cursed who makes flesh his arm."‡ With respect to the spirit of his opposition, assuredly those who recognised him as their champion, were not men who would have done so, if he had evinced the disposition of which the moderns accuse him. "I see," says Peter of Blois, writing to John of Salisbury, "that you are placed between the anvil and the hammer; but if truth doth not lie, the end of your persecution will be interminable beatitude. It is a great gift to suffer for Christ. To you it is given, not alone that you should believe in Him, but also that you should suffer for Him. I congratulate you, therefore, if you do this from the motion of reason and justice, not with the thought of revenge, or the desire of injuring another; you must do nothing from rancour or hatred, but every thing in charity; for you will not gain this sheaf of salvation from your persecutions, unless your whole intention proceed from the most inward charity. The mind of him who prepares himself to endure persecution must first be softened with the oil of charity, that in sufferings he may never fall from it, nor turn against his brethren with an unholy flame."§ Thus did these priests admonish each other; so that when John of Salisbury, who received these admonitions, which to our ears might sound like an intimation of his requiring them, proceeds to administer them in his turn to St. Thomas, we must not suppose that they were more applicable to the latter than to himself. It is true, on one occasion he reproves the severity of the archbishop's language. "Having read your letters to William of Pavia, though I do not dare to judge the mind of the writer, I cannot approve of the style, for they do not seem to me to sound humility, or to proceed from the mind of a man who hears the Apostle saying to the disciples of Christ, Modestia vestra nota sit omnibus; for you seem to write through bitterness, rather than through charity."* But this criticism only proves the tender solicitude of a friend, and the extreme caution of holy men, in the ages of faith, to avoid the least appearance of evil. If St. Thomas be guilty of pride and a desire of usurpation, can St. Ambrose be excused, who assuredly, under his circumstances, would have acted with even more promptitude, and would not have shrunk from uttering a single word that ever escaped the lips or pen of his glorious fellow-combatant? No; let us continue to hear the counsels of his contemporaries without betraying such folly as to imagine for an instant, that we shall be able, by means of them, to bring down this colossal hero to the level of our own stature, and inflict a wound on his blessed memory.

"Perhaps," says John of Salisbury to him, "God, for your greater perfection wishes you to live in the midst of those who seek your life to destroy it. Ought you not, then, to acquiesce in such a condition? But some one will say that it is presumptuous to expose yourself to hostile swords, and that it will be more cautious to wait until you have done penance for your sins, for that your conscience is not yet fit for martyrdom. To whom I answer: No one is not fit, excepting the man who does not wish to suffer for faith, and for the work of faith; it matters not whether he be a boy or an adult, a Jew or a Gentile, a Christian or an infidel; for, whoever suffers for justice is a martyr; that is, a witness for justice, an assertor of the cause of Christ. But why do I say this? Because I know, what my mind presages, that the king is not yet recovered, so that you can be secure; and, because the archbishop of Rouen thinks fit to say, that whatever you do is through arrogance and anger, you must meet his opinion by showing modera-

* Epist. cccix.
† Joan. Sar. Epist. lxxxi.
‡ Epist. cxiv.
§ Epist. Pet. Bles. xxii.

* Joan. Sar. Epist. lix.

ı deeds as well as in words, in gesture
l as in habit, which indeed is of little
vith God, unless it proceed from the
; of the conscience."* Again, writing
brother Richard, he says, "In this
t of power and of law, the archbishop
to proceed with such moderation,
ng law, being led by grace, and as-
by reason, as neither to seem to be
of temerity against the power which
as ordained, nor to consent to iniquity
:h fear of power, or through love of
cent goods, to the depression of the
h, so as to be counted a deserter of
ice to the ruin of present and future
tions, a prevaricator of his profession,
n impugner of justice."† In fine,
lesiring the archbishop to send some
his clerks to the bishop of Chalons,
es an injunction to conduct himself
reat modesty, adding, "because the
' this nation are modest."‡ Moreover,
:hbishop repeatedly declared that ad-
this kind was only conformable to his
tentions. "Your legates," he says to
lexander, "require us to evince humi-
d moderation as the only qualities by
we can appease such a prince; and we
o them, that most willingly and de-
we shall show to him, as to our lord
ng, all humility, and service, and devo-
aving the honour of God and of the
lic See, and the liberty of the Church,

ın. Sar. Epist. xxxiii.
ist. xxxvi. ‡ Epist. xxi

and the honour of our own person, and the possessions of the Church. And if it should seem to them that any thing is to be added to these or to be taken from them, or changed, we will answer as they may advise us."* In his letter to the cardinals Albert and Theotimus, he says, "To speak, as before God, whom we expect as our Judge, and invoke that He may judge our cause, although we have greatly loved our king and waited on his nod, with all our strength, before the priesthood was imposed on us, yet without consciousness of crime, being unwilling to consent to him in things injurious to God and to the Church, we have opposed him for God; choosing rather by offending to recal him to pardon, than by flattering to precipitate him into hell. The cause is not against us, but between him and God; for we have sought nothing else from him but what God has left to his Church by an eternal testament."† In such language it would be hard to detect arrogance or disloyalty; and indeed his contemporaries bear express witness to the "great humility, meekness of spirit, and serenity of countenance," with which the archbishop replied to those who spoke for the king at Gisors, when their express object was to provoke him to indignation, and induce him to answer less wisely, and with less humility.‡

* St. Thom. Epist. cxiv.
† Epist. clxxi.
‡ Joan. Sar. Epist. lxvii.

CHAPTER X.

"MULTÆ tribulationes justorum, et de his omnibus liberavit eos Dominus." Such are the words with which the Church introduces the memory of some of her blessed martyrs, which we shall see verified still more abundantly as we proceed to speak of the sufferings endured for the sake of justice by those who had commission to turn and to watch these wheels, on the movement of which depended the free action of religion and the liberty of the Church.

In many respects, the difference in the lot of men on earth was no mystery to the observers of the middle ages, who, not alone as monks and philosophers, but as mere thoughtful pilgrims, were accustomed often silently to account for it to themselves, as they contrasted the magnificence and repose of the rich and powerful man in his princely abode, which arrested their attention, as they walked or rode along, with the humiliations and distress of some wise and virtuous victim of oppression, who they remembered was in the meanwhile bearing his heavy cross, far removed perhaps and concealed from every human eye but that of the agent of the persecutor. Not unfrequently, while the seigneur was enjoying the pleasures and the pride of life within his ancestral towers, the bishop or abbot, perhaps as noble and nobler than himself, since the crozier was often swayed by men of royal blood, was pining in some obscure dungeon, or exposed to the harassing annoyances of a thousand ignoble persecutors in distant cities, who were incensed against him on account of his daring to stand up in defence of the liberty of the Church, which, we must remember, comprised the material and spiritual interests of the people, as in detail it entered into innumerable questions of a most humble seeming, which agitated each parish, as well as the most solemn councils of the state.

Let us suppose travellers in the ages, like Sir Espaing de Lyon and sart, riding on their way, and disc concerning the different objects struck their attention as they passe the lands of one count to those of a traversing rivers, woods, and mou mundane perhaps in their mind to still at times pensive, even devout, a the sight of a cross, like that on t where the two squires fell, moved riders to say for the souls of the Pater-noster, an Ave-maria, and D fundis, with a Fidelium. How ma tles, how many monasteries, how noble churches, met their view! L them, one pile more prominent th rest, rising in stern majesty over the there dwells at ease some puissant sei Could you mount those battlement eyes would survey a glorious prospec would discern over the forest a nobl that bounds on one side his an domains; beyond which rises th chain of mountains, which form th zon toward the west. Could you vi halls and galleries within, you might that here was luxury itself enth What can be wanting to the trans his days? what difficulties has he bu which he seeks for himself? what concerns him but some interest o poral and material vanity? Now le bend their eyes in another directio they will see some lofty spire, or so irregular pile of high steep roo nouncing the sanctuary where the or abbot is or ought to be residing. they ask concerning him, mournful or piteous ejaculations will lead the to collect that he is in exile or in Yet piety had prepared for him august and admirable habitation. also might have had delights and h continuing to enjoy "the friendship king" and of his powerful neighbou a proud choleric prince, or some tyrant on the mountain near, was opposed; for some poor man had wronged: brute force was used to su

ht of nature, or violate some of the holy Church; perhaps ng innocent prince was cast into r a suspicious father, and the is known to be attached to him; he bishop of Lescar incurred the the count of Foix for the sake of aston, when he had thrown him tower of Orthez. Hence, would lers exclaim; hence the contrast ondition! No rest or sweets any r the man of God; no more for the beautiful horizon from emeights, but perhaps the obscurity ideous dungeon pit, which lies e rock within them; to whose found a faint beam can scarcely, sun is highest, make its way.

iot necessary to calumniate or exin order to bring down the rich rful of the earth often to the true hich the calm voice of history and ial observation consigns them. quanti magnates indigeant," says nocent III., and who may not the testimony from his own ex- ? "ipsemet frequenter experio."* cus, as Tacitus says, heard the us tones from the statue of Mem- every one is not a Germanicus at o hear them, and least of all the and the great, who can behold ctacle without its firing all his with glorious joy. Come evening in—season of peace! Nor does hing lustre of expiring day, nor radiant planet that to love inaking all the western serene to cal his thoughts to charity. As k upon those battlements and s I have watched, the sun in r indescribable sink upon that w a stream of rosy light, empurds and mountains on its shore, and them with that western paradise , little reck they for the bishop or k, who in his dark prison is exis devotion to the cause of God, oly Church, of the wise and free, lpless and the poor. Alas! what heart the while! Yet does he not us, for Christ's sake, through every remble. Sometimes he suffered r defending the patrimony of the nst unjust and violent neighbours, rsecutions may be conceived from ber of laws of emperors "de rebus um injuste invasis." This was a sacred duty. By the canons of the council of Arles in 540, it was decreed, that if a clerk should deteriorate any of the goods with which the bishop had intrusted him, he should, if young, be corrected by the discipline of the Church, and if old, be regarded as an assassin of the poor."

St. Theodard, bishop of Maestricht, having undertaken a journey in 669 to the court of Childeric II. in Austrasia, in order to obtain from him restitution of the goods of his Church, which had been usurped by some lords, the usurpers assassinated him on his road in the forest of Benalt, near Spires. Descendants of men, who, like St. Blaithmaic, son of a king, and abbot of Iona in the eighth century, chose to be massacred by the Danes rather than give up the treasures of the Church, these holy pontiffs and abbots considered death in such a cause as true martyrdom. Oftener, however, it was for defending interests of a kind more immediately spiritual that they suffered persecution. It was for such that Ives de Chartres lay in prison: it was for such that Hildebert, bishop of Tours, suffered persecution; who was not singular in his distresses, though, from the poetical description he has left of them, I am tempted to distinguish him as an example. This great man, whose promotions are remarked by Bulæus as an evidence of the genius of the middle ages to love learning, suffered many things, he says, for the name of Christ and liberty of the Church, from Rotrocus, count of Mans, by whom he was spoiled of all his goods and cast into prison, where, besides many prose works, he composed elegies and verses to record his own persecution, such as these:—

"Nuper eram locuples multisque beatus amicis,
Et risere diu prospera fata mihi.
Sæpe mihi dixi, Quæ sunt tam prospera rerum?
Quid sibi vult tantus, tam citus agger opum?
Hei! mihi nulla fides, nulla est constantia rebus!
Res ipsæ quid sint, mobilitate docent.
Res hominum atque homines levis aura versat in horas:
Et venit a summo summa ruina gradu.
Quidquid habes hodie, cras te fortasse relinquit,
Aut modo dum loqueris desinit esse tuum.
. . . . . .
Ille pudor patriæ me non impune tuentem
Justitiæ leges expulit a patria.
Inde ratem scando, vitam committo procellis;
Vela tument, gemina cymba juvatur ope.
In fragilem pinum totus prope congerit iras
Mundus, et est hostis quidquid obesse potest.
Ecce rapax turbo, tollens ad sidera fluctus,
Impulit ad littus jam sine puppe ratem.
Sic miser et felix, quassa rate, rebus ademptis,
Evasi ventos, æquora, saxa, Jovem.

* Inn. III. de Cont. Mundi, iii. 8.

Ecce quid est hominis! quid jure vocare paternum,
Quid miser ille sibi plaudere dote potest?
Hoc est hic hominis semper cum tempore labi
Et semper quadam conditione mori.
Nemo potest rebus jus assignare manendi,
Quæ nutus hominis non didicere sequi.
Jus illis Deus adscripsit, statuitque teneri
Legibus, et nutu stare vel ire suo.
Ipse manens dum cuncta movet, mortalibus ægris
Consulit, et quo sit spes statuenda, docet.
Ille potens mutis, tenor et concordia rerum,
Quidquid vult in me degerat; ejus ero."*

The tombs of the middle ages too might alone furnish evidence to prove the extent of this persecution. Celebrated is that of the Pope St. Gregory VII. at Salerno. The epitaph on St. Gebehard, archbishop of Salzburg, resembles it; for on this we read,—

"Propter justitiam, toleravit et ipse rapinam
Regis ab hoc odium, fugit in exilium;
Malens ille miser, quam schismatis esse minister.
Hic pro lege Dei nescivit cedere regi,
Vel cuiquam forti, vel quoque dedecori."

Scarcely in effect a day passed on which the Catholic Church did not gain some new confessor within this order of sufferings for justice. In the eleventh and twelfth centuries the contest between the Church and the empire was carried on, as we already observed, every where between each bishop and each seigneur. Of all to speak were vain attempt, for my wide theme so urges that my words fall short of what bechanced: but we may admire the uniformity of circumstances attending each instance. The history of the persecutions suffered by Bandared, bishop of Soissons, in the time of Clothair, when "he was chased from his see without a Synod, without judgment of the bishops, by the tyranny of laics," might seem written to record the events at Cologne and Posen in these latter days; so similar were the magnanimity of the suffering prelate and the grief and resentment of the people irritated by the king's injustice.† In the lists of these holy sufferers of course the Roman pontiffs take the lead. Tried by the standard of St. Paul, they proved themselves pre-eminent as ministers of Christ in every age. Thus the Emperor Constans, at the time of the Monothelites, choosing to impose silence on what he termed the two parties, the Pope St. Martin, for having condemned that heresy, was made prisoner, dragged as a culprit to Constantinople, and thence, after innumerable cruelties, banished to the Tauric Chersonesus, where death put an end to his sufferings. It would be long to cite instances.

"All have risen and conspired against us," said St. Gregory VII. in his last appeal to Christendom, "only because we would no longer be silent amidst the dangers of the times; only because we could no longer endure the attempts to reduce the Church to servitude." On the 25th of May, in the year 1085, this holy pope, whose whole pontificate had been a trial of sufferings, mental and bodily, from the rage of his enemies, closed at Salerno his earthly career; just rallying strength, amid the exhaustion of his powers, to utter with his departing breath the words, "I have loved justice, and hated iniquity, and therefore I die in exile."*

Who could describe the sufferings of other supreme pontiffs in the same cause! Urban II. at one time was so deprived of all resources that he was obliged to subsist on the alms of the faithful. In all these trials the whole body of the Church participated. During the contest between St. Gregory VII. and the empire, many fled into cloisters; and the abbeys were filled with prelates, noblemen, and warriors. According to the expression of a contemporary, the cardinal Deusdedit, Henry, and his instrument Guibert, renewed the persecution of Nero. All who would not embrace their party were maltreated or plundered. From the bishoprics, churches, and abbeys the Catholic priests were expelled, being replaced by vicious and ignorant clerks. Within two years no less than ninety thousand men were reduced to the greatest extremities, or put to death by Henry and his coadjutors."† At one time nearly all the Catholic bishops of Germany were obliged to seek safety in flight.

Among the prelates of the western Church none, however, were more tried by persecution than those who ruled the see of Canterbury. Lanfranc, who, as primate, was doomed to behold without being able to prevent the frightful tyranny of William the Conqueror and of his barons, the misery of the people and the oppression of the Church, prayed for death, and implored the pope, but in vain, to relieve him from the burthen of the episcopacy."‡ St. Thomas says that the authority of the Apostolic See would have perished in England long before his time if the church of Canterbury had not opposed herself to princes. "Rarely," he adds, "has any one governed that church

* Bulæus, Hist. Universit. Paris. tom. ii.
† Acta. Sanct. Bolland. i. August.

* Paul Benried, c. 4.
† Döllinger, iii. 312. Dr. Cox's Tr. ‡ Id. iii. 312.

it suffering for justice either the sword, grief of exile, or the injury of proscrip-

* "To pass in silence," he says, our other illustrious predecessors, learning and example edified the h, the late archbishop Theobald was banished from his see and country for th and obedience; King Stephen perse- him, because he went, contrary to his command, to the council of Rheims, at ll of Pope Eugene, while the other s disobeyed him, and remained at in compliance with the king's order. it has ever been; while the arch- s of Canterbury have sometimes shed lood for the law of God, and at others l it to their persecutors. So great he difficulties and perils to which our liate predecessor exposed himself, in ng these customs now imposed on us, ttending the council in spite of the prohibition, that the pope returned hanks in full council, because, to use rds, 'Natando potius quam navigando ncilium venerat."† "What is never ely recorded of another see," observes rin, bishop of Noyon, "Canterbury lways had its bishops and confessors crowned by martyrdom for the faith of t, or exiled and proscribed for justice ie liberty of the Church. So that he iow rules it does but fill the measure fathers, being now, for the honour of in the fifth year of his banishment, ing not like them only in his own a, but in his whole house, with all his ns and friends; an addition of cruelty cedented in history or in the memory living."‡ The records of this Church l were not wanting in tragic episodes: observe briefly some of the details. im Rufus had usurped the ecclesiastical ies and forbad an election of bishops cant sees; so that after Lanfranc's Canterbury was left five years without or, while the monks were unceasingly ed by the royal officers. Falling sick ocester, in a fit of remorse and terror, amed St. Anselm to the vacant see, only consented to acquiesce on the ion of the king's restoring what he had from the Church, and recognising I. as the legitimate pope. But the oon resumed his former habits, and then the persecutions of Anselm; for the rchbishop refused to give up the pro- of the poor, and required the king to permit abbots to be elected, that vacancies might cease, and bishops to hold councils to reform abuses. The king endeavoured to depose him, and to prevent other bishops devoted to the court from obeying him. The nobles were firmer than the bishops, and refused to withdraw their obedience from the primate. Then the king sent ambassadors to Rome, with promises of an annual pension if the pope would depose Anselm; but the legate, who came into England, declared it impossible, and transmitted him the pallium. Finding the king still bent on oppressing the church of Canterbury, St. Anselm, despairing of his own power to prevent abuses, after in vain seeking permission to leave England, fled in disguise of a pilgrim to France, and thence to Rome, where he begged the pope to accept his resignation of the see; but the pope ordered him to retain it, saying, "A courageous man ought not to abandon his post." Afterwards, at the council of Bari, finding the pope about to pronounce sentence of excommunication against the king, he threw himself at his feet, and conjured him to suspend it. He found, however, that he could not recover his see as long as the king lived; of whose terrible death he was informed when in the abbey of La Chaise-Dieu in Auvergne. On the accession of Henry I. he returned to England; but the new king required from him the investiture of his dignity, which the saint could not grant; the late council having expressly forbidden it. While the king saw his crown in danger from his brother Robert, he was liberal in promises to St. Anselm, who in fact, by his influence, confirmed it on his head; but when the storm was past, he resumed his schemes of enslaving the English Church, by arrogating the right of investiture to benefices. St. Anselm went again to Rome with the royal consent; and the Pope Paschal I. having given sentence against the king, St. Anselm on his return, having reached Lyons, received orders from the king not to enter England. He retired to the monastery of Bec, where the difference being at length arranged, he was permitted to return to England in 1106; but it was only to prepare himself for death, where, after a sickness of three years, he terminated his glorious career. Such is the outline of the history. Passing now over the second Henry, King Henry III. having exhausted his finances, began to seize the ecclesiastical revenues of bishoprics, abbeys, and other benefices which were at his nomination, and which he neglected to fill up for that purpose; or when he named any

Thom. Epist. clxv. † Epist. lxxxiv.
‡ Epist. cxiv.

one, his choice was sure to fall on some creature of his own utterly unworthy. St. Edmund, archbishop of Canterbury, not being able to execute a bull of Gregory IX., authorising him to name after a vacancy of six months, escaped from England, and took refuge first at the court of St. Louis, and then in the abbey of Pontigni. After some time he died in exile, and was buried in the monastery in which he had found an asylum.

Other churches, however, found themselves deprived of their pastors by similar persecutions. After the death of Ralph Nevis, bishop of Chichester, in 1244, king Henry III. recommending to that see an unworthy court favourite, whom the ecclesiastical authorities had rejected as unqualified, and Richard de Wiche being preferred to that dignity, who was consecrated the year following, the king seized his temporalities, and caused him to endure during two years many hardships and persecutions. This holy man had accompanied St. Edmund into France, when that primate was exiled, and had remained with him till his death.

But to return to St. Thomas. His property was confiscated: his relations and friends, after being stripped of every thing, were banished to the number of more than four hundred persons, who were made to swear that they would, one by one, visit the archbishop in his retreat to grieve his heart by the spectacle of their woe. The whole orders of Cistercians and Gilbertines were threatened with persecution for receiving him a suppliant to hospitality. This tyrant evinced the rage of Neptune, who was indignant against the Phæacians for furnishing their guests with means to pursue their journey. "For being mindful," he says, "of our office and the judgment of God, and for daring to speak for justice, we are given to be an opprobrium to many, exposed for Christ to all kinds of danger like a mark for arrows, then driven into banishment with all belonging to us, clerks and laics, women and children, young and old; so that neither reverence of order, nor condition of sex, nor the pitiful state of age, could appease anger or fury. Many of them are now dead in exile, who, since they suffered innocently for justice, we trust are flown away to rest, and have already with the elect received the reward of their labours. But most of them are still waiting for the mercy of God, in hunger and thirst, in cold and nakedness. Others are held in chains; amongst whom is our religious chaplain who, for conscience sake, and with the king's consent, remained in England; but, after what they c appeal, by his commands he is affli prison. All these things we have sus trying whether by the patience of me we might not mitigate his severity. the more we suffer, the more his increases; so that he now publicly fesses that he can be appeased by n unless the Church be exposed to hi sure, and with the pope's consent perversities be received by all. The because we do not acquiesce, but s we must obey God rather than m seeks our life, that with it he ma away the liberty of the Church and throw in his kingdom the privileges Apostolic See. For our sake he ha announced his enmity against the Cistercian order, and declared that exterminate their houses from his ter unless they eject me—a man banish proscribed for God and for the libe the Church—from Pontigni, whither invited by the abbot and brethren."*

Describing the miserable state of d tion to which his fellow-exiles were re he says to the pope, "Our persecuto vide sedulously that we should be with expenses and journeys, and so a with wants, that we may become burde and odious to the king of the Frenc gives us alms among the other p Christ."† "Let the ancient historie says, "be examined; let the deeds mer tyrants be recounted, let the an the primitive Church be referred t will not easily find an instance amo persecutors, of any one persecutin man in such a manner, as to exte rage on account of him against a multitude of innocent persons."‡

"Now truly," says John of Sali "there is need of courage; for on al we hear of terrors; and for the same men are suffering losses, insults, blows are proscribed, incarcerated, banished nearly from the whole Latin world, w they migrate to the Lord, they seek t ward of their passion, to the advan the Church. These are the report with us, where he alone is safe who agitates, or whom the Holy Ghost m despiser of all temporal things; but w the world wills it or not, let him b thema who loveth not the Lord Jesu is blessed above all for ever."§

Among those who suffered with St. Th

* St. Thom. Epist. lxxiii. † Ep. cxiv.
‡ Ep. clxxxii. § Joan. Sar

deserve especial notice. Henry, of Winchester, was obliged to leave nd in the time of Theobald, arch- of Canterbury, who endeavoured by to dissipate his fear of the king's ation. Radulph de Serra, a gentle, nd sociable man, though not belong- the family of St. Thomas, yet on ac- of suspicion was banished with him, ge, as John of Salisbury says, "when more fit for burial than for exile."* ie who remained in England, were lled to swear that they would receive r letters nor messengers from those ere in exile. "Miserable necessity," n of Salisbury says, "when it was rful for good men to fulfil the duties rity according to the commands of ord."† John of Salisbury, who, as of Blois says, "was the hand and eye Thomas," suffered banishment with ring six years, being his companion our and sorrows; and then, as Petrus sis says, "having been besprinkled he precious blood of that blessed r, was made bishop of Chartres." scribes his own sufferings in various . Thus to Petrus Cellensis he says, ish I could send you more joyful but after my return from Rome so troubles came upon me, that I it I had never endured adversity hen. Do you wonder what could so o me? I will disclose this to your few words. The whole indignation most serene lord, the most powerful our invincible prince, has been turned ne. If you ask the cause, it is per- that I favoured his promotion more ought to have done; for which in- , to which compassion instigated d perhaps punishes me now. Alone am said to derogate from the royal y, for it is thought that my lord of bury only follows my instructions. ich account I am so persecuted, that d my banishment as certain. If it essary, I will endure that for the justice, not only with equanimity, th joy."‡

affecting is his letter afterwards rance to his brother Richard. "Fare- nd affectionately salute for us those you know we ought to salute; above mother. Obtain for us the suffrage ers, lest the Lord should suffer us der from his way, and that He ad us through adversity and exile, triumphing over the affections of flesh and blood, to despise inferior things, and to compassionate the wretched men who are uselessly occupied with the trash which they collect from the Church's plunder."*

To Pope Alexander he says, "Father, our soul is in bitterness. Some of us dying for the defence of justice, seek revenge of the innocent blood from God and from the Church; others are visited with various punishments; all of us are exiles and proscribed, that we may be compelled to prefer the nefarious traditions of men, to the law of God, and the sanctions of the Fathers."†

Then to Milo, the bishop of the Morini, he says, "We the domestics of the archbishop, proscribed indeed as to possessions, but ascribed amongst the faithful, who honour their ministry by suffering for justice, are dispersed as exiles through the kingdom of the Francs, having however Him every where present to us, who feeds the fowls of the air and clothes the lilies of the field."‡ "We have suffered losses, injuries, contumely, and exile. The world reputes this our faith insanity; it calls our constancy pertinacity, our professions of truth it stigmatises with the name of vanity; our piety it endeavours to render vile by the appellation of hypocrisy, or superstition, or of other falsehood. But the prince of the Apostles teaches the contrary, "Hæc est enim," as he says, "gratia apud Deum; quia in hoc vocati estis in Christo, ut sequamini vestigia ejus."§

The spirit and disposition with which these men carried their crosses in the mystic train of Him whom Mary did bring forth, might furnish further illustrations of the general principles which, in the beginning of this book, we ascribed to the blessed who suffered persecution on account of justice. And first their cheerfulness is remarkable. We might apply to them the old monastic verses by Notker, which describe the holy pilgrims who came to St. Gall as voluntary exiles for God.

"Cumque pro Christo patriam, parentes,
Rura, cognatos, genus, et caducam
Gloriam mundi, simul abdicarent,
Pergere certant.
Corde lætantes, alacres et omnes,
Orbe jam toto celebrata sese
Cominus gaudent adiisse tecta
Plena salutis."‖

Hear how St. Anselm speaks of the persecutions of a contemporary prelate. "It

m. Sar. xv. † Ep. xxvii. ‡ Ep. xi.

* Ep. xxxvi. † Ep. lviii. ‡ Ep. lii.
§ Ep. xxvii. ‖ Ap. Canss. Lect. Antiq ii.

is not necessary that I should write concerning the expulsion of Lord William, bishop of Winchester, with what joy and thanksgiving, that God should have given him this honour, you will easily understand. For it is greater glory and praise for him with God and good men, to have been plundered and expelled on account of justice, than if he had been enriched with all the wealth and possessions of the world, having violated justice. Let his friends, therefore, rejoice and exult, that by no violence, by no fear, he could be subdued, and by no cupidity separated from truth."*

That St. Anselm, during his own persecution, enjoyed the peace and holy joy which he ascribed to others under similar sufferings, is clear from the remarkable fact, that it was during his banishment, and as he says himself in the preface, "in great tribulation," he wrote his celebrated book, "Cur Deus homo." This immortal fruit of a calm intelligence, and of a peaceful heart, was composed at the time that he durst not send a letter to a friend, lest he should involve him in his own sufferings; for he says to one whom he loved, "I cannot write to you as often as I and you might wish, because though I have opportunities, yet I should fear that offence might be taken by the king, who hates all things from me, and all who love me, and who might rage against the bearer if he knew it."†

John of Salisbury, when threatened with the horrors of exile, and aware how the indignation of Henry II. was kindled against him, was so engrossed with the Paschal solemnities, that he could not answer the letter brought to him from Petrus Cellensis, that generous friend who says to him in one epistle, "If that monster should vomit you from his land, here we have a house prepared for you, where you will find plenty of books, and as much leisure for studying as you can desire."‡ When the festival was over, he writes to him saying, "The king's return is expected daily; what shall I do? To leave the island seems like flight; to decline meeting my calumniators seems to argue a guilty conscience; not to wait for the king's presence, is to subject myself legally to the penalty of high treason. On the whole, it is better, if possible, to wait the issue at home, where I shall have the happiness of being with friends."§

* Epist. S. Ansel. Lib. iii. 70. † Lib. iii. Epist. xxv.
‡ Pet. Cell. Lib. v. Ep. 4. § Ep. xii.

When deprived of these, howeve
banishment, he found other resource
he writes thus to Master John Sa
"I am ashamed altogether to have s
through weakness of the bitterness
exile; since although this is the
year of my banishment, and the th
my proscription, I am every day les
less disturbed by the tempests of fo
and by losses, knowing for certain th
enemy hath done me no real inju
rather I should call him my friend,
has opened my eyes to discern the fa
delusions of fortune, and by deliveri
from the vanities of the court, an
seductions of pleasure has impelled
the way of virtue, and associated m
the throng of the lovers of wisdom.
more free than when loaded with w
goods and fortuitous possessions, I
rience a joyful condition, I do no
poverty, which philosophy forbids
call it, for every soil is the country
brave man, and to a Christian the
world is a place of exile, while he jou
from the Lord. For the future, the
let complaints respecting the illusi
fortune cease, while from agitating
sophic questions we do not cease; a
us look with indulgence on our persec
who perhaps know not what they
Only the distresses of his friends re
him to a sense of suffering. "I
not," he writes to Raimond of Po
"you would pity me if you knew
what solicitudes my mind is agitate
it is not, God knows, for myself, tho
dwell with the Duricordi, that I ar
citous, but for my friends; because,
as I am personally concerned, letters
suffice to console me, if others we
constantly urging me, to whose nece
I must communicate. The people
province of Rheims, you know, are
in old histories the Duricordi, but
truly, they have proved themselves
of being styled Mollicordi, while ou
countrymen appear to be of the tru
of the Duricordi."† In fact, it is bu
tice to acknowledge that the French
rally during the ages of faith deserve
praise bestowed on them by a lawyer
year 1607, who denominates the
plus pieuse et la plus devote nati
monde."‡

John of Salisbury, referring to hi
dence at Rheims, says in another

* Ep. xlv. † Ep. xxx
‡ Floquet, Hist. du Parlement de Norm

"Scarcely without sighs and tears can I recall to mind our dearest brethren and lords who dwell in the house of blessed Remi, remembering how happy I was inhabiting it lately, as if in a paradise, while I enjoyed their presence, and experienced the image of that charity which is hoped for in the eternal life."* "Francia, omnium mitissima et civilissima nationum," was this holy exile terms it,† could then of itself console the English sufferers for justice. "When I reached Paris," says John of Salisbury, "and saw the abundance of provisions, the joy of the people, the reverence of the clergy, the majesty and glory of the whole Church, and the various occupations of the philosophers, I was filled with admiration as if I beheld that ladder of Jacob, the top of which was in heaven, furnishing a way to ascending and descending angels, so that I was compelled to exclaim, "vere Dominus est in loco isto;" and that verse also came to my mind, of Felix exilium cui locus iste datur."‡

Nor was it only to himself that in his opinion these persecutions proved useful. "Without doubt," he says, "this exile has been of great advantage to my lord of Canterbury, 'quoad literaturam et mores,' and I return thanks for it to Divine Providence, also on my own account."§

With a similar mind, Sir Thomas More declared "that the king's highness had done him great good by taking from him his liberty, by the spiritual profit that, he trusted, he took thereby; so that among all his great benefits, heaped upon him so thick, he reckoned upon his imprisonment even as the very chief."

St. Thomas of Canterbury, from the beginning, was sensible of the immense glory attending such sufferings in such a cause. In fact, that glory had been long before proclaimed by the voice of the Holy See, as when Pope Innocent III. exclaimed, addressing the archbishop of Canterbury, and his fellow prelates in exile, in the time of John, "O how meritorious is it before God, and how worthy of praise before men, to prefer spiritual to temporal things, that temporal may give precedence to spiritual things! to exchange one's country for banishment, riches for poverty, honour for injury, quiet for labour! We are not sons of the hand-maiden, but of the free, with the freedom which the only begotten Son of God bestowed on us in our deliverance. I beseech you to consult your own conscience, and it will answer that more tolerable is it for you to endure honourable persecution out of your country, than in your country to suffer the most vile servitude, far worse than that which the people of Israel of old endured in Egypt under Pharaoh.*

To the last act of this sublime drama, which closes for the spectator with scenes of such bitter grief and admirable majesty, I shall only allude in passing, for it has occupied the pencils of great masters, who copied from originals, and I should fear to incur reproach by attempting to represent it with my unworthy hand. Yet, to use the words of John of Salisbury, "thus much in regard to such a gift of the divine dispensation, which excites the admiration of all to the glory of God, and of his martyr, I think ought not to be passed over in silence; namely, that all the circumstances so concurred in the contest of the pontiff, as to confer an imperishable title on the sufferer, and an eternal disgrace upon the persecutors. For if the person be regarded, it is an archbishop, the primate of the Britons, a legate of the Apostolic See, an incorruptible judge, an asserter of the ecclesiastical liberty, a tower of defence to Jerusalem, and a consoler of the poor. If the cause be considered, none could be more holy or more just than his; if the place, it was in the church, before the altar, in the arms of priests and monks, that he was offered as a living victim, holy and agreeable to God; if the time, it was during the solemnity of our Lord's nativity, on the day after that of the holy Innocents."†

No martyr in his passion was ever more divinely constant. "I, indeed," he said to his murderers, "am ready to die for God, and for the assertion of justice, and the liberty of the Church; but I prohibit you, on the part of Almighty God, and on pain of anathema, to hurt any one else, whether monk, or clerk, or layman, great or small; for they should be free from punishment, as from giving cause they are free; for not to them, but to me it is to be imputed, if they undertook to maintain the cause of the persecuted Church. Death to me is welcome, provided the Church by the shedding of my blood may obtain peace and liberty." In all his tortures the martyr showed an invincible mind; not a word

* Ep. xciii. † Ep. lxiv.
‡ Ep. xvii. § Ep. xxiv.

* Inn. III. Epist. Lib. xv. 727.
† Joan. Sar. Ep. xciv.

escaped from him, not a groan or cry; nor did he oppose an arm to the striker; but with a wonderful constancy, he held his head immoveably inclined and exposed to the sword until it was finished; and then, falling on the earth, he lay without moving a foot or a hand."*

"Holy Father!" exclaims the archbishop of Sens, addressing the pope, "a horrible work, an enormous wickedness is accomplished in your days, at which the ears of all who hear of it tingle. Non est auditum in Theman, nec est visum in Chanaan. Another Herod, sending lictors from his side, feared not to pierce with wounds the sign of the Lord's Passion, and to defame the celestial image. A voice is heard, crying, Avenge, O Lord, the blood of thy servant and martyr, who is slain for the liberty of the Church."†

"The innocent lamb has suffered!" writes Theobald, count of Blois, to the pope. "The blood of the just man is poured out on the spot where the blood of Christ is offered for our salvation. The king's officers have shed it. I would write more fully, but that I fear my words might be ascribed to hatred; and the bearers of these presents can relate the whole order of this prodigy."‡

"A cruel wound is inflicted on the holy Church of God," so writes William, the prior of Grandmont, "by the killing of the holy primate. But what remedy is there now? It is not he who is slain that is to be pitied, but he who slew him. For the slain there is a crown prepared; for the slayer, hell, which already opens its expansive jaws to swallow him up alive."§

"I write to you," says William de Trahinac, prior of Grandmont, to King Henry, "not without fear and dread, for if you were the cause, not to say the author, of this crime, I would not and durst not address you."‖

Peter Bernard, the ex-prior, writes to him at greater length: "Your crown is tarnished, the roses are faded, and yet, O king! immense is the debt of gratitude which we of Grandmont owe to you; therefore, is it hard for the Christian republic, and, above all, most hard for us to hear of what has happened. You began well; but you have not persevered. What skills it to be praised by men, if you be despised by God as reprobate? The light of grace, which alone gives serenity, is obscured in you. You are blinded by the flattery of your courtiers, who now, with damnable silence, will permit you to perish. What word is this that sounds to the poor of Grandmont? You promised to Father Simon, to the prior of the Carthusians, and to me, that you were ready to re-establish the Lord Archbishop Thomas in your kingdom, provided he evinced humility towards you before the people. He did a hundred times what you demanded, and he lies in the heart of the earth! We have heard from the ground a voice of blood crying to God, 'How has the word of the king failed?' but such are these rich men. If you do them service, their grace is light as a feather; if any fancied wrong, their anger is like lead. O favour of princes! what are you to us! Trust not in princes, nor in the children of men, in whom is no salvation. O revered sacred martyr, introduced to the marriage supper of the Lamb! O blessed pontiff, whose soul is in paradise, safe from all thy enemies, and from those who hated thee without a cause! Good God! we have heard with our ears and our fathers the archbishops of Rheims and of Sens, the Lord John of Poitiers and the Lord Bernard, bishop of Nevers, have related to us the crime, not of the king of England, but of this nefarious murderer. Far be it from him to have required such a deed, who bears the sword only for the punishment of evil-doers, and for the praise of them who do well! Remember, my lord, the oath which you took at your consecration on the twentieth day of December, in 1154. 'I, Henry, promise before God and his angels, law, justice, and peace to the Church of God, and to the people.' Is it thus that you observe justice? They say that it is you who have perpetrated this atrocious parricide? We, though in ignorance, already mourn for you, dreading to hear what we wish we had never known. How is the fine gold tarnished? The best colour changed? You built and endowed our churches, and now you have struck the shepherd of the Church, and scattered the sheep of the Catholic fold, and, what is incredible, by murder! Many are the benefits you have conferred upon us; but for all these, what reward will you now have? The prophet of God has declared it. All will be forgotten. In vain have you laboured building cells, in which a few men may reside, by the waters of the blood that is shed, weeping when they remember your zeal for our Sion. To build to-day and to destroy to-morrow, Quid est aliud quam

* Ep. xciv. † S. Thom. Epist. cccxxiii.
‡ Epist. cccxvi. § Epist. cccxx. ‖ Epist. cccxxi.

animam tuam in vanum accipere? I wish, I wish, that you had never done us good. I wish that I might have perished under anathema, for the safety of your crown; but God, the just Judge and the strong, who arms his creature to avenge his cause, will have blood for blood. I see the bitter zeal of sons rising against their father's sceptre. God grant that I may prophesy falsely; meanwhile prepare your soul for tribulation.* Peccatum peccavit Jerusalem, propterea instabilis facta est. There is no peace in the bones of the king, by reason of his sins, for the powerful will suffer torments in proportion to their power, and the Eternal Judge fears the greatness of no one. The thorns of our desert have a sharp tongue; not without puncture do they speak; but they pierce in order to excite compunction. Let them sell in another place their oil of flattery for sinners. The words of courtiers are soft, yet are they darts. I wish that I might be a worthy minister of the New Testament, coming to you with hard words, to excite contrition, and to be cruel in order to show mercy. While we thus address you, lofty son, seeking not to flatter you, as we owe you no flattery, we shall, perhaps, excite your indignation against us. I fear nothing; nor do I count my life more precious than myself. It is better for me to incur that indignation, and by two old men, accused of evil days, to fall without evil works, into the hands of men, than with my murdered lord of Canterbury into the hands of the living God, which the doctor of the nations believed to be something horrible. Perish our temporal goods, even though by me, provided thy eternal soul be not lost, for which Christ died, the just for the unjust. Farther to proceed, and longer to converse with you, I am forbidden. I dread the contagious wound of excommunication in your soul, lest my soul should catch the infection; for Paul, writing to the Corinthians, prohibits me to communicate in any thing with the avaricious and rapacious; and the disciple whom Jesus loved forbids me to say, Hail to him who bringeth not with him the doctrine of charity.† You must understand, therefore, that we can no longer have any communication with you, until you wash away the stains of your soul. In Jerusalem there was a pool of probation, in which, on the moving of the waters, they who descended into them were healed. There are at Rome, too, pools of Siloë; since there, the Apostolic See receives sinners to repentance. Go then to these pools of Siloë! Hasten! make no delay! There is peril in delay! Wash seven times! Let the wretched and pitiful ruins of your soul be purged with a sevenfold ablution; by confession, by tears, by fasting, by satisfaction, by discipline, by pilgrimage to holy places, and by alms, redeem your sins, and console the Church whom you have made a widow, that she may pray for you. We, indeed, shall cease not praying for you, night and day, that preventing His face by confession, you may return to the Lord, if perchance He may hear you and cure you. Forget us. There is nothing more in common between you and us. He who feeds the fowls of the air, will take care of us. We do not expect any letters from you. We do not ask for any. Write no more; for your name is blotted out of the book of the living. Let us not see your face, nor that of any of yours, scorched with the lightning of excommunication, lest being made participators of malediction, we should be separated with you from the grace of God, without which we can do nothing. If you wish to find us, return, return to our heavenly Father, in whom and by whom we live, and move, and have our being, and say to Him, in a spirit of humility, and with a contrite heart, 'Father, I have sinned against Heaven and against thine.' Nothing more do I ask from you. Have pity thus upon your soul, appeasing God. The people of Grandmont will wait until your change cometh, seeking from God, who giveth food to all flesh, the bread of grace for you in sackcloth and ashes, made obedient unto God. In our prior-general, I thus speak to you and exhort you in Christ Jesus our Lord. The strict Judge, though all things are bare and open to His eyes, says that He will make inquiry with lights, as to the works of Jerusalem, which He so dearly loves. Then what will He do to the reprobate? Malos male perdet, are the words of the Gospel; qui ex Deo est, verba Dei audit."*

This is not merely a voice from the desert, which found no echoes in the society of men. Immediately the whole Church proclaimed, that the cause was decided respecting the title of the holy archbishop. Miracles attested by such eye-witnesses as John of Salisbury seemed to dispense

* Two years later the prophecy was fulfilled.

† 2 Joan. 10.

* Epist. ccexxiii.

even with the delay of waiting for the authority of the Roman Pontiff, before invoking the new martyr. John of Salisbury says "that he should fear to offer up prayers for his soul, lest such a devotion should have the appearance of doubting their reality, or of disrespect to the blessed martyr.* On the eve of his passion, he had been great indeed on earth; but with a perishable grandeur which one false step might have overthrown. But from the moment when he fell at the foot of the altar, he soared above the earth as high as heaven, placed beyond the limits of human fragility, above the reach of his enemies, like the sun, which all the dust that we make here below cannot obscure."† Churches on the farthest shores of Christendom were placed under his invocation. That which stands on the Lilybæan promontory is enriched with particles of his brains that were scattered. Its origin was deemed providential; for a ship laden with Corinthian columns for building his church, while sailing to England was driven here by violent winds, and so with these columns thus divinely sent, the church was constructed.‡ Moreover, by the shedding of his blood, the Church gained liberty; for the king, to obtain reconciliation, bound himself to abolish the statutes of Clarendon, and all the evil customs introduced in his days, and to moderate, according to the counsel of religious men, those that might have previously existed. He promised also to make restitution of the ecc cal property, and to receive to p who, on account of the archbisho incurred his displeasure.* The st of course, which must be interminat only suspended for a time. It wa to end: it was ever with tears and fo to be begun anew. At each epo monstrous drama was represented; i times, perhaps, relieved by the audacity of the temporal power, as i land under Henry VIII., and in under Nicholas, where the law d like the Persian edict, in the year 87 "it is folly to desire to have any o ligion, than that of the great king the immediate result was no le firmatory of the old experience res the fruits which are to be expecte such seed.

Reader, now we need repose; o are cloyed with views of tyranny, an of death done on the innocent. has been adduced to clear from wr memory of the glorious Pontiff T who, as the Church says in her prayer, fell by the swords of the i who, in some histories, lies yet p under envy's cruel blow,—enough to her applying to him and to others w fered from a similar cause, the word she sings upon his festival. "Hic martyr, qui pro Christi nomine san suum fudit: qui minas judicum non nec terrenæ dignitatis gloriam q sed ad cœlestia regna pervenit."

* Epist. xciv.
† Ozanam, Deux Chanceliers d'Anglet.
‡ ii. 883, Sicilia Sacra.

* S. Thom. Epist. ccexxxiii.

CHAPTER XI.

THUS have we seen how many various elements of hostility, which separately were employed in animating men against the Catholic Church, in its ve capacity, as well as against its rs, one by one, have existed in past We are now about to witness the ied action of these elements giving a persecution more terrible and ve than any which had before as the Church of God, and which, after ly closing for some countries the of Faith three centuries ago, con to afflict the world at the present it will continue, probably, till the time; since its development as the last form under which the prin of opposition can be manifested; comprises all errors, and is, in fact, t expression of all possible resolu ontrary to truth and love.

agoras, as long as he conversed cuously with every one, is said to een graciously received by men; but e had begun to confine his conver to his disciples alone, the public left him; and from that time he ways enemies who plotted against If the Catholic religion had not had tinct initiations and its exclusive within which," as St. Augustin says, ere as one man, on account of the of the body of Christ,"* there is no that it would have been spared much ng from its infancy: the pagans have permitted it to exist in peace st their own various but not dis t religions; and, under various forms, ht have survived to a late period, inguished by any particular perse further than what it might draw by its natural justice. The powers world at all times seek to assimilate nselves whatever is near. If they have contrived, therefore, to effect ntification of the Church with them and with their own systems, they have extended their friendship to it; but because it could never consent to this union, but declared that it must always retain independence, they united to persecute it. Truly remarkable in this respect is the constant recurrence of the same phenomenon. "Nam de secta hac notum est nobis, quia ubique ei contradicetur," said the Jews at Rome to St. Paul;* words precisely similar to those used in reference to the Catholic religion at the present day, when it is the only religion frowned upon and suspected by rulers, who, like Frederic the Great of Prussia, find it the sole obstacle to the realization of their plans. It is well said, that "the battle of belief against unbelief is the never-ending battle." From the first the hostility of the whole human race seemed to be turned upon Christians. "Hic erit crimen," said Tertullian, "ubi veritas et Dei devotio est,"† "Apud vos," he says again to the Gentiles, "quodvis colere jus est præter Deum verum." So it continued to be, even within the Christian world, after schism and heresy had risen up. It is true the empire, the state had become Christian, professedly: "Formerly," says St. Augustin, "it was a crime to reply to a pagan, and now it is a crime to remain a pagan."‡ Nevertheless, at that time and to the present hour, innumerable men regarded the Church with pagan eyes, and required the admonition of that holy doctor: "Noli habere oculos paganorum: Christianos oculos habe."§ Obedience to the true authority still constituted a crime, against which all who were not faithful instinctively united; so that with impunity men might profess any religion, and even hold all the Catholic doctrines separately, as Lactantius says, the heathen sects of philosophers did,‖ and, as the heretical sects continue to do, provided they did not yield obedience to the Chair of Peter, and hold all these truths together in the Catholic faith. For those who did embrace all truth and hold to that chair, the old examples of the heathen emperors were revived: the world

* In Ps. ciii.

* Act. xxviii. † Apol. 30. ‡ In Ps. lxxxviii. § St. Aug. in Ps. lvi. ‖ Lib. x. de Divin. c. 7.

was again to behold Catholics persecuted by men "of the most amiable and philosophic character," as Gibbon says, "and according to the laws of kings, distinguished by the wisdom and justice of their general administration." Men not unworthy of being compared with Trajan, Marcus Antoninus, and Decius, would unite with tyrants such as Nero in persecuting them; while authors, comparable perhaps to Seneca, Pliny, Tacitus, Plutarch, Galen, Epictetus, and whole universities collectively, would be as obstinate as a Lucian and a Porphyry, and the various schools of pagan philosophy, in overlooking or rejecting the wisdom of their faith. This singular union of all discordant elements, when once directed against the Catholic religion, has been observed in all ages and under great diversity of circumstances.

"The heretics cannot agree amongst themselves," said St. Ambrose, "but against the Church they agree."* When St. Francis Xavier and his companion Fernandez began to preach in Japan, in presence of the bonzes, these men, who were divided into seven or eight different religions, and who were continually disputing with each other, no sooner heard the divine law announced, than they all united against it, and forgot their private disagreements to oppose it with all their force.†

The same quality of assimilation, when subjected to the presence of the Catholic faith, existed in all those heterogeneous elements which formed the varieties of heresy, while it gnawed itself as one with rage distracted. Gibbon says that the Jews would have been scorned by Julian, if their implacable hatred of the Christians had not entitled them to his friendship; so wherever there was seen a hatred of Rome, the shrewdest and most moderate of the reformers recognised their brethren, even though their opinions, like those of Almeric de Bene, might justly be qualified, as were his by the fourth council of Lateran, as being not so much heretical as insane. "These are the heretics against the Catholic faith," says Isidore, "condemned by the holy councils, which, though divided among themselves, agree in common conspiracy against the Church of God."‡ Raban Maur concludes his catalogue of heresies with the same words.§ This negative unity in

* Lib. i. de Fide, c. 4.
† Bouhours, Vie de S. V. X. xi. 43.
‡ Isidori Etymolog. Lib. viii. 5.
§ Rabani Mauri de Institut. Clericorum, Lib. ii. 58.

hatred appeared also in the heretics middle ages. "They are divided in amongst each other," says Reinerius treatise against the Waldenses; "attacking the Church they are When the heretics are in one hous cannot agree; each condemns the but in impugning the Roman Chur act together."*

Similarly combined against Ca were all those whose faction was the gion; "whose combinations," as Cla says, "were not entered into upon re substantial motives of conscience, ho neous soever, but consisted of mer nous materials of will, and humour, an and knavery, and ambition and m which made them cling inseparably to while protesting against Rome. the evil," as St. Augustin says, while murmuring against the evil they cannot avoid doing; for one pe health will more easily endure tw persons than two sick each other," with the evil, so far as combining agai one cause. In regard to every other can eject Satan, as St. Bernard re but here shade can protect shade. " protegit umbram," as blessed Job the wicked; while the Spirit of truth can never be contrary to itself, can of no combination to deliver me persecution, but what is compatib the light of the Sun of justice.

To express the sufferings of Cath defence of religion, St. Augustin scends to use a familiar image, sayin yond comparison is the truth of Ch more beautiful than the famed Hele Greeks; and beyond comparison h blessed martyrs fought for it agai world, more courageously than d heroes of Greece for Helen against In fact, when the modern philosoph to embrace that truth was to embra secution; "magis eligens affligi cum Dei, quam temporalis peccati hab cunditatem."‡ What St. Augusti would take place at the end of th seemed to have already commenced. parties were in all nations; one wh pressed, the other which was oppress which said peace and security, th in which the sun was obscured a moon deprived of her light, in wh stars fell and the powers of heave shaken."§ Miserable times of

* In Bibl. Pat. Max. xxv. 262. † In
‡ Ad Heb. xi. 25. § In Epist. ad

in which, as Richard of St. Victor "scarcely would any one man agree another, unless it was against the Lord against His Christ."* If the new ers and the old were tried by the rule Paul, and it were asked which had red most labours, been oftenest in n, had received most wounds, had most frequently in danger of death, een in greatest perils from the Gen- und from brethren; which had suffered persecution, in fasting and afflictions, ld and nakedness, there could have no difficulty in determining which were ildren of beatitude. "Le monde veut rompé," said a French prince; and it y those who persist in preventing it indulging in a voluntary ignorance re the proper objects of its persecution. ader, we have now reached the sad es of a shade congenial with discourse ter contrast to the peace of blessed n ages of faith.

"And, lo! by slow degrees
r'ring, a fog makes tow'rds us, dark as night.
re is no room for 'scaping; and this mist
aves us, both of sight and the pure air,
's dunnest gloom, or night unlustrous, dark,
very planet 'reft, and pall'd in clouds,
never spread before the sight a veil
ickness like this fog; nor to the sense
alpable and gross. Ent'ring its shade,
e eyes endure not with unclosed lids."†

! well does St. Augustin say, that "the faith, which is the day in comparison the life of the impious, is the night mparison with that of angels:‡ its ws are longer than its gleams. Tribu- es civitatum audivimus, quas passæ et defecimus: timor et hebetudo s cecidit super nos et supe liberos s."

e same drama is again to be represent- ut its former monotony would now irable; for it will have hideous scenes ime which it had not before. Now rueful wailings to be heard: now am e where many a plaining voice smites ne ear. "The river of blood," as says, "approaches, in the which all are steeped who have by violence in- The drama of Luther and Calvin unfolding things incredible to those itnessed them. "Dies iste, dies iræ," writers cry, "dies calamitatis et e." The history of Sir Thomas More Bishop Fisher before Henry VIII., the history of three centuries of persecution by those who consented to his work, is that of the martyrs before the proconsuls, of Athanasius before Julian, of Ambrose before Theodosius, of Chrysostom before Arcadius, of Gregory VII. before Henry IV., of Thomas of Canterbury before Henry II.; but it is these histories, stripped of every relief from the grandeur and poetry of events and characters. It is not a brilliant meteor which destroys and vanishes; it is like a lamp of the sepulchral pit that opens daily during a pestilence, which casts a dim melancholy light, but ever burns.

"Brethren," says St. Augustin, of whose words, as of some solemn music, we stand in need to prepare our mind for encountering the objects that will now beset our path, "If we ought not to lift ourselves proudly against the Jews, formerly cut off from the root of the patriarchs, but ought rather to fear and say to God, Quam timenda sunt opera tua! how much less ought we to lift ourselves against the recent wounds of those freshly cut off? The Jews of old were cut off, and the Gentiles grafted in. From that graft the heretics are now cut off; but neither against these ought we to lift ourselves proudly, lest perchance we should ourselves deserve to be cut off for delighting to insult over the fallen. Brethren, we intreat you, whoever you may be, who are in the Church, be not willing to insult those who are not within it; but rather pray that they also may be within it."* Pity, not pride, should move us; for at this day, as St. Augustin says of those born in the party of Donatus, "you find men who know not what is the Church. He holds to where he was born; and you will not overcome his custom, which he has sucked in with his mother's milk. Let us suppose him reading the Scriptures daily, meditating on them, preaching; yet he will not see in them the Catholic Church."† "O hæretica insania," he exclaims, alluding to the diffusion of the Church through all nations; "what you do not see you believe with me; what you see you deny. You believe with me that Christ is exalted above the heavens, which we do not see; and you deny his glory over all the earth, which we do see."‡ But if we ought not to lift ourselves proudly against the authors of this last great persecution, neither ought we to conceal the history of their deeds, or assent to their apotheosis as heroes to be worshipped; lest, from excuse to excuse, which is

‡ Gradibus Charitatis, iv. †† Purg. xiv.
‡ In Ps. lxxvi.

* In Ps. lxv. † In Ps. xxxiv.

the course required for that end, we should be at last obliged to excuse the murderers of Christ. St. Augustin, and Albertus Magnus following him, teach us to repeat, in reference to those who serve under the banner which first announced this war, the Psalmist's words, "Confundantur et revertantur qui quærunt animam meam." "What then," they add, "becomes of loving your enemies, of praying for those who persecute you? Lo, you suffer persecution, and you curse those from whom you suffer it. In what manner do you imitate the preceding passion of our Lord hanging on the cross, and saying, 'Pater, ignosce illis, quia nesciunt quid faciunt.' To such, say they, the martyr answers, 'Why do you object this? What have I said of my enemies? Confundantur et revertantur.' Such is the revenge already taken on the enemies of the martyrs. Saul, who persecuted Stephen, heard the voice; he is confounded and prostrated, and raised up to obedience, after having being inflamed to persecute. This is what the martyrs wish to their enemies; confundantur et revertantur; for so long as they are not confounded and turned back, they will defend their actions; they will glory in them; they will rejoice, because they bind, because they scourge, because they kill, because they dance, because they insult. From all these actions let them be confounded and turned back, that they may not excuse them; for if they are confounded they will be converted; nor can they be converted unless confounded and turned back. Let us then wish this to our enemies; we may wish it securely. Lo, I have said it, and to yourselves I have said it. All ye who still dance and sing, and insult the martyrs, may you be confounded and turned back, and within these walls brought to smite your breasts."*

The elements of this persecution are not difficult to analyze, although the results are manifold. Every man who has imbibed them will, in his capacity of an alien from the Catholic faith, partake of the property of Proteus, as all who contend with him discover; for as the old Egyptian, in poetic fabling, became first a lion, afterwards successively a dragon, a panther, a great swine, water, and a lofty tree; so to those who would seize the bold and subtle spirit of heresy, it will seem at one time the symbol of all things brave and royal; it will then terrify by its hideous aspect; it will seduce by its gay colours; it will assume a wild similitude to attract the vile propensities of carnal nature: it will glide away softly as liquid, or it will present a towering form, and seem to reach heaven by its boasted sovereignties.

But let us commence our alchemy, for this is of a kind of which the use will be perpetual. "The pretence is of the spirit," said the clear-sighted bishop Gardiner to Somerset, speaking of the false reformers, "and all is for the flesh,—root of that ill plant whose shade such poison sheds o'er all the Christian land, that seldom now good fruit is gathered." Here then at once we find an ingredient of great use in persecution. The agents were, in fact, like him whom they served, more useful as a persecutor than as a prince and friend,—men whose wine was better than their manners, "beveurs très-illustres," as an old writer says, "pantagruelisant, c'est à dire bevans à gré," whose wisdom in one respect resembled that of Ulysses, agreeing with his opinion that there was nothing better than a banquet, when men are feasting in a house, sitting in order, and hearing singers before tables loaded with food, with cups, and the best wine,

*Τοῦτό τί μοι κάλλιστον ἐνὶ φρεσὶν εἴδεται εἶναι,**

mere carnal sinners borne abroad by the tyrannous gust of sensuality, men whom St. Augustin compares to dogs and swine, "who would rather pertinaciously bark, than studiously inquire; or who would neither bark nor inquire; but wallow in the defilement of their pleasures."† Such were the elector John, and his son Frederic, the landgrave of Hesse, and Wolfgang, prince of Anhalt, Ernest and Francis of Lunebourg, and Henry VIII.

With this was necessarily joined the covetous desire: for the flesh engenders and expands that cursed flower, that hath made wander both the sheep and lambs turning the shepherd to a wolf. But what else enters into the compound? Error; obliquity of mental vision; distorted or maimed truth, identical with error. Now error is destructive by its nature; it produces nothing; figs are not gathered on thorns, nor on briars grapes. It is in the moral order, an envious sneaping frost that bites the first-born infants of the spring. It must hate, as Catholicism must love: "Ut destruas inimicum et defensorem." "Who

* St. August. in Ps. lxix. Albert. Mag. Comment. in Ps. lxix

* Odyss. ix. 5. † In Ps. ix.

asks St. Augustin, "but the heretic, a enemy and a defender, attacking stian faith and seeming to defend Here is then matter to cause the umph of persecution, of which we ess the effects. "Quoniam quæ destruxerunt." St. Augustin, after se words of the Psalm, adds, "This gainst all heretics, for all, as far as ies, have destroyed the praise which mouth of children and sucking od hath perfected; while with vain pulous questions they disturb the es, and permit them not to be l with the milk of faith. So what t perfected they have destroyed. unless in their conventicles, where ones and those ignorant of internal y do not nourish with milk, but kill on?"† They destroy with doubts; roy with such words, as "This is a ing:" but as St. Augustin says, ey that are hard, not the saying; ey were not hard, but mild and t would be as oil to them, so as to even to the very bones."‡

do they not destroy? Do you sup- t they will spare things because sixteen hundred years old, and r to the apostles? You little know In their spleen and bilious egotism, sacrifice these the first. Prayers, ns, signs of the cross, all must be l. They cut off sources of tender- shut out from our senses the access on; they remove the image of her untenance alone, as a modern writer an suspend our steps on the highway orld, discourse with us, soften and is, showing us our own unworthiness light of a reproving smile."§ If e the evening dance upon the green, ess under Calvin's ephemeral the- nature will be too strong for them,) not suffer the bells that used to an- the hour of benediction to interrupt ily, nor the hands that joined there together at the portal fountain, and e brow reciprocally with its lustral though, as Gardiner said to Ridley, y use were coupled with holy water, uld be more plenty of holiness than ; but as men be profane in their o they cannot abide to have any ectually holy, not so much as water, est it should take away sin from us, ch we love so dearly well." The dance continues; the praise which God had perfected they have destroyed. Heresy, styled by the people who first witnessed its effects, "Ce maudit presche," has engendered only false minds and hearts without faith, in which generous sentiment is laughed down, and the sanctification of nature systematically excluded, which the thirst of selfish pleasure devours, and which the spleen of doubt and dark suspicion kills. The Pythagoræan poet invokes the graces, adding,

> Σὺν γὰρ ὑμῖν τὰ τερπνὰ καὶ τὰ γλυκέα
> Γίνεται πάντα βροτοῖς,
> Εἰ σοφὸς, ει καλὸς εἴ τις ἀγλαὸς
> Ἀνήρ.*

It was not merely these sweets which fled at its approach: as in the third circle where the poet found himself, its destructive words fell like showers, ceaseless, accursed, heavy, and cold, unchanged for ever, both in kind and in degree, till every flower of the holy world perished and stank all the land whereon that tempest fell.

Fruits it leaves none, but thorns instead, with venom filled. It destroys all that beautiful development of interior love and purity, which had been so long effecting by the Catholic wisdom. It obliterates all traces of that old and simple age, when still the carved monitor and label by every rustic pathway rested safe; it strips the Church of its ornaments, the country of its institutions, religion of its mysteries, morality of its sanctions, youth of its simplicity, age of its reverence, and even language of its grace. It persecutes mind by taking from it that rule of faith which is essential to its peace, and involving it in a labyrinth of self-contradiction, for, as Pelisson says, "Before resolving upon the most terrible of all actions, which is to separate from the Church, men are bound by these principles not to trust to what their fathers or grandfathers said, but to examine for themselves both sides of the question, and to verify the facts of both; which the majority can never do, and yet without doing which it is in vain to talk of being sincere." It persecutes mind by constantly opposing, like the enemy of men who is qualified in the ordinance of an Armenian king, as he who always says, "No." It persecutes, as Sir Thomas More said, by "a shameless boldness, and an unreasonable railing, with Scripture wrested awry, and made to minister matter to its jesting,

Aug. in Ps. viii. Ps. xcviii. liv.
† In Ps. x.
§ Landor.
* Olymp. xiv.

scoffing, and outrageous ribaldry, not only against every estate here on earth, and the most religious living, but against the very saints in heaven and the mysteries of God, more especially those of the holy sacrament of the altar; wearying out all the world by its importunate babblings, and overwhelming them with a weight of words;" "the spreaders of error," he adds, "are always more active than the defenders of the truth. Many are so wearied with sorrow and heaviness to see the world wax so wretched, that they fall into a slumber, and let the wretches alone; but if we would match them, we must watch and pray, and take the pen in hand."

Sister Jeanne de Jussie, in 1534, at Geneva, made the same remark: "The Christians," she says, "began already to lose courage, and day by day to be perverted, and no one dared any longer to say a word."* Subsequently, the lesser cantons of Switzerland, before rallying to defend themselves, gave utterance to their despair in these words: "Since all is denied us, since we have so long endured this violent anguish, pride, and iniquity, without the least prospect appearing of an end, we are constrained to address our complaints of you to God, to his holy Mother, to the whole heavenly court, and to all who have anyrega d for truth and justice."†

It persecutes the intelligence, by substituting the authority of a great name for that of the Catholic Church; for, as St. Augustin says, "heresies are not caused by men of little minds. Only great men, great but evil, make heresies. It persecutes by exclaiming, 'Magnus ille vir, magnus ille homo,' What a man was Donatus! what a man was Arius!"‡ Leaving it for those of their train to cry,

"Le peuple aveugle et faible est né pour les grands hommes,
Pour admirer, pour croire, et pour nous obéir."§

It persecutes by the proud display of their prosperity, by repeating, "It is well with us; we are rich and happy in this life: depart from us those who promise what they cannot show."‖ It persecutes also by its prodigies of assurance, by its imperturbable reliance on exploded errors: by a specious sophistry, however, it may soften to a paralogism on the lips of some. Great errors in religion have almost always been ground on a pretended great clearness. What plain said the Arians, some of whom were men great talents and learning, and of a r proachless life, than these words, "Th Father is greater than I!" To avail ou selves of Timon's words, "If a theory h many faces, the one false the other true, heresy "groups them, mingles them, make them play and glitter before you with s quick a hand, that you have not time to catch the sophism in its passage. Whether the disorder of its expression, the incoherent agglomeration of so many heterogeneous propositions be an effect of its art or not, certainly of all eloquence, its refutation is the easiest when you read it, the most difficult when you hear it; you feel as those who, piercing not the drift of the answer made them, stand as if exposed in mockery, not know what to reply. No one can better mimic the victim; sometimes it emits from its bosom the deepest sighs at the perversity of opinions: it is also the gentlest of beings; and the moment when you think it caresses you, it seizes you in its claws!"

Its objections, eloquently stated, and mixed up with truth and falsehood, are addressed to whatever is most elementary and gross in the human reason, and hence vulgar minds are dazzled by them. It never pretends to innovate. It introduces novelty under the mask of antiquity. It appeals to the ancient doctrine to condemn the doctrine of the time. At these clamours, the intelligent seeing the crowd pass moved with such transports, mix with it, and accompany the triumpher; the adherents of truth seem like men detected of crime, and for ever dis graced; they suffer persecution of mind although after the procession criticism ma come, which calls gold gold, and brass bras and which puts back things and men their true places.*

"Abscondes eos in abscondito vultus tui conturbatione hominum.—Proteges eos tabernaculo tuo a contradictione linguarum What is this tabernacle? "The Church replies St. Augustin, "which is but as t tent of travellers. In this tabernacle th will be protected from the contradiction tongues. Many tongues contradict: dif rent heresies, different schisms, oppose t true doctrine. Run to the tabernacle God; hold to the Catholic Church; dep not from the rule of truth, and you will protected from that contradiction of tongues Where minds are thus proof, the persecuti

* Audin, Hist. de Calvin, i. † Id. 233.
‡ In Ps. cxxiv. § Voltaire, Mahom. i.
‖ In Ps. cxxii.

* Timon. † In Ps. xxx.

ends to bodies; though indeed often both involved together; for, as St. Anselm s, "If from a persecution of the body we from city to city, how much more are from a persecution of mind!"* It uld be long to tell, as St. Augustin says, ow the martyrs laboured and suffered ils in the great tempests of hatreds in world, not so much in body, to which y were often exposed, as in faith, lest, lding to the sorrows of persecution, they uld lose what God had promised."† e who witnessed the forerunners of this secution says, "It is the property of the n science which in our times endeavours lomineer, to seek novelties, and to draw others to follow it, and to hate and per- ute those whom it cannot induce to ow it."‡

St. Augustin describes its effects in these rds: "There are two kinds of persecution, those who blame, and of those who praise rituperantium et adulantium. Plus per- nitur lingua adulatoris quam manus in- fectoris."§ "Therefore," he continues, t these also be turned back, who say to , 'Tis well, 'tis well. For why do they ise me? Let them praise God. For am I, that I should be praised? With h oil the head of heretics is made fat, en they say, 'Ego sum, ego sum:' and is replied, 'Tu domine.' They accept Euge, euge; they follow Euge, euge. ey are made blind leaders of the blind. th most clear voices is sung to Donatus t canticle, 'Euge, euge, dux bone, dux clare;' and he did not say to them, ertantur statim et erubescant, qui dicunt i, Euge, euge;' nor did he wish to cor- them, that he might say to Christ, ix bone, dux præclare.' But the mar- say, in the persecution of flatterers, ertantur statim erubescentes, qui dicunt i, Euge, euge."‖

n fine, as it is too late to demand in- ction, when one knows dissimulation, sy lapses into a lethargic state, perse- ng in its destructive opinions, but as in- ible of defending as of renouncing them; then the mere exhibition of its misery mental persecution of others. "There error," says a French orator, "a dis- tion which fatigues and afflicts with sad- those who combat it with sincere com- ion and peaceful love. This is the calm ntary forgetfulness of the monuments, facts, and multiplied proofs in favour of truth. Proofs are presented and accumu- lated, and they are let pass like flowing water; a drowsy eye half-opens, scarcely looks, then closes again, and the dream con- tinues without the least account taken of the reality."* But let us turn to facts; for it is well always to cut short discourse with the children of Luther, and Zwingle, and Calvin. Let us attend to great and general facts, avoiding, as far as possible, the notice of persons: for, in regard to the figures of this tragedy, the style of Dante, prompted by the spirit of the Ages of Faith, is the best; one smiting word; and then silence, nothing more said.†

The calamities which befel the world at the preaching of this unjust reform, and the multitudes who suffered persecution for the sake of justice in resisting it, are facts be- longing to the domain of history; though in the fires which its supporters kindled, they seem to have thought that the voice of the people and the conscience of the human race would be abolished, as Tacitus says of the triumvirs burning volumes in the Forum.

Nothing else could have been expected. The Montanists, the Novatians, the Arians, the Donatists, all had persecuted with hea- then fury. The Church, ever at warfare with external or internal foes, has ever found false believers its most bitter assailants. Of the horrors of the new persecutions, curious details are given in the learned and admirable book entitled, "Jerusalem and Babel, or the image of both churches, being a treatise historically discussing, whether Catholics or Protestants be the better subjects."‡

The new choice of disobedient wills was formed, as all know, in Germany, where, from north to south, it congregated fol- lowers. What after that it wrought in France, when from Geneva it came forth and leaped the Jura, was of so bold a flight that tongue nor pen may follow it; tow'rds Holland, it wheel'd its bands; then towr'd England smote, and upon Scotland, with so fierce a plunge, even the Isle of Saints, far in the mild west, was conscious to the pang. What following, it wrought over Europe, and the new-discovered world, is now, to use the words of Dante, "barked of in hell," and by England's best sons, and Ireland's is mourned. Hence weep still many who are pursued by it into the deepest recesses of their hearts; who see by it the world's har-

Ep. xiii. † S. August. in Ps. lxix.
Luc Tudens, ii. 3. ap. Hurter, Gesch. Inn. iii.
In Ps. lxix. ‖ In Ps. lxx.

* The Père de Ravignan.
† Carlyle on the Hero as a Poet.
‡ London, 1653, by Patterson.

mony and peace disturbed, and vengeance upon vengeance wrought for the ancient sin.

Hear now some instances of what befel the just in speeding to the rescue of the lambs of the Church, whom so many wolves incessantly assailed.

"The heretics," says one who witnessed their violence in the sixteenth century, and who describes them precisely, as they are painted by Sir Thomas More, "cannot endure to live on terms of equality with Catholics. The spirit of pride, of unutterable insolence, cannot suffer the presence of the lambs of the Church, without falling on them."* "Ask," he continues, "at Gergean, at Pluviers, at Estampes, at Ponthoise, where the Huguenot tempest has past, what marks it has left of its violence. They will tell you that nothing can be imagined more terrible or more barbarous."†

Let them ask of those who have witnessed the persecutions in England and in Germany, which in horror yielded only to the slaughter and great havoc that coloured Gallic fields with crimson stain, and they will find matter for composing tapestry, now that they like decoration, and admit pictures, sufficient to hang the walls of all the preaching theatres that ever can be built with gold. These persecutors, by their own avowal, were what the Greeks styled a sanguinary race, φονικώτατοι.‡ "Cursed be he that keepeth back his sword from blood," was their text, even among the English, the least sanguinary of all nations; from which they argued, that those who gave any quarter were to be reproved. "Repent thee, thou wicked cardinal," said Melvil to Beaton; "I protest that it is neither hatred of thy person, nor fear of thy power, which moves me to seek thy death, but only because thou hast been, and still remainest, an obstinate enemy to the Gospel." Having spoken which words, without giving him time to make an act of that repentance to which he exhorted him, he thrust him through the body, and the cardinal fell dead at his feet. This was the Melvil whom Knox styled a man most gentle and most modest, and this the action which he relates as his godly deed.

The Calvinist, Froumenteau, in his curious work, entitled, Le Secret des Finances de France, reckons the number of persons massacred, in the diocese of Soissons alone, at two thousand seven hundred and twenty-three, amongst whom were twenty-five priests and twenty-two monks. Yet, notwithing the atrocious deeds perpetrated persecutors in Soissons, when the Ca recovered possession of that city, the lost only three persons, and their fa the result of private intrigues; the sa the rest being viewed as a matter of g concern to the conquerors.* The pe tors themselves have acknowledged tha put to death more than forty thousand in France.† For the one massacre Bartholomew, in which Catholics as w Protestants were involved, that political mity of Catherine de Medicis, which Péréfixe called "the most execrable plo ever was;" and which so many, like S nes, governor of Dieppe, refused to ex there had been many massacres o Catholic population during the ten or t years preceding, of which the modern a are careful to say nothing. There w massacre of Merindol, the massacres south, the pillage of Rouen and of I besides outrages and injuries innume The picture which history discloses i of a Catholic people persecuted, and government which, by its edict of Am in 1562, and by that in 1570, whic parliaments refused to enregister; choice of men, like the duc de Bouill governors of provinces, and by its c measures to support them, seemed part with those who made them suffer horrors of the invasions of the pag barians for adhering to their faith.‡ apathy of the civil power," says "which the reformers represent as sc may well astonish us." § And wh murmurs of the outraged people ob to act in their defence, it avowed in la most insulting to the Church, that it to maintain not so much religion as t of the king. || The clergy endeavo temper the intolerant measures of t vile parliament which ensued,¶ for assuredly, they were not responsibl the violence and cruelty of the dest whom no edict of toleration could c seemed to excuse every act of rigour is most remarkable," says Floquet, "t never saw the reformers so seditious a they had full liberty."** Not conte seeing the Catholics disarmed, and selves in a position of legal equalit

* Premier Advertissements des Catholiques Anglois aux François Catholiques, 56.
† P. 101. ‡ Thucyd. vii. 29.

* Hist. de Soissons, tom. ii.
† Advertissements des Catholiques, &c.
‡ Vide Floquet, Hist. des Parlement d tom. ii. et iii. passim.
§ Hist. de Calvin, i. 146. || Floquet, i
¶ Id. iii. 139. ** Id. ii. 293

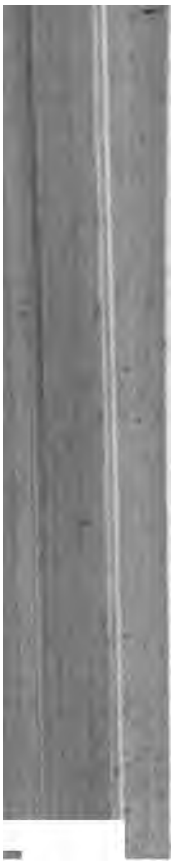
hree months they recommenced their seditions, and devastatations." * re the strongest," said they, "while ng, insulting, plundering, and kill- "Who can deny," exclaim even the favourable to them, "that the par- were constrained to adopt rigorous es to check their career."† One Sun- nessed the sack and devastation, by hordes, issuing from their preach- thirty-six parish churches in Rouen, innumerable others that were col- and monastic, from which the monks urned adrift pennyless; so that in four hours there was a work of de- n, along with murders and pillage, hich," as Beza himself observed, night have thought twenty-four weeks ient;" and all this, as the registers of liaments attest, by "those of the new ." § But who could describe the ition in detail? At one time it is the ce of a rich local proprietor, an An- e Croy-Porcien, who, "hearing the bells for the Salve Regina, from the ouring church, imperiously commands e troublesome noise should cease; he has the audacity to announce, by of horns in the night, through all the of Rouen, that his preacher will hold | At another, it is by infesting the ith armed bands of assassins so as to pt all communications. One captain persecutors in the south used to wear garnished with the ears of monks.¶ rmandy many of them used to wear s of priests and monks as cockades in ats. De Bourgueville says that they ated acts there too infamous to be **

ontemporary author," says Wadding, es us, that in one of our general s in Rome, in 1650, the provincial of l, Terence Albert O'Brien, then pre- id, that he recollected six hundred in his province; and that, in the of 1656, it was proved that only the part remained alive, the rest having n the scaffold or in prison for their †† At first, indeed, in England, the seemed taken by surprise, and un- to suffer; but, as Patterson says, when the bishops of England had thought upon the matter at issue, they stood stoutly for religion against Elizabeth. Scot, bishop of Chester, died at Louvain, in exile; Goldwel, of St. Asaph, died at Rome; Pate, bishop of Worcester, was indeed at the council of Trent, and subscribed there for the clergy of England, but he never returned. Oglethorpe, bishop of Carlisle, was deprived with the rest, dying suddenly and very shortly after; so did also Tonstal, that learned and celebrated bishop of Durham, while he was prisoner at Lambeth, yet not before he had personally given the queen a sound and godly admonition concerning her strange proceedings, with that liberty and freedom of zeal which became so venerable a prelate and true pastor of God's Church. Bourn, bishop of Bath and Wells, was prisoner to Cary. Thirlby, bishop of Ely, was first committed to the Tower, and afterwards he and secretary Boxhal were sent to Lambeth, where they died. Bishop Bonner, of London, Watson of Lincoln, with the abbot of Westminster, Fecknam, all died prisoners, and some say in the Marshalsey. Prior Shelly died in exile. "Imprisonment or only exile for those who disregard our exhortations," said Farel, "and never a more rigorous chastisement." *

The persecution which fell upon the laity has never yet been adequately described. To form a just conception of it, one should hear the domestic traditions which are still transmitted with the freshness of a narrative from personal recollection. Those solemn mansions, dark and hid away amidst huge trees, in which peace and silence might be supposed to have ever reigned, were then the scenes of many a tragedy. Those echoing court yards, desolated turret-chambers, and whole suits of rooms shut up and mouldering to ruin, those terrace gardens, that have such an oppressive air of melancholy, with their great iron gates, disused so long and red with rust, drooping on their hinges and overgrown with long rank grass; that decayed and sombre aspect of the whole house, which strikes the beholder with a sense of sadness; all tell of the sufferings sustained for the sake of the Catholic religion, through many long sorrowful years, by races that were proved faithful. "The queen's proclamation against despisers of the orders of the Church," says Strype, "and absentees from public service of it, looked towards papists as well as others, and accordingly those in commission proceeded

quet, iii. 10. † Id. iii. 20.
iii. 34. § Id. ii. 390-5.
e Floquet, Hist. des Parlement de Norm. 25.
nteil, Hist. des Français, v. 351. Martin , Le Paradis de la Touraine.
s Recherches et Antiquités de Normandie
†† Tom. v. liv. 36.

* Audin, Hist. de Calvin, i. 238.



his endeavours to take her. Accordingly the bishop, in whose diocese she was, framed a letter to Ashfield, an active justice of the peace in those parts, not knowing any more convenient way to have her apprehended, than to desire him to take the pains either to travel himself to Harling Hall, where she was, or else to cause her, by his letter, to come before him, where she might lay in good bonds with securities for her appearance before the bishop of Ely, or other the high commissioners, to answer such matters as she might be charged withal, which perhaps might fall out (as he wrote) worse than they knew of; "for surely," as the bishop added, "there is a wicked nest of them together, as he had been informed." He further excited the said justice by telling him, "That the travail herein would be acceptable to God, and profitable to the commonwealth." This was writ in February. But he being justice of the peace for Suffolk, and Harling Hall lying in Norfolk, he could not meddle therein; desiring only sufficient warrant, "and then," he said, "he would be ready not only to fetch that lady, but any other papist whatsoever within either of the two shires," praying his lordship to follow this matter which was so well begun. The issue was that the bishop, as he wrote to the bishop of Ely, procured a warrant under three of their hands, who were commissioners, to call the lady Huddleston to

further efforts. On the u
April, 1622, a musket bein
him in the church, the Cat
him to leave the place. On
to Gruch he was met by t
soldiers, with a minister at
stopped and commanded h
their sect. "I am sent,"
confute, not to embrace here
death." He was instantly
the ground. "O Lord, forgiv
he said, raising himself on hi
know not what they do. L
mercy on me. St. Mary,
Another stroke clove his sk
to rise no more but as a c
His body is in the Capuc
Weltkirchen, of which he w
at his death. St. Francis
preaching the faith in the
Switzerland, was repeatedly e
from the violence of the Calv
whom attempted to assassi
were prevented by the arm o
ever, with ingenious cruelty
sometimes avoided open viol
gium, four Franciscans being
zium, in 1579, were compe
fine sand, and then they wer
nothing had been done to th
was the speedy result.† I
thirty-two Franciscan martyr
VIII., were caused to die by

f drollery" which was in the men who cted it, and which they declare they uch in combination with their other ea. Sir Thomas More, who observed did not see it in that light. "You f the new learning," he said, "boast e have taken away hypocrisy. It may : but of this I am right well assured, e have left impudence in its place." French clergy in many places were d to be dispensed from the tonsure in quence of their multiplied insults;* ater times, to shun the same derision, ave often been disguised. Ridicule old weapon against the just; as when derided his father,† the men of el, Gideon‡ and Michol, David.§ iah testifies that the prophets generally nade objects of derision. Among the s there were scoffers who attacked the ians with ridicule; but the new race ecutors evinced towards them a genius ge irony; resembling more that which ted the wagging of heads before the or that of the Merovingian tyrants to tims of their unimaginable cruelty, e heartless pleasantry of Lucian.

jest of Henry VIII. respecting the g of a cardinal's hat to Fisher, so like the Austrasian duke Raukhing, who at he would keep his oath at the prayer iest not to separate a young peasant is wife, and caused them to be buried the same grave, was characteristic men who followed his banner. It was ered so admirable that they were never of repeating it, and improving it, as e witnessed in the pages of Hall, and shed, and Fuller, and other of their The gibes with which Calvin, grin- ith ghastly feature, insulted the dying s of Servetus, imploring mercy; the ies of Knox, and of Theodore Beza, n the latter laughs at the cutting off nd of the aged and beloved Villebon sword of Vieilleville;‖ the witty de- actised in so many places of strewing glass where barefooted pilgrims were to walk, are other instances in proof. utheran irony, so bitter and bloody, ten literally like that which prompted rds, "He trusted in God. Let Him him if He will have him. Prophesy s, O Christ, who it is that struck thee. ved others, Himself He cannot save." utheran mockery cannot be translated for common readers, or described without offending them. It was not mirth; the foes of the Church had little cause for it; but it resembled that which Dante found in Malebolge, when the snarling souls of the tormented looked to their leader for a signal, which he gave as Luther said he would himself reply. And in truth, had their triumphant march been seen, a poet, to have witnessed demoniac manners, needed not a journey into hell. Against the children of the beatitudes, whether in cowls or mitres, in knightly steel or the poor peasant's garb, a true satanic ridicule was directed, when the persecutors of the sixteenth century thought to laugh down the Catholic Church.* The force of scenic exhibitions was very generally employed. In Holland, in 1602, the mass was mimicked by thirty soldiers, wearing chasubles and copes, in the town of Edan.† The same blasphemous buffoonery was adopted in England, and indeed, every where. Heresy was like the frozen circle where Dante marked a thousand visages, which the keen and eager cold had shaped into a dog-gish grin, whence crept a shivering horror over him. Again, two other features of the pagan persecutions distinguished the conduct of the false reformers. There was a kind of astonishment expressed at the fact of men refusing to renounce their faith, as if it was a certain magical infatuation; and there was an agreement to punish them as offenders against the laws of the state. They sought also to disgrace them by distributing calumnies and blasphemies among the people, as was done of old by order of Maximian. It startles a reader not familiar with the early history of the Church to hear St. Clement of Alexandria saying, "Therefore, the Christian is no atheist: for this is what I had to demonstrate to the philosophers; and nothing disgraceful does he ever commit."‡ St. Augustin says, that the pagans of his time used to cover the Church with opprobrium, saying, "You corrupt discipline, and pervert the morals of the human race;" and if they were asked how, that they replied, "By allowing men to do penance, and promising impunity after sins and forgiveness."§

Catholics in this last persecution were similarly ranked with atheists and perverters of morals. They were stigmatized as enemies of the Gospel, public enemies, traitors. In vain did Sir Thomas More declare that

oquet, Hist. des Parl. de Norm. iii. 14.
n ix. 22. ‡ Jud. viii. 6.
teg. vi. 16. ‖ Hist. Eccles. ii. 670.

* Turris Babel, sive de Mortifero Linguæ veneno. Auct. J. Pelecyo, ii. 15. † Id ii. 16.
‡ Strom. vii. 9. § In. Ps. ci.

he would meddle with no matter of this world, but that his whole study should be upon the passion of Christ, and his own passage out of this world. The king was no less resolute in affirming that he was the occasion of much grudge and harm in the realm, and that he had an obstinate mind and evil towards him, and malignant. While John Forrester, the Franciscan friar, confessor of queen Catherine, was burning at a slow fire in Smithfield, these verses were distributed amongst the crowd:

"Forestus frater, mendacii pater,
Qui mortis author voluit esse suæ,
Per summam impudentiam
Negavit Evangelium
Et regem esse caput Ecclesiæ."*

To the affecting letter addressed to him by the queen when he was in prison among felons, as also to that written to him by the Lady Elizabeth Hammon, one of her maids of honour, this holy man sent very sublime answers, saying, that it was not for a friar who had lived sixty-four years, forty-three of which were spent wearing the habit of St. Francis, to fear death, and asking their prayers, foreseeing the horrible tortures that he was about to suffer.† But, if we could resume this theme, there would be no end of citing instances to show with what a true spirit these Catholics met death. Camden, with all his prejudices, is forced to acknowledge that Sir Thomas More's behaviour in the last act was not unbecoming the primitive age of the Christian Church. "Patiendo magis quam faciendo contumelias Christi fundata est Ecclesia," said St. Jerome;‡ and so it continued to be maintained whoever might be its foes. But to return to the persecutors. Like the Arians, in the instance of their cruelty to St. Eustathius, patriarch of Antioch, the rage of these men was not satisfied with deprivation and banishment. They employed subornation of perjury in order to overwhelm their victims with disgrace.

The chiefs of the persecution in the sixteenth century were not apprentices in the detracting art. Balduinus relates that Calvin, when at College, did nothing but calumniate his fellow-scholars; so that they surnamed him Accusativus, saying that John can decline as far as the accusative.§ The calumnies employed by him against illustrious Catholics are not less prodigious than those of Luther himself. By all the progeny that sprang from both, Catholics were represented as men that ought to be expelled in order to stop a plague, as the Pagans supposed that the Jews were from Egypt, being genus hominum invisum Deis, men of an absurd and sordid rite, as Tacitus calls them:* in banishing whom a king would only imitate Antiochus, endeavouring demere superstitionem, quo minus teterrimam gentem in melius mutaret. They were said also to be enemies of their own nation; but as they might have replied in the words of an enemy, "Certainly if ignorance and perverseness will needs be national and universal, then they who adhere to wisdom and truth are not therefore to be blamed for being so few as to seem a sect or faction." "Little reason is there in truth," said they, "that Protestants should clamour so loud as they do, and cry out nothing but, Treason, treason! against religious and good men. They tell the world that no less than two hundred priests have been executed in England for treason since the Reformation, which is certainly a very heavy report, and sufficient to make them odious to all the world, if it were true; but they call that treason in England which in all parts of Christendom besides is both called and counted religion and the highest virtue. For we beseech them to tell us, Of what treason do they convict us at any time, but the treason of being a priest? the treason to say mass? the treason to refuse the oath? the treason to absolve penitents confessing their sins? the treason to restore men to the communion of the Church? the treason to preach and administer Christ's sacraments? the treason to be bred up in the seminaries, where only, as things now stand in England, they can be Catholicly bred."†

"How strange," continues this ancient author, "that the laws of England should make a function so ancient and honourable in England as the priesthood once was, to be treason? which certainly is the same function now that it was then, when it was most honoured; and hath suffered no more change from what it first was than St. Paul's church hath suffered change since the time it was first built by king Ethelbert; that is, it is grown old indeed; and for papists, if men go about to make them a sect, and endeavour to suppress them under that notion, truly we shall be found

* Wadding, Annal. Min. tom. xvi. † Id.
‡ Epist. xxxix. § Audin, Hist. de Calvin, i.

* Lib. v. 3. † Jerusalem and Babel, 531.

very ancient sect; and I believe it will uble the best doctor in England to as- gn us any other sect-master, any other thor and founder of our profession, than r Saviour Christ and St. Peter."*
Of such charges we may say, in the words Philemon,

'Ο λοιδορῶν.—ἐὰν ὁ λοιδορούμενος,
Μὴ προσποιῆται, λοιδορεῖται λοιδορῶν.

Of the reality of these laws against the iesthood we can still witness monumental oof in those secret recesses for conceal- ent, so artfully contrived in the old houses Catholics in England, which, where minds ave been well directed, as in that vene- ble hall to which my memory will ever vert when it seeks to be consoled by a ving image of the ancient honour, are own to some favoured few, as things too eply interesting to be made the theme of lk, or even to be seen by those whom riosity alone impels, but which should be proached with profound religious sym- athy, as some holy spot which is the ob- ct of a pilgrimage, and to which only the evout can wish to penetrate. Well may ey be prized; for they are true sanc- uaries, hallowed by the sufferings of bles- d confessors who endured persecution for ie sake of justice. No bed of honour in ie old discipline of knights, no sacred age of martyrology chanted at the con- nt board, can be more fraught with a ower of inspiring hearts with a love of onour and of highest truth, than these ark vaults, under the sunken and uneven oor of the time-worn oak-panneled room. r beneath the tower's winding-stairs, which eem to admit of no space hidden from the re of him who mounts them; when a oble and pious hand raises the mysteri- us door over which massive beams seem esting, and reveals to a stranger, impress- d with awe and reverence, the secret tra- ition of the family.

The legal character of this persecution as not a novelty to the Church, further nan in extent and duration. Julian's policy esembled that of these later days. He isqualified Christians for bearing offices n the state. He forbade them to teach ither rhetoric or philosophy: he com- nanded by an edict, that they should be o longer called Christians, but Galilæans; nd though he pretended toleration, he estroyed more souls by recompenses, ca- resses, and stratagems, than he could have done by cruelties. He levied heavy fines, and seized the estates of Christians, saying in raillery, that he did it to oblige them to follow the poverty which their religion re- commended. He often put them to death, but on other pretences, that he might de- prive them of the honour of martyrdom.

On the rise of the new opinions, or rather, as Nicholas Heath, archbishop of York, styled them in the House of Lords, in 1559, "of the errors and sects of an- cient condemned heretics," kings and rulers, lords and commons, allowed them- selves to be led on by that mania which had formerly seemed inherent to the By- zantine throne, of forcing their ideas as laws upon the Church. For more than two centuries laws more violent than those of Valerian or Diocletian were put in full force in England; and thousands suffered either death, or confiscation, or exile. It was the same elsewhere. "Geneva," says Audin, "resembled Rome under Tiberius."* Shakespeare seems to have had the false reformers and their victims in his view, when he made Aaron say, "Swear!" and Lucius to reply, "Who should I swear by? Thou believ'st no God; then how canst thou believe an oath?" For upon this retort he makes Aaron answer thus:

"What If I do not? as indeed I do not:
Yet—for I know thou art religious,
And hast a thing within thee called conscience,
And twenty popish tricks and ceremonies,
Which I have seen thee careful to observe,—
Therefore I urge thy oath."†

The progeny of Calvin, who from France flocked to Geneva, the German princes who embraced the reform, and the English nobles who assisted to establish it, might all have held this language.‡ Lords and Commons showed themselves wiser in legis- lating against priests and monks, and Catholics generally, men, women, and children than they have proved since in regard to the ordinary objects of law. It must be confessed that he who first guided them on this path, like the barbarous Cy- clops, did his business well, πάντα κατὰ μοῖραν.§ All was deeply planned, and ex- ecuted with an infernal malice. Thus in Elizabeth's time we find, in a state docu- ment of 1558, entitled Device for Alter- ation of Religion, these cruel words:

* Jerusalem and Babel, p. 568.

* Hist. de Calvin, ii. 172.
† Tit. Andron. act v. sc. i.
‡ Audin, Hist. de Calvin, ii. passim
§ Odys. ix.

"Ireland also will be very difficultly staid in their obedience, by reason of the clergy that is so addicted to Rome. What remedy for these matters? Some expense of money in Ireland." The blood boils in one's veins when one reads the seventh article of the propositions sent to the king by both houses so late as in 1642, in which they entreat his majesty "to consent to such a bill as shall be drawn for the education of the children of papists by Protestants in the Protestant religion." Laws were framed with a design, rendered feasible by the moral consequences of the new opinions, to separate man from wife, children from parents, brothers from sisters, friends from friends. They were so subtle that they reached the heart; and he who could not accuse his friend of open wrong might say, complaining with the poet,

> "I have not from your eyes that gentleness
> And show of love as I was wont to have."

The odious letter of the unfortunate youth, Edward VI. to the princess Mary his sister, is an instance. The persecution thus was alternately artful and atrocious, like that of Pharaoh, who made the people of God hateful to his subjects, while seeking means to destroy them. "Come," said he, "let us oppress them wisely, prudently;"* that is, secretly and craftily. He did not, indeed, force the Israelites to quit their religion, nor to sacrifice to strange gods; they were suffered to live, and to possess what was necessary to life; but their life was made insupportable by loading them with labours, and giving them governors, who oppressed them. At length he proceeded to open persecution, and condemned their male children to be drowned in the Nile.†

The persecutors of whom we speak aimed also at humiliating their victims by a thousand legal disabilities, resembling those which the Mahometans imposed in the middle ages upon Christians in the east; but their cruelty descended to a meanness, to which nothing parallel could be found out of their immediate sect, as in the conduct of the lords in the time of Edward IV. in persecuting Mary. In all this too, as the Viscount Montagu said in the House of Lords, "the legislature was only lending itself to the designs of those who looked to wax mighty and of power by the confiscation, spoil, and ruin of the houses of noble and ancient men."

But of this fearful union of all persecuting elements, the most calamitous result as affecting the present condition of the just militating in the Church on earth, has not yet been considered. Terrible as it appears when we survey its sanguinary, insidious, and legislative character, it is when regarded chiefly as disturbing the pacific order of social and religious principles and consequences illustrated, in the last two books of this history that its native deformity is most clearly seen.

"While the pope reigned," said Luther, in his letter to the people of Antwerp, "one heard of no troubles." To whatever cause he might ascribe it, the fact was so. "All the world," as Florimond de Raimond says, writing to Stephen Pasquier, "was living in peace on the subject of religion, every one continuing tranquilly in the faith of his fathers, till the beginning of the sixteenth century, when all became disunited and divided into sects and heresies, which covered the whole earth with misery and desolation."* This counsellor of the parliament of Bordeaux, who reaped his full share of calumny, describes the happy pacific state of Italy at the very time when these horrors reigned in Germany, France, and England. Nothing can be more delightful than his faithful representation of the religious and social tranquillity which that faithful land enjoyed under the holy Pope Clement VIII. whose labours to promote peace were extended over the whole Church;† and it is idle to think of justifying the disturbance of this order by a false statement, and a poetical figure, saying that "the European world was in a state of stagnant putrescence, loathsome accursed death, and that a paroxysm was necessary to cure it." France herself, as we have seen, had appeared a paradise to those who visited it in preceding times. The state of England during the previous reign of Henry VII. was prosperous and powerful; and to the social order of Germany in the days of his youth, Luther used continually to recur with a melancholy pleasure. But no sooner had the destructive element of heresy been introduced, than all this beautiful world of faith was broken up and dissolved. That lying, virulent, sedi-

* Exod. x. 11.
† Bossuet, Elévations.

* Lettres De Pasquier, xx. 5.
† Hist. de Naissance, Progrez et Décadence de l'Hérésie de ce Siècle, tom. i. liv. iii. 4.

ce was like the tongue of the
s of black Night,

φέροντα πάντα μὴ πράσσειν καλῶς

for fruit that nothing should be
harvest which the sons of Eve
ing, by their own avowal, to the
our.
heretical insanity," to use the
St. Augustin,

t the author of this evil.
Now plenteous, as thou seest
cts of hateful strife, hateful to all,
heaviest by just measure on thyself
adherents: how hast thou disturb'd
s blessed peace, and into nature brought
?.....
. How hast thou instill'd
ice into thousands once upright
hful, now prov'd false?"

rat omnia irrita oblivio, si potest;
utcumque silentium tegat," said
n one occasion of the belief and
d wishes of his fellow-men.† We
ppears from our procrastination,
is pass by strict necessity not by
have shrunk from looking upon
ast to the peaceful bliss of Catho-
during Ages of Faith. All my
ns strove to check my onward
at oft-times with purpose to re-
steps, I turned; but silence here
; and though I unfold that which
h many wofully disrelish, at last,
ate, it must be seen.
e Church, as we have shown from
n the nations and ages faithful to
e vision of peace, as in Jerusalem;
arose a race of persecutors, "who
rusalem, who hated peace," as St.
says, "who wished to break unity,
not believe true peace, but who
ed a false peace to the people.
he continues, "cannot be with
rit, who diffuse dissensions; for,
e, they would have loved peace
unity."‡ It was their principle
nd all unity, to divide each king-
n attacking both moral and social
heir state-maxims were subversive
eace and security of every state.
stroying all that had been held
fore their time, the false reformers
even the political instincts of
o that," as Florimond de Raimond
"if some have said truly, that

. Eumen. 831. † Liv. xxviii. 29.
‡ In Ps. cxxiv.

heresy was a false opinion, or an error opposed to the truth of faith; destined to attack the 'Christian religion,' as the Emperors Gratian and Theodosius have described it, others have no less truly said, that it was an invention of the author of discord, the god of division, sown in the world as universal solvents to decompose the greatest and most flourishing monarchies, and reduce all things to a chaos of confusion and disorder."*

"See," says De Raimond, "how these bands, separated from their first mother, after quitting her banner, tear even one another, anathematize each other, attack, defame, reproach, and insult each other."† "In Geneva, Berne, and in every other city," says De Haller, "Protestantism produced nothing but hatred and discord, even among its own followers,—discord between states, discord between the citizens." "I never stop one mouth of the devil," says Luther, speaking of the reformers who opposed him, "without his opening ten others against me." How many would he find open now?

The spectacle of their dissensions, and of the domestic persecutions to which they led, was enough to deprive a country of its joy. Each Catholic, however he might have hoped to pass his life, silent, unobtrusive, far from the spectacle of human vanity, felt the wound in his heart of hearts. "Accursed and unquiet wrangling days," he cried; "how many of you have mine eyes beheld!" Lord Clarendon says, that "the disease of murmuring became almost incorporated into the nature of the nation." "Ventum jam ad finem esse," he might have said in the words of Livy, "domi plus belli concitari, quam foris." Indeed, from the precise fruits which the false reform bore, the Catholic Church from the earliest times had daily besought God to deliver all her children; so that, with a mind prophetic of the woes that were preparing, she seemed to have composed those lines of the meridian hymn:

"Extingue flammas litium,
Aufer calorem noxium,
Confer salutem corporum
Veramque pacem cordium."

But these fruits were to be gathered; and neither bodies nor souls were to have peace any longer. And now, says Feckenham, abbot of Westminster, in 1559,

* In Ps. tom. ii. liv. i. c. i.
† Id. liv. ii. 13.

"sithence the coming of our most sovereign lady, Queen Elizabeth, all things are turned upside down; obedience is gone; humility and meekness are clear abolished, as though they had never been heard of in this realm." We might address each of these innovators in the words of Æschylus:

Ὀρφεῖ δὲ γλῶσσαν τὴν ἐναντίαν ἔχεις.
Ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἦγε πάντ' ἀπὸ φθογγῆς χαρᾷ.
Σὺ δ' ἐξορίνας νηπίοις ὑλάγμασιν
*Ἄξῃ, κρατηθεὶς δ' ἡμερώτερος φάνῃ.**

"What are the consequences of their pretended reform? It has produced," continues Fénelon, "nothing but scandals, troubles, disputes, and irreligion." Under its fairest forms, it has persecuted with systematic cruelty, so that it resembles a grove planted around the temple of the Furies. Its ordinary fruits were rebellion, insolent defiance of its natural rulers, tyranny, oppression of the people, bloodshed, destruction, war, religious wars, intestine wars, national wars, fulfilling the sentence of Almighty God, "Non est pax impiis."

For the religious wars of France there is a trilogy of Protestant historians,—La Place, La Planche, and La Pepiniére. Besides these, in later times, Theodore Agrippa D'Aubigny, grandfather of Madame de Maintenon, chief of the same party, left a work, breathing the inspiration of a warrior. The Catholics had no contemporary historians for the epoch of these wars. All the activity was on the side of their opponents, "which," adds Michelet, "is unfortunate." Among the historians of a later period, who described these wars from what they had heard or read, may be distinguished De Thou; often exact, but timid, and, in regard to the parliament, worthless; for being a parliamentarian, he did not dare to record the truth, whether good or evil. Pierre Matthieu must also be examined; one of the grand historians of the French language, strictly impartial, and, in regard to style, magnificent. An earlier work, however, too remarkable to be passed over in silence through deference to those who charged it with partiality, is the great history of the rise of heresy by a counsellor of the parliament at Bourdeaux, Florimond de Raimond, whose convictions are more energetically expressed from their being the fruit of his own long experience and personal observation.

* Æschyl. Agam. 1615.

Michelet supposes that Bossuet had this work open before him, when he was writing his history of the variations; and he takes occasion to observe, that these great legists of the south are not sufficiently known to his contemporaries. As sources of historical literature relative to the same period he cites also the admirable literary works of the great Jesuits of that time. The injustice of the three last centuries caused, he says, the Catholic writers to be laid aside, and would suffer no others to become popular but the Protestant books; which are, in effect, like Lethe, or that place seen by Dante, "whither to lave themselves the spirits go;" excepting, indeed, that the blame of those who seek to efface it here, has not been by penitence removed. However, as late authors say, a great change in this respect has taken place in men's ideas. By dint of research and comparisons, one grave historian even says that he arrives at this historical formula—to regard as false whatever the chiefs of the reform adduce as true, to count glorious whatever they stigmatise, to crown and extol all that they degrade and outrage; and he assures us, that if they apply this formula, we shall never be mistaken:* words which may seem quick and rash until they have been weighed by an accurate and experienced intelligence, and then it will be found that they are as measured as they are mournful. Those who have a right to be heard, from having studied history, like this author, at its sources for five-and-twenty years, will admit that they have discovered the rule long since by themselves, and that, to doubt its validity, would in them be affectation. But having pointed at the sources, let us ask now, What, upon the whole, is the information? Let the eye-witness, let the older observers speak: "This discourse demands audience, gentlemen Lutherans, Calvinists, and Zuinglians," says Florimond de Raimond; "open your eyes through the cloud of dust rising over so many demolished churches. Penetrate the density of the smoke of so many conflagrations; contemplate the kingdoms that are covered with sepulchres and cemeteries of new-made graves: you will recognise the work of your fathers and progenitors, authors of these desolations; and you will acknowledge deplorable traces of their fury and devastation."†

* Audin, Hist. de Calvin, ii. 407.
† Hist. de la Naissance, &c. l. i. 6.

During the first seven or eight years, it was a war of fierce conflicting tongues, of insults, calumnies, and lies against the Holy See. "After I am dead," said Luther, my ashes will make war against this papal crowd." That did not look like the man of "peaceable disposition," which some pretend that he was. Then, at the sound of his trumpet, the subject began to arm himself against his prince, the vassal against his seigneur, the citizen against his magistrate; and the sweetness of peace was changed into a cruel and lamentable war. Thenceforth we read only of leagues, massacres, seditions, devastation of provinces, and, in short, of a world of miseries and unprecedented calamities. Luther being dead, all Germany prepares for war.* Then each prince was like Alaric, who thought that an invincible fatality drew him on to attack Rome. After mounting thrones, heresy, in the league of Smalkalde, swears against the chief of the empire an eternal war. Spent with crimes, and having desolated Germany, it calls to its aid the savages of the north, and causes the thirty years' war. Then follow the wars of the United Provinces the intestine wars of Switzerland, and the religious wars of France, reviving the horrors of the invasion of Attila, the religious wars in Ireland, and the long series of cruelties and insults which marked the policy of its government. Alas! poor country; thou canst not witness the monuments of early Christianity, without how the pagan mind could persecute without being reminded of thine own sufferings. The Roman orator, describing Sicily under Verres, seems to have foreseen and copied thee: "O, spectaculum miserum atque acerbum!"† As De Haller says, the introduction of Protestantism was every where with violence and oppression. In general, it only advanced in proportion as armed battalions took possession of territories.‡ "On such a day the divine justice has passed by such a village, and hearts were converted," say the preachers, meaning that the people on the devoted spot were obliged to capitulate and surrender. "We conjure all men of good faith," says a late historian, "to say whether the conversion of Switzerland was effected by other means."§ When preaching, swords, and cannon had proved ineffectual to shake the faith of a canton, Zurich and Berne attempted to reduce it by famine, seizing the passes, blocking up the roads with fragments of rocks, and burning the crops.* "As soon as peace was made," says Florimond de Raimond, "between the princes of Germany, by the last defeat of cruel Albert, war began again between the writers; then followed colloquies and synods, divisions of states, and decrees that all subjects should follow the religions of their respective princes. Meanwhile, in England, martyrs followed martyrs to the block. Open your eyes, gentlemen who pretend to be reformed, glorious title that you acquire in France, by strokes of the sword and the firing of cannon. Contemplate the picture of your poor country bathed in blood. Ah! how easy it is to ruin and destroy! but to build again, gentlemen, ah! there's the difficulty. You reformers of the world know how to pull down, but not to build. Marvellous workmen you are, who in such brief space have destroyed the labour of twelve hundred years, and caused more arms to be wielded than ever the Romans moved for the conquest of the universal world. To this day, that we escape from these horrors, you have caused in France nine drawn battles, more than two hundred great engagements, which, in loss of men, equal many regular battles, taken or retaken, sacked or resacked nearly all the cities and castles of the kingdom, and made to pass by the sword or fire more than a million of your fellow-citizens."† "You know," he continues, "how the Christian religion began in peace and benediction and salutations of peace; but this libertine religion comes forth from its mother ready-armed with teeth and claws; it comes forth to the sound of trumpets and drums, to the clink of arms; and before it can speak, moves its hands, and fills the world with terror. See the difference between the two. See on one side the minister flanked in the midst of bands and squadrons of warriors, and on the other, the apostles of Jesus Christ, surrounded with persecutors. Wolves here and lambs there. Serpents and dragons and simple doves. There, armed brethren, breathing only carnage, and carrying a Gospel presented like a musket at their God and at their king. Here, the ancient champions of faith, exposing themselves to death to honour their master, to save kings and people breathing

* Liv. iii. 1, 2. † Ver. Lib. v.
‡ Hist. de la Reforme en Suisse, 20.
§ Audin, Hist. de Calvin, 1.

* Audin, Hist. de Calvin, i. 232.
† Flor. de Raim. tom. i. liv. v. 13. vii. c. i.

were these consequences unforeseen by the authors of this division. From the first, as we have seen, they proclaimed them as inevitable, so that it is by no means such "strange reasoning to charge the Reformation with them all." "Luther, to a slight observer," we are told, "might have seemed a man whose chief distinction was modesty, affectionate shrinking tenderness." It must have been to a very slight observer then. That seeming gentleness, however, would not have peace at any price. At first, it must have war with the scholastic philosophy, war with the popedom, war with theology, war with the sacerdotal hierarchy, against which it issued a treatise that might be said, as one of its biographers observes, to be written, not with ink, but with human blood: "Non atramento sed humano sanguine scripsisse videtur."† Then this was not sufficient, and he who was led by it exclaims, "I do not choose to turn a sword into a pen. The Word of God is a sword; it draws after it fire and ruin, scandal and perdition; it is like the bear on the high road, the lioness in the forest. If you understand the spirit of the reform, you must know that it cannot work without tumult and sedition. Talk not of my passion. See, nothing lasts that is done with calm. What will you? The Word of God never goes forth without trouble and tumult, and thunders on the

fundendo quam alii fun
precibus cœlum mereantu
and words such as these
need the avowal of their
had they been silent, or
avowed, they had not h
more. Judge then for t
those whom I so oft acc
they are and how grievou
who are the cause of all ou
is the state, where the fai
the present hour, some ar
in consequence of the b
they sowed three centurie

Let us only cast our ey
the region of peace, intell
which was traversed in th
and we shall feel the force
tion, which the Catholic
to sustain for adhering
which had governed it duri
Transgressing these, it f
nature, from its state in
while those ages lasted, s
discord, whether between
duals, were driven out fr
fines where they could t
and even frequently co
contemplative like Heaven
brooked not the words of
These knights of the old
with the fabled hero, tha
no longer, when men shou

skill prowess, is now called by us brigandery and wickedness."*

"Sire, je te prie que il te preingne pitié de moy et m'oste de ces guerres entre crestiens." Such was the prayer of the Seigneur de Brancion, as Joinville relates, uttered with a loud cry before the altar, at which the brave knight knelt immediately after a battle. But what a change of sentiments on this head attended the decline of faith! Let us fix our eyes attentively at this feature, denoting the love of war in the character of the false reformers, to whom the Bible appeared as the true Arbre des Batailles, the manual for those who were to fight.

We have seen that, in Ages of Faith, wars were sanctioned in certain cases, as necessary for the interests of peace, and that "fortitude which defends by war a country from barbarians, or protects the weak at home, or allies from plunderers, was deemed full justice," as St. Ambrose says.† But how great was the distance between this just estimate of the lawfulness of war and the spirit of the innovators of the sixteenth century, who sought by force of arms to propagate their religious views, and who waged it recklessly on every occasion when their passions raged! Theirs was a spirit essentially opposed to the meek virtues which engender peace, rendering men similar to him who was most hateful even to the Homeric deity, for loving always discord, wars, and battles. We have seen that those who took part even in just wars were regarded as requiring penance to efface the contamination of blood, so conformable was the general impression to the judgment of Plato, when he said, "neither will we place arms in temples, as offerings to be suspended from the walls, for whether these be taken from Greeks or strangers, we should rather fear that there would be a pollution to the temple which received them!"‡ we have heard the reiterated admonitions that were then addressed to all who advocated war; who were told, as by the poet:

"Lordinges, ther is ful many a man
That crieth werre, werre, that wote
Ful litel what werre amounteth;"

we have marked the affecting entreaties of holy men, resembling in their end the concluding words of the Orestes:

ἵτε νῦν καθ' ὁδὸν, τὴν καλλίστην
Θεὸν Εἰρήνην τιμῶντες.

"May length of days be in thy country's right hand, and in her left riches and honour: may all her ways be pleasantness, and all her paths peace;" we have even seen how general was that conviction to which Plato looked as conducing to an ideal social perfection, "that no one should ever hate another, and that it was not holy to have an enemy," which was the lesson imparted to youth from earliest years, as well as to manhood and to old age, which, as Plato says, "would supersede all those Homeric notions of martial glory,"* which he considered so dangerous, that, on that account, he would exclude the poems which instil them from his republic. But while Catholics generally were acknowledging, with the Marquis de Pescara, the difficulty of serving at the same time Mars and Christ, as Brantome relates in his Memoirs, the preacher of the new opinions was invoking πολύδακρυν Ἄρηα, and exercising the two-fold office of minister and captain. How would it be possible to make mention of forcing new opinions in religion upon a faithful peasantry, at the point of the bayonet, under the banner of kings, or elsewhere, of rebellion against kings who stood faithfully for the Catholic religion, of storming of cities, and of the carnage of drawn battles in a civil war, without speaking of this ambiguous personage, the black-robed or surpliced captain? How could one record the injuries sustained by those who defended their religion and their homes against domestic enemies, without finding him in the fraternity of those who were leagued together to inflict them?

Many are the tearful consequences which nations suffered from the false reform; manifold the persecutions to which it led; τὸ δὲ μέγιστον, to use the words of Thucydides, πόλεμον ἀντ' εἰρήνης ἔχοντες· for, let it be observed, wherever they penetrated,

"Hic matres, miseræque nurus, hic cara sororum
Pectora mœrentum, puerique parentibus orbi
Dirum execrantur bellum ...." †

Some, indeed, whose habits of life, consequent upon the new opinions that were afloat, excluded all sympathy with the multitude, might be steeled to endure the spectacle of these woes. Joseph Scaliger frequently told Heinsius, that when in

* Rabelais. † S. Amb. de Off.
‡ De Repub. v.

* De Repub. ii. † Æn. xi. 215.

Paris, in time of the troubles, he studied Hebrew with such ardour, that he never once heard the noise of arms, the cries of children, the lamentations of women, or the clamour of men.* But such insensibility was never found in those holy cloisters, that we lift there up aloft, where the spirits of men contemplative groaned in pain at the sufferings of the faithful people.

The persecutors of the Catholic Church, in all ages, as in our own, have resembled Mahometans in this respect, that they heartily relished propagating their opinions by material force, by the sword. They have always been ready to advocate a war of religion, a war of principles, whether the banner be that of Gospel light, or liberalism, or conservatism. Their leaders have been inhuman, encouraging their bands in words like those of Cæsar to his troops.

"Sed dum tela micant, non vos pietatis imago
Ulla, nec adversa conspecti fronte parentes
Commoveant."†

Their followers, true lovers *μάχης δακρυοέσσης*, have been sanguinary and eager, like wolves, as Homer would say, to slay and to devour:

. . . . . οἱ δὲ, λύκοι ὡς,
Ἀλλήλοισι ἐπόρουσαν, ἀνὴρ δ' ἄνδρ' ἐδυνοπάλιζεν.

In the sixteenth century, historians expressly remark that the eagerness for war evinced by the people of St. Gall, and of other parts of Switzerland, was a new feature in the history of the country. On the slightest pretence they used to rush to arms and march in bands, carrying destruction with them, as Constance, Arbon, and many other states had reason to remember.‡ Theodore Beza boasts, indeed, of the fine discipline in the Calvinist army, of the strict morality, the daily psalmody, and prayers and sermons of the ministers; but, as Anquetil observes, "The result was a sombre and ferocious zeal, each soldier being convinced that the greatest cruelties were lawful for the cause of his religion;" and, for the better recruiting of their armies, some years later, this strict morality was found compatible with two of their most eminent chaplains publicly avowing that their own soldiers, when taken prisoners, and released upon their oaths that they would not again bear arms, were not obliged by that oath, and with the ministers absolving them thereof, in to engage them again in the work of lion. In presence of what Gibbon this high-spirited enthusiasm, which c the Protestant soldiers to shed tears, the primitive Moslems, when they held back from battle, one need not to Christian antiquity, to find a con or appeal to the canons of St. Basil, decreed that all who were polluted b bloody trade of a soldier should be rated during three years from the co nion of the faithful. The very p can supply it, and corroborate the opp views of glory, which prevailed in A Faith.

"Metellus tuus est egregius co says Cicero to Atticus; "unum repreh quod otium e Gallia nunciari non m pere gaudet. Cupit credo triump Hoc vellem mediocrius; cætera egreg To succeed in obtaining a triumph, i necessary, by the discipline of the rep that he should kill at least five thou men in battle. The humane mind o philosopher might therefore justly q his praise; and they who most ad the great men of the Protestant c would have done well to have imitate in their panegyrics. The admiral Co indeed, affected to be a lover of peace, in order to deceive King Charles, told that he thought of nothing but garde as a proof, showing to his messen little hoe which he held in his hand eight days afterwards he appeared i field, a true son of Mars, at the he his Protestant troops. Another king as an English historian attests, upo observation and experience he had i same party, reformed his first opinio to the virtue of his contemporaries, " ing those of the most unsuspected inte and of the greatest eminence for piety and devotion, most industrio impose upon and cozen men of w parts and understanding, upon the c of their sincerity to concur with in mischievous opinions which the not comprehend, and which cond to dishonest actions they did not in He saw the most bloody and inh rebellion, contrived by them who generally believed to be the most soli and zealous for the peace and pros of the kingdom, with such art and sul and so great pretensions to religion, t looked like ill-nature to believe that

* Heinsii Orat. ii. † Lucan. vii.
‡ Ildefons von Arx, Geschichte des S. Gall, ii. 404.

* Ep. i. 10.

ed persons could entertain any but
irposes. In a word, religion was
cloak to cover the most impious
, and reputation of honesty a stra-
to deceive and cheat others who
mind to be wicked. A barbarous
ody fierceness and savageness had
ished all relations, hardened the
and bowels of all men; and an
al malice and animosity had even
the most innocent and best-natured
nd nation upon the earth."* Thus
ly could the wiser sort pourtray
it prominent features of their own
Holy men had predicted the ex-
of this cursed flower from the
of vicious roots among the people.
e time of our ancestors," says a con-
ary, "Master Thomas Comette, and
John de Rochetaillade and other
reachers, declared that the preva-
f vices and worldly vanities would
deluge of woes: the people would
eve them; and lo! the tempest of
hered and burst, and left only ruins
olation, and, after a hundred years,
; yet over."†
r poor England should be a warn-
you," he adds; "what a stain has
ligence brought on our honour!
isgrace to our ecclesiastics! What
n our nobility! What turpitude and
tion on all the people!" Crœsus
l his having made war to the malice
demon: "For no one," he said,
be so senseless as to choose war
of peace: since in the one, children
eir fathers, and in the other, fathers
ildren." But of this choice, of this
of war, the persecutors under the
of "the Reform," were always guilty;
uld we err in attributing it to a
cause: for we might truly say of
n the words addressed by the ghost
is to the queen, in the oldest tragedy,

ἔγας τις ἦλθε δαίμων, ὥστε μὴ φρονεῖν
.‡

hose wars: but what wars! "Gen-
Huguenots," exclaims one who saw
avages, "there is not a town in
which you have entered that has
the difference between your entries

endon. † 2d Advertissement.
‡ Persæ.

and those of Catholic princes. Is there a country in Europe that has not heard the groans of the poor of Languedoc? What did you not perpetrate at Nismes? at Calvisson? at Pau? at Agen? at Figeac? at Ortez? at Mombrison? at Bazas? Demand of the Catholics of Bearn, some trait of your clemency; of the inhabitants of Angoulême, the history of your goodness; of the citizens of Montaut, in the country of Foix, the instances of your mercy." Who could describe the persecutions inflicted by this terrible invader on the citizens of Lyons in 1562, and of Rouen, in the same year? Holy was the quarrel on the part of those who tried to ward off such unutterable desolation, black and fearful was that of its instruments; yet, as the defenders of the League lamented, evil men would join even their ranks, as the clearest stream must receive filth in its passage.*

Catholics then had to undergo perils of false brethren, from men answering to the description given of Biron, who had been badly brought up; Calvinists at first by education, then Catholics for sake of interest, retaining through life only indifference for both; of moral discipline, either ignorant or disdainful, passionate, obstinate, presumptuous.

In that danger of the republic, while persecuted Catholics, as Pasquier recommended, "had recourse to God by humble prayers, processions, and public rogations, the corrupt men of the time, who had imbibed the spirit of infidelity, ridiculed such things, leaving the cross to good men, and taking up for themselves the staff of the cross, of that John represented by Rabelais."†

The numbers of the latter increased; for he says that "the wars between the two parties for the last thirty-four years in France, had brought nothing but atheism,"‡ which was to add the last drop to the cup of persecution that was then preparing, and which shortly afterwards, in another revolutionary torrent, was to overflow the world. Here would be place for fresh sights of horror; but the time permitted now is short, and, without attending to such recent woes,§ more not seen remains to see.

* Second Advertissement, &c. 13.
† Lett. liv. x. 6. ‡ Liv. vi. 26.
§ Vide Mém. pour servir à l'Hist. de la Relig. pendant le xviii. Siècle, tom. ii.

CHAPTER XII.

AMONG the blessed who were persecuted on account of justice by those who proclaimed themselves reformers of the Church, there was, however, a distinct class of sufferers, against whom their fury was directed in an especial manner. In the last book, we adduced the inhabitants of cloisters as constituting a distinct world, pre-eminent for its pacific character; and here we must return to that society apart, and view it exposed to all the sufferings resulting from the peculiar hostility of those who combated against truth and peace.

"All carnal are hostile to spiritual men," says St. Augustin; "all who covet present, persecute those whom they find meditating eternal things. These are the children of Edom, who cry, Evacuate, evacuate, usque dum fundamentum in ea. In every persecution of the Church this is the cry against the houses of the spiritual. The unhappy children of Edom, wasted with misery like the daughter of Babylon, subject to the devouring solicitude of Satan and his angels, following the concupiscence of the flesh, and all its strong allurements, exclaim, Away with them! let not one remain! down with them to the foundations! Thus do they cry; and thus are the martyrs crowned."*

Moreover, we must bear in mind that the desire of beatitude by suffering persecution for justice, entered into the original design of the monastic orders, which were a most natural and even necessary development of the spirit of Christianity. They were founded, as the Church was founded, on poverty, sorrow, contradiction, crucifixion, every species of worldly distress and humiliation. "Voluntary poverty," says St. Bernardine of Sienna, "and temporal persecution are sisters; and the keys of the kingdom of heaven are given to them both, not only promissively but possessively. Voluntary poverty is a kind of martyrdom; for it is externally lacerated by the points of the world, and internally stimulated by many vexations. In both is necessary that the mind should conq and in both we seek favour with God al without dreading to be confounded in sight of men."* Hence in the subl fresco of the lower Church of Assisi, w represents the marriage of Poverty Francis, the bride, though crowned roses and a radiant light, is represented bleeding feet, from having walked on th and sharp stones. The children of the w insult her; they are shown throwing st at her, and striking her, and loading her maledictions, while the choir of angels foundly adores the mystic union.†

It was the monastic spirit to covet persecution as the perfect joy. St. Fra walking once with brother Leon, sai him, "God grant that the minors may a great example of sanctity to the w world: nevertheless observe that this is the perfect joy. O Leon, though t should give sight to the blind, utteranc the dumb, and raise the dead, it would no the perfect joy." Then, after a time, he s "O brother Leon, if the brothers knew tongues and all sciences, if they had the of prophecy, and could read hearts, it wo not be the perfect joy." Again, after a pa he said, "O Leon, little sheep of God the minors should speak with the tongue angels, if they knew the course of the st the virtue of plants, the secrets of the ea the nature of birds, fish, men, and of animals, trees, stones, and water, it would be the perfect joy." And again further he said, "O brother Leon, if the broth should convert all infidels to the Christ faith, it would not be the perfect joy;" thus he continued to speak during ma miles, till at length Leon in surprise manded, "O Father, I pray you, in t name of God, tell me then, what is the p fect joy?" He replied, "When we sh arrive at St. Mary's of the Angels, w cold, and hungry; and after knocking at t gate, the porter will say, 'Who are you

* In Ps. cxxxvi.

* S. Bern. Sien. Serm. xii.

† Chavin de Malan, Hist. de S. François, 3

and we shall answer, 'Two of your brethren,' and he will rejoin, 'It is false; you are two idle vagabonds, taking alms from the really poor,' and we shall be left without all night in the snow; and we suffer this with patience, and without murmuring, believing charitably that the porter speaks thus by the permission of God; and when, constrained by the cold, we shall implore him to admit us, and he will be irritated, and will rush out to inflict blows with a great stick, and we shall bear it all, in the hope of participating in the sufferings of our blessed Lord Jesus Christ, then, O Leon! be assured that this will be the perfect joy; for amongst all the gifts of the Holy Spirit, which Christ vouchsafes to his servants, the greatest is to suffer for the love of God."*

"Persecutionem pro justitia sustinere," is an express prescript in the rule of St. Benedict,† which words have as much relation to the history as to the duty of the monastic state; for it sprang from persecution, and its office was to endure it meekly. "Hoc ad nostram claustralem pertinet disciplinam," says Petrus Cellensis, "pati et non facere mala: sed potius pro malis reddere bona."‡

What is the whole of monastic history, from the beginning to the present hour, but a history of persecution! What a number of blessed men persecuted for sake of justice, both by pagans and Moors, and heretics, pass before us in the Martyrologium Franciscanum, or in the archives of any other order? It is not singly either that they pass, but in whole troops at a time. Thus in the Franciscan Dypticks, we behold the passion of eighteen blessed friars, who suffered by the hands of the Turks in 1541 in the territory of Vienna; at Prague, in 1611, the passion of fourteen blessed brethren put to death by the heretics; in Palestine, in 1288, that of seven martyrs slain by the Sultan of Egypt; in Japan, in 1597, the passion of six friars along with seventeen lay brethren; at Damascus, in 1370, the passion of sixteen blessed brethren; at Potocia in Lithuania, that of five brethren slain by the Tartars in 1563; in Sicily, from 1243 to 1245, that of many brethren martyred by Frederic II. for fidelity to the Holy See; in 1343, in Vilna in Lithuania, that of thirty-six brethren slain by the Tartars; in 1340, at Armalech in Tartary, the passion of seven blessed brethren; in 1426, in an island near Cyprus, the passion of twenty-five blessed brethren, slain for the faith by the Sultan of Egypt; these were taken prisoners by his fleet on board a Venetian ship, and slain for refusing to renounce the faith; in Judæa, in 1367, on Mount Sion, the passion of twelve brethren suffered for the same constancy; in England, in 1538, the passion of thirty-two blessed brethren. Thus worthy standard-bearers of the Church were the friars, according to that verse of the Franciscan hymn, for the vespers of the seraphic father:

"Hunc sequantur huic jungantur,
Qui ex Egypto exeunt,
In quo duce, clare luce,
Vexilla Regis prodeunt."

If we open the older records of the Church, victims of the earliest persecutions, we find monks in the deserts of Africa, whither they had fled, and from which they sometimes returned to the cities of men, in order to quench their thirst for martyrdom. Although Gibbon chose to say that the ascetical life of the monks was one cause of propagating Christianity among the Gentiles, it is certain that the pagans regarded the monastic state with a horror which might excite the envy of those who have revived their spirit in modern times.

Hear how Rutilius Numatianus speaks of it. "Passing by the island of Gorgone, I detest these rocks, the scene of a recent shipwreck. There has perished one of my fellow-citizens, gone down alive into the tomb. He was like ourselves once, sprung from noble ancestors, in possession of a noble fortune, happy by an illustrious marriage: but instigated by the furies, he has abandoned men and gods; and now a credulous exile, he takes pleasure in a filthy retreat. Miserable wretch! who hopes to feed himself with celestial food, and who torments himself, more cruel to himself than the offended gods. Is not this sect then, I ask, more fatal than the poison of Circe? Circe used to change bodies; but now it is minds that are changed."*

The heathens spoke of the monks and hermits of the east with a contemptuous hatred, attaching ridicule even to their persons. Libanius, in his oration "pro templis," compares them to elephants, because some were corpulent men; all which attacks Heeren chronicles as very just and reasonable.†

* Fioretti di S. Francisco, vii. † Cap. iv.
‡ Pet. Cell. de Disciplina Claustrali ap. Dacher. Spicileg. iii.

* Itin. i.
† Geschichte der Class. Litterat. im Mittelalter, i. 69.

For, sooth to say, every thing scandalizes the blind world. John the Baptist, says St. Jerome, was a scandal. John! than whom no one born of woman was ever greater, who was called an angel, and who baptized our Lord; he scandalized the world, because he was clothed with camel's hair, and had a leathern girdle round his loins. Thus he adds, "We who are monks are judged; and men stigmatize us as sad."*

Julian detested the monks; he called them cynics, and charged them with every crime. Like all the early enemies of the Christians, he singled them out for especial persecution. In Carthage, during the greatest corruption of manners, the monks were exposed to unceasing persecution. Salvian, the great preacher of the age, says, that if a monk appeared in the city, the holy man was sure to be pursued with impious expressions of scorn and ridicule.

In the fifth century, the heathen philosopher Apollonius is represented inquiring of Zachæus the Christian, from what cause monks generally were held in such peculiar hatred by many. The other replies, that it is a useful inquiry; for "qui oderant justos delinquunt," and "væ his qui dicunt bonum malum!" To the objection that some were evil, he replies, "Persona magis quam ordo displiceat, nec jure despici propter aliquos possit quod magnanimiter servatur a multis."†

Such was the long continuance of pagan sentiments, that St. Jerome found the monastic state at Rome reputed as vile and dishonourable; and he says that Marcella was the first woman there who had the courage to rise superior to such a general prejudice: for she embraced its rule when St. Athanasius had instructed her on his coming to Rome.‡

The rise of the Arian heresy revived the persecution of monks. The Emperor Valens distinguished them as the proper objects of his barbarous rage. Vast numbers of them were massacred, or sent to labour in the mines. Lucius conducted a military expedition against them, as may be read in the history of Sozomen. St. Augustin says, that the Circumcellians used to insult the Catholics for admitting of monks. What do they mean by such distinction of names? they used to ask. But what need have we, he replied, to compare with words the sober with the intemperate, the considerate with the rash, the simple with the furious, the united with the dispersed?* Again, the monks were persecuted by Leo the Isaurian for that justice which consisted in refusing to adopt the opinion of the Jews and Arabs respecting images. Fanaticism and ferocity were never more cruelly evinced than when directed against the monks in the Iconoclastic war, during which multitudes of religious men perished. Then were they forbidden to take any more novices; then were they held up to the ridicule of the mob, and made to march with women in mock processions. In Constantinople no monks were left, or none had courage to appear.† The persecution extended not alone to the persons, but even to the buildings of the monks. They were destroyed, or applied to secular purposes, and converted into barracks. The destruction of libraries which then ensued induces even Heeren to complain, for once, as if he was not their foe.‡ Lachanodraco, whose name indicates perversity, prefect of Thrace, conducted all the monks and nuns of that province to Ephesus. All their monasteries, and furniture, and holy things, their books, animals, and all their habits and vestments, he sold, and gave the price to the emperor, and whatever books of the fathers and relics of the saints he could find, he burnt. This is what the old Greek historian says. St. Athanasius relates the saying of St. Anthony, that the devil hated all Christians, but that, above all, he could not endure monks. Accordingly we find that, even all through the middle ages, monks were continually singled out for persecution by that class of men whom the bestial life, and not the human, pleased.

Pierre Michault, in his Doctrinal de Court, which is an allegory, representing the vices and perils of his age, represents one of the personages, Derision, as laughing at everything holy and good, and forbidding men to respect monks and priests.

"Quant Jacobins ou les Frères Mineurs
Pour vous monstrer seront vos sermonneurs,
N'ensuivez point leurs ditz et leurs parolles;
Ains blasmez fort leur vie et leurs meurs,
Disant qu'ils sont plus horribles pécheurs
Que ceulx qui vont menant à leur escole:
Frère Gaultier, Damp Richard, Damp Nicole,
Ont fait cecy, et l'autre fait cela,
Et l'autre jour ung tel les dessela."

He concludes by recommending them to

* Epist. xix.
† Lib. iii. c. 3. ap. Dacher. Spicileg. x.
‡ Epist. ad Principiam Virg.

* In Ps. cxxxii. † In Gibbon. v. p. 100
‡ Gesch. der Class. Litterat. im Mittelalte i. 108.

praise and extol monks who wander and forsake their monastery.*

We should remark here by the way that the poets and satirists of the middle ages, who railed against the religious orders, invariably condemn the whole female sex as being without virtue! I do not remember an instance of one who ever attacked the religious orders, and at the same time respected women. The least objectionable of these satirists, because distinguished by works of another spirit, John Bouchet, in his poem, Les Regnards Traversans, denies that it is possible to find a virtuous woman; and in the next sentence brings a sweeping condemnation against all monks.†

In general, when hooded men are thus held up to scorn and hatred, it is when their revilers are about some act that has no relish of salvation in it; when, like the peasant who asked blessed Jordan, of Saxony, why the seasons were worse since the Dominican and Franciscan orders sprung up, they are under the influence of some base popular delusion, or coinage of a vicious brain; to whom the monks would reply, that if such observations were really true, it might be explained by the fact that, having the religious orders for an example, the world had less excuse for its wickedness: and that, as St. Augustin replied to the pagans, who said, "that no rain fell since the Christians arose, they ought rather to pray than to blaspheme."‡ But in their sickness, or hours of repentance, such men were disposed to treat them very differently.

Hans II., count of Raperschwil, in the fourteenth century, an enterprising noble, was bitterly hostile to the monks, seizing prisoner the Abbot Conrad, of Einsiedelin, and plundering his castle of Pfeffikon, so that he fell, in consequence, under the ban of the Church; yet, when the plague visited St. Gall, he became so altered a man and docile, that he not only fulfilled immediately the conditions on which it was offered to be withdrawn, but also took the abbey of Einsiedelin into the especial protection of his house. This was the plague which destroyed more than a third of the inhabitants all over Europe. In 1348 sixty thousand died in Basil, and ninety thousand in Lubeck. In the Necrology of St. Gall it is thus mentioned: "Anniversarium omnium virorum, mulierum et puerorum nostri monasterii, qui in 1349 in illa magna et inaudita epidemia obierunt; quorum numerus se extendet ad duo millia et circiter."*

Monks suffered persecution, too, in the middle ages, from men of violence and blood, for defending the material interests entrusted to them. Not to speak of their sufferings from kings and national enemies, as when, after the death of St. Boniface, St. Sturmes, the abbot of Fulda, was the object of calumny, accused of being the enemy of the state, and banished by king Pepin to a monastery of France, in the diocese of Rouen, which is supposed to have been Jumièges, from which his innocence being recognised, he returned to Fulda, where his monks received him with joy, and as when the Normans, under William the Conqueror, looked with an evil eye upon the monks of Croyland, it is certain that they were often troubled by profligate neighbours, who unjustly and cruelly afflicted them. Those of Croyland were sometimes exposed to great danger from the ferocity of persons of the fen.† The Benedictines, in their hymn, addressed the saints of their order, in these words:

> "Vixistis inter aspides,
> Sævisque cum draconibus;"

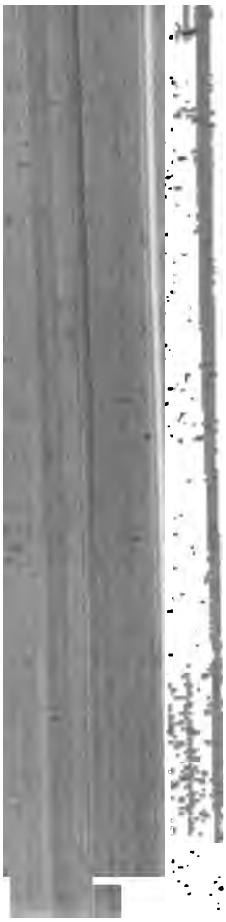
Though dead to all sentiments of avarice, so that they continue:

> "Gemmas et auri pondera
> Et dignitatum culmina
> Calcastis, et fœdissima
> Quæ mundus offert gaudia,"

yet had they to defend the property of their respective communities against unjust men, whose enterprises involved them often in grievous persecution. Thus Conrad, Baron de Seldenburen, who in 1100 founded that solemn abbey of Engelberg, amidst the snows of Unterwalden, in which he took the habit, being its first abbot, was martyred for maintaining the just cause of his monastery. Two seigneurs seized some property of the abbey of St. Gall in 758. St. Othmar, the abbot, complained to King Pepin; and this prince commanded the two usurpers to make restitution; but as they invented excuses for not complying, St. Othmar again set out to the court of Pepin. These lords, hearing of his intention, had him waylaid and then thrown into a dungeon; then they persuaded a bad monk to accuse him of a crime, for

* Gouget, Bibliothèque Françoise, tom. ix. 355. † Id. xi. 256.
‡ In Psalm lxxx.

* Necrolog. Fabar. sec. 14.
† Hist. Croylandens. in Rer. Anglic. Script. tom. i.



companions and entreated to return. "No," said he, "I will not return without fulfilling my business; and for the cause of the Church I am ready not only for labour, but to meet death." Thus he proceeded on his way, and entered the presence-chamber of the duchess, covered with blood; which she seeing, was greatly alarmed, and begged to know who had treated him so barbarously. "My lady duchess," replied the venerable old man, "it is you who have procured these wounds for me and this loss of blood." The duchess answered, "Most holy father, for all the wealth of the world I would not have done this to you." But he answered: "If you had not unjustly oppressed the monks of this convent, these things would not have happened to me; for, having heard a certain rumour as to what injuries you were about to inflict upon the said Church, that I might beseech you for them, I was delayed by making over-great haste; as the philosopher says, Every impetus has often difficulties: hence it was that I fell suddenly under my horse, and my horse fell upon me, and thus my face became bloody, as you now behold it." The duchess now began to grieve with great sincerity, and to ask if he could think of any medicine that would do him good. "If indeed, most noble lady, you wish me to be healed, the remedy is in your power." To which she replied, "That there was no pain or money that she would not expend to cure him." But Gobert answered: "If you will leave the said church in quiet possession of its rights, you will presently see

of his uncle, Eustach
the goods of some o
public road. We adde
to the lord bishop, wil
would oppose himself
house of Israel. Bein
of all defence, as well
lar, we beseech your
your right hand to hel
owed their safety often
impression that divine
to overtake all who
this we find allusion
Mount-Cassino: "The
nastery," says the writ
pered: witness the sud
Rodulf the Norman,
dred and fifty soldiers,
years."† "From th
rising place to its old
rian of St. Gall, "neve
to our monks persecuti
tractions, envyings; a
tity of Father Gall, or
were from time to time
tions, had borne assista
of Constance, or Abbo
have wholly destroyed
nothing."‡

"Know, O posterity
nicler of another monas
and his angels, from th
church, have much en
in various ways, causin
lations, and attempti
But the good Lord h

eping, who do not die with us dying.
he occasions which they seize are the
il envyings of abbots and monks; for
s the vulnerable side; and it is by the
of discord that they can best prevail."*
persecution, which we observed before
ng common to all just men, in conse-
e of their admonishing the great, fell
no class so heavily as upon monks,
s we remarked on the former occasion,
hesitated to exercise their ministry
the most cruel tyrants, as in the early
ce of Iscalicus, related by Sozomen.†
ephen, whom the monastery of Sher-
sent to Cîteaux as its third abbot,
uch offence to the duke of Burgundy
t allowing him to hold his court there,
e saw all his supplies at once cut off.
t, the venerable prior of St. Evroult,
g to dread the inflexible rigour of
William, resolved not to appear at
mmons; so on Saturday, the twenty-
h of January, after singing at vespers,
they came to the Antiphon, "Peccata
Domine," he left the church of the
, mounted his horse with two monks,
nes and Urson, and set out for Italy.
were the monastic sufferings during
iddle ages.

t as yet, whatever woes the monks en-
were light, compared with the perse-
which was preparing for them in the
nth century, when Luther and his
arose. Hitherto the prominent fea-
f their history in the west, during the
e ages, has been the amazing exten-
of their communities, and the favour
red on them by the rich and powerful.
neral the world itself seemed to admire
ay them reverence. During the wars
he Moors in Spain and other countries,
espect for their character was mani-
even by the infidels, who allowed
singular exemptions. Yusef Abul
, the Moorish king of Grenada, en-
in his warfare mercy and protection
friars and persons of holy and recluse
But now, before the ruinous sweep
overwhelmed all beauteous and holy
, approved and sanctified of yore, the
through many lands must suffer per-
on, such as they had never until then
enced. When the tempest, caused
rring minds, commenced, the monks
he first who felt its fury. The spirits
it impelled with stormy blast of hell,
ed with inconceivable rapidity their
task of desolation. None could the monks any longer trust amidst that deluge. Some of their chief assailants were men who had shortly before loaded them with favours. Henry VIII., only a few years before his revolt, had sent a thousand gold crowns to the minors at Jerusalem, assuring them that from his youth he had a peculiar affection for their sacred family, on account of its imitation of the evangelic life.* The persecution of the monks, though carried on amidst the shrieks, and moans, and lamentations of the multitude, was, nevertheless, accomplished chiefly by means of that mockery which we lately remarked as a characteristic of the agents who worked in the interest of the new opinions. "It was laughter," says a French historian, "which destroyed the monasteries of Germany."† "All your works take wonderfully," says Froben to Luther; relating, with the effusion of a bookseller's joy, their mutual successes. "I have not ten copies left. Never did any books sell so well."‡ Martinus Dorpius, complimenting Erasmus on one of his satires, says, "This book will gain you more favour, and friendship, and celebrity; I may add, also, more emolument."§ Ridicule and calumny were, in fact, the most effective weapons that could be employed against them in the beginning. "The monks defended themselves but ill; they were not accustomed to use the arms which their adversaries wielded with such skill. They could not laugh. Lucian and Aristophanes were unknown to them: they made use then of indignation, which was sometimes found in their masters—Scot, Durandus, Peter Lombard—minds the least addicted to raillery that ever existed; they were in consequence, sure to be defeated."‖ "Besides," let us observe, "the monks could not nourish rancour. Their rule enjoined the forgetfulness of injuries under penalty of sin:"¶ and the world was not disposed to listen to discussions in which no personal attacks were made.

We have already alluded to the number of friars who suffered martyrdom by the hands of these implacable men. The Martyrologium Franciscanum contains proof; and one may conceive the spirit with which they suffered, from reading the epitaph on the friars who were martyred by the heretics at Angoulême in 1568:

* Wadding, tom. vii. 279.
† Audin, Hist. de Luther, ii.
‡ Ap. id. ii. 225.
§ Philologic, Epist. 160.
‖ Id. ii. 50. ¶ Id. ii. 67.

ronic. Morigniacensis Mon. Lib. i. ap.
me, tom. iv. † Lib. vi. c. 40.

"Fœlices animæ, quorum per funera Christi
Crescit Evangelium! vester pro semine sacro
Est cruor, ille piis inolescit mentibus ultro,
Ut quanto magis innocui profunditur usquam
Sanguinis, hoc vernat magis, augescitque premendo,
Sancta fides viresque novas calcata resumit."*

Where the persecutions did not amount to imprisonment and death, it was insult, it was the mockery of ruffians on the highway. Thus St. Paschal Baylon, a Spanish Franciscan, being deputed to visit the general of the order then at Paris, for the affairs of his province, experienced on his journey thither cruel outrages from the Huguenots, who were then masters of almost all the towns through which he passed. Walking barefoot, and in his habit, the whole way he was in danger. Pursued with stones and staves, he on one occasion received a blow which maimed him for the rest of his life. A poor nun, sister Jeanne de Jussie, kept a journal of the horrors inflicted on Geneva by the reformers, till the day that she and her sisters were driven out and exiled; and a late historian declares that he knows nothing comparable for pathetic interest to her simple narrative. After the sermons of the preachers, she says, that the hearers "used to leap upon the altars like brute animals, and deride the image of our Redemption, dismount the bells, and raze the monasteries to the ground." "They often came to spy," she says, "round our convent of St. Claire, but our Lord intimidated them. The poor nuns were all night long at vigils, praying God for the holy faith and for the world; and all took the discipline after matins, begging mercy from God; and then, with lighted tapers, they said a part of the fine Benedicatur, bowing down to the very ground at the name of Jesus Christ; and the others hailed the wounds of our Lord, and the tears of the Virgin Mary, and other beautiful prayers. And every day they made the processsion through the garden, and often twice in the day, with the holy litany and barefooted, upon the white frost, to obtain mercy for the poor world."†

From the persecution of the Jesuits in somewhat later times heaven also reaped an abundant harvest. In vain had they sought to conciliate men who were scandalized at the simple poverty of the blessed F and of his holy family, by following counsels as the ancient moralist admini to his friend: "Asperum cultum et into caput, et negligentiorem barbam ev "Their self-devotion," to use the wo an historian, "their zeal, their calm jud in promoting the cause of the faith, them too terrible to its enemies to them to be regarded with less than hatred. They might embellish liter elevate philosophy, destroy paganism their motives were not of this world: efforts were against the spirit of the and the world had no sympathy with nor would it award to them the trib its praise. The prayer of their illus founder, pleading that their efficiency never be thawed away in the sunsh popularity, was heard in heaven; and the envy of some, the malice of other the hostility of many more, they cont to suffer persecution for the sake of ju

Among the aphorisms of the refo we read as follows: "Jesuitæ vero, maxime nobis opponunt, aut necandi, hoc commode fieri non potest, ejicien certe mendaciis et calumniis oppri sunt."† Nor was it only the open en of truth who thus attacked them; different times they were cruelly pers on political grounds by men professin dience to the Church. Though their l as in the time of the League, was put severest test, and proved irreproach yet were they accused of failing in to it by men who could not forgive th stancy and fortitude with which the resisted their own errors. The pleac Pasquier against the Jesuits is an ast ing monument of credulity, misrepresen and intolerance, though he is so prou as to insert it in his great work.§ As to them the doctrine of tyrannicide, h in allusion to their missions, that " brutal lesson worthy of a Jesuit's nourished amidst the savages of India such falls are men of highest worth e when sacrificing to the spirit of a part their expulsion from France, in the r Louis XV., there seemed to be left n for the violence and sacrilege of futu mies to accomplish; and the since their enemies may be estimated fr

* Martyrolog. Franciscan. Septemb. 19.

† Le Levain du Calvinisme, ou Commencement de l'Hérésie de Genève; faict par Révérende Sœur Jeanne de Jussie, alors Religieuse à Saincte-Claire de Genève, et, après sa sortie, Abbesse du Couvent d'Anyssi à Chambéry, 1611. ap. Audin, Hist. de Calvin, i. 194.

* Senec. Epist. v.

† Calvin, apud Becan, t. i. Opusc. xvii. 15. De Modo Propagandi Calvinismum.

‡ Vide Documents Historiques concer Compagnie de Jésus, nos v. et vi.

§ Recherches de la France, iii. 44.

ch excited no attention, that the general Pelletier de St. Fargeau, a Jansenist, after accusing the at this epoch, of professing the of regicide, subsequently gave his the death of Louis XVI.*

monastic persecutions generally as nothing marvellous in later or, on the whole, the new opinions ated a disposition which was at concileable hostility with the evan- nsels, that, as a necessary conse- all who sought to follow them, natever habit, incurred abhorrence. t is true, who lived nearer to the the monks were not so inveterate. been remarked that the greatest t popular dramatists of the Eliza- ge held the religious orders in everence. The members whom oduce are almost always holy and e men; and as no one would bring ar opinions prominently forward r intended for representation, we ure that the public in this respect them in the same light. In these find nothing that resembles the dicule with which the monks were two generations later, by drama- wished to please the multitude. er, who shows so great a fondness iests, has introduced a Jesuit with pon the stage; Ford assigns a reditable part to the friar for as we remarked elsewhere, Shak- ows so marked a partiality; Sir Temple condescends to reckon itive monks and modern friars in of the great, and wise, and good ankind.† But as Protestantism progressive, these opinions among e class became obsolete, and at ne mere sight of a monk was suffi- nfluence its votaries with rage and

— "for no falsehood can endure h of celestial temper, but returns rce to its own likeness."

w you not, master," says the poet, some kinds of men their graces em but as enemies." Such were ks in these later times. "The it of one of that order," says Ru- ' really embitters the existence of shman. If he catches a glimpse

ictor, Tableau de Paris, tom. iv. part ii. on Health and Long Life.

of a monk at Barcelona, Cadiz, or Lisbon, he cannot think of anything else. It is in vain that these good religious men offer and give hospitality; that they have libraries at the disposal of all strangers; that their churches and convents are full of paintings, statues, candelabras, and objects of admirable art, which all persons may enjoy as if their own property. In vain, that they have every day delicious music; and, in addition to all this, that they not only present every thing gratuitously, but with the utmost courtesy and benignity. Nothing can cure this madness of the English; and under their ignoble hands these institutions perish, and I fear for ever."* Yet the countrymen of this author, under the impulse of infidelity in its three forms of atheism, deism, and rationalism, had long before singled out the monks as the proper objects of persecution wherever they could insinuate their own dragon feet. St. Paul says, "Fructus Spiritus est charitas, gaudium, pax, patientia, benignitas, bonitas, longanimitas, mansuetudo, fides, modestia, continentia, castitas, adversus hujusmodi non est lex."† The world, under the influence of the new opinions, delares that these are the fruits of monachism, and that there must be a law to put them down. The cruel ferocity of the revolutionary agents in conducting the persecution against the monks equalled that of the reformers during the Lutheran tempest; and in proof it will be sufficient to cite a narrative related to me by the same beloved friend whose account of the hermits of Montserrat was given in the last book. I shall repeat his words from the beginning, for at the sound methinks I am in his presence, as if still he lived, cherishing me as a child, and not a visitor; and as when journeying, exhausted and oppressed with the monotonous gloom of mournful barren rocks and flakes of snow, slowly falling upon Alpine summits, when the wind is hushed, I have beheld with joy the herdsman descending from his hut to welcome the stranger with an outstretched hand and smile of charity, and lead him to the fire, over which he will prepare his food; so do I hail the recollection of the look and conversation of this benign old man, which, even while recording bitter woes, were ever like his heart, serene.

"I will relate," he said to me on one

* Du Mécanisme de la Société en France et en Angleterre. † Ad Gal. v.

occasion, "an incident horribly gay. There was a young man of my acquaintance, who espoused the daughter of a certain rich Jew, supposing that his father-in-law would pay his debts; though he was mistaken in the issue. He was sufficiently ungrateful to me afterwards, but that regards not the present purpose. Well, I went by invitation to the marriage banquet. There were about fifty guests. I came late; however, place was found for me at the end of the table. The company was composed of men of those hideous countenances, with which I had become familiar, seeing them often pass before me as I presided in the office of the certain great minister you wot of. As every one present knew me, I was greeted on arriving with the question, 'How does the citizen minister?' 'O well,' I answered with a smile they could interpret, 'the citizen is well:' none of them required to be told what my sentiments really were; for besides my long emigration, when I fled from their persecutions, I always, though indeed in a Socratic way, in order to save my throat, spoke home-truths, and never denied my principles. At the far end sat a man with the most sinister aspect, with the true air of a consummate villain: he grinned constantly at me, and darted side looks, as much as to say, he is not of our party. At last he broke silence, 'Citizens,' said he, 'let me relate what occurred when I was in Switzerland, being appointed, as you know, to the government of the Vallais. Being at Freybourgh, I heard there was a convent of Carthusians on the heights above the town. I had a report made to me concerning them. It stated that they were brave men, who only thought about their salvation.' Hearing him thus calmly relate the virtues of the monks, I began to think that I had been mistaken in my judgment of the man, but I was soon corrected. 'They were,' he continued, with a tone of scorn ill-suppressed, 'good men, who rose at midnight, eat maigre; they had excellent fish, and performed all the exercises to which they were bound, according,' he added, making at the same time a demoniacal grimace, 'to the rules of the holy Catholic Apostolic and Roman Church. So I sent to them some men of arms in disguise; and one fine night they seized these monks, and threw them all out of the windows, after which flight into the chasm below; no one ever heard them preach or sing again.' Such was his tale, and a loud laugh of fiendish pleasure greeted it."

But to return to the persecution of the sixteenth century, to those

"Who rose like shadows between man and God:
Till that eclipse, still hanging over heaven,
Was worshipp'd by the world o'er which they strode,
For the true sun it quenched,—whose power was given
But to destroy, to make a world of ruins."

Conservatives too, perhaps, like their descendants later, they would have styled themselves; but if it were asked, of what? Assuredly amidst piles of mournful ruins scattered every where, including moral as well as material things, the questioner might pause long for a satisfactory reply; though if there were indeed any barbarism, any abuse which had long been denounced for reprobation by the wise and holy of the Middle Ages, that, in consequence of their systematic indifference, may be said to have been preserved by them, and left to spread its roots, and run riot under every form of grotesque degeneracy.

To obliterate from this earth the very type of peace, one might have supposed, from prior reasoning, would be the work of hands whose office was war: but the opinion would have been found erroneous. The men who first destroyed the monasteries were not warriors; for the hardy demons that rushed forth at other's bidding were but blind instruments: the real agents were either scribes, whose sword was a pen, or tyrants, who only shed blood upon the scaffold. Let us for a moment mark them at their work. Many affecting piteous accounts are extant of the deplorable scenes of destruction acted within the once peaceful sanctuaries, which we visited with such delight in the preceding book. The devastation of the monasteries in Germany by the Lutherans is recorded in great detail. Almost each house has left a record of its fall.*

Some would remove the blame from the promoter; but as a late historian says, after observing that Ossiander and Œcolampadius, and many others, accused Luther of the rebellion of the Thuringian peasants; at this day we have no need to call on his disciples to give evidence on either side. In his own books we find, almost on every page, a brutal appeal

* Bodonis Chron. Clusin. ap. Leibnitz, Script Brunsv. tom. iii.

ıonks, a cry of fury against con-
› sanctification of robbery, the
›n of rape. The texts are plain
ınd it is not we who have invented
He, indeed, testifies himself, that
:b Remonstrances of Churches
ny conversions to his doctrine.†
not, like Albert de Bradenbourg,
hereditary princedom as the re-
›ostasy and of robbery with a safe
›, as when that wretched follower
ıssia from the Teutonic order;
ıight hope to come in like the
Germany and England, for a
he spoil of the nearest monastery.
dialogues of Montaud, printed in
which he shows "the profit that
rue to Christendom from making
ory of the relics of holy bodies,"
› dispose of the materials, and the
resources that would be found in
ı the monasteries, all the theories
isms of later governments were
at length.‡ Then was employed
:ligious houses, as at the present
›ain, and Portugal, and Switzer-
intelligence," to use Lord Bacon's
›etween incendiaries and robbers,
› fire the house, the other to rifle

gland, "to abuse the poor com-
ıys an ancient writer, "it was told
t by suppressing of the monas-
ey should never hear of tax or
ıny more. This indeed was as
ı bait for the people as could be
and it took accordingly: they bit
at it; but the hook sticks in their
ıis day.‖"
an of peace mourned the while,
l,

›r iste novus? quo nunc, quo tenditis?
;
ıeræ cives! non hostem, inimicaque
, vestras spes uritis."¶

t monks the new apostles ran
ıurs with keen arrows armed, as to
e they on the earth were wont.
an old history of the false refor-
ı St. Gall, which is entitled "Sab-
ritten by a saddler of perverted
o seems unconscious of the apti-

le Luther, ii. 245.
237.
roir des François, ap Audin, Hist. de
436. § Of Ch. Controv.
lem and Babal, p. 392.
. 670.

tude of the title which he has chosen; for a true Sabbata it was, like that of the children of darkness, and of the mysticism of night. The stormy blast of hell, as if escaped to the upper world, with resistless fury drove innumerable spirits on to destroy the sanctuary of peace.

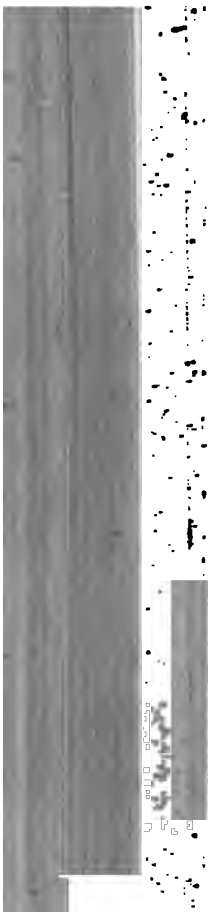
Every town and hamlet which possessed one in its neighbourhood, witnessed then such scenes as passed in London, in the year 1780, which have been described with so much force by a great living painter of the manners of that age.

"Formidable multitudes of fierce, mocking, destroying men, swarming on like insects; noise, smoke, light, darkness, frolic, anger, laughter, groans, plunder, fear, and ruin: the holy vestments of priests, and rich fragments of altar vessels, borne as trophies by leaders like hideous madmen; after them, a dense throng, some singing, some shouting in triumph; some quarrelling among themselves; some menacing the spectators as they passed; some with precious works of saintly art, on which they spent their rage as if they had been alive, rending them and hurling the scattered morsels high into the air,—a vision of demon heads and savage eyes, and sticks and iron bars, uplifted in the air and whirled about; a bewildering horror in which so much was seen, and yet so little, which seemed so long and yet so short, in which there were so many phantoms, not to be forgotten all through life, and yet so many things that could not be observed in that distracting glimpse; it flitted onward and was gone."*

Then was swept away in one fell havoc what savages had spared, and many holy generations venerated—the altar and the shrine—what a Charlemagne, an Alfred, a St. Louis, a St. Henry, had offered as a perpetual memorial of their pious gratitude—gifts inestimable, the workmanship of canonized saints, over which, while on earth, they had prayed and wept—so beauteous, so symbolical of faith and love, that all had thought the region of the angels decked with them.

St. Jerome, relating of Neopatianus, that he had always longed to see the monasteries of Egypt, counts his death most happy, because it had saved him from witnessing their destruction; but as years had revolved, and hallowed more by each fresh harvest for the skies the soil that yielded their returns, after so many ages, when

* Dickens.



like this.

"Before the dissolution of the minor religious houses," say Weever, "the plot was laid for the suppression of the rest:" so justly could writers who adopted the new opinions discern the secret springs of this monstrous exhibition. In some places, even the visitors petitioned in favour of preserving the monastery. Thus Gifford writes to Cromwell in behalf of the house of Wolstrope, saying, "The governor is well beloved of all the inhabitants adjoining; a right honest man, having right religious persons, being priests of right good conversation, and living religiously. The house without any slander, and standing in a wet ground, very solitary; keeping such hospitality, that except singular good provision, it could not be maintained with half so much land more as they may spend. Such a number of the poor inhabitants nigh thereunto daily relieved, that we have not seen the like, having no more lands than they have. God be ever my judge, as I do write unto you ever the truth, which very pity alone causeth me to write." From Garandon.*

In others, the zeal of the monks for justice, and their ability in defending it, only accelerated the ruin of the house. This was the event in the Franciscan convent in Cavan, where were many celebrated fathers, as Richard Brackley, who was provincial in Ireland, and Father Eugenius Digby, an eminent preacher, noted for his moving eloquence as he addressed the

precious works of art, a
Protestant soldiers, w
masters of the city, a
historians, may convey
took place everywhere o
The destroyers were lik
have newly slipped the l
fangs into the victim, an
piecemeal, bearing away
At the abbey of St. M
was the work of an inst
spared. When they ha
ject that was visible,
pick-axe and hammers
sures, sounding the well
vaults and walls. Th
sounded with the cries,
confused vociferations o
molishers, and with the
wood, brass, iron, and g
pavement. These creat
fanaticism and avarice,
supernatural force in r
masses, letting down im
ing up rails, splitting
throwing columns.†

Who could believe it
history and the events
attest the fact, amidst th
pocrisy was able to play
part? At all times, ev
revolt against divine la
who seek to propitiate He
of compensation. The
whom nothing human
noticed the phenomeno

monasteries pretended to have measures in reserve, by which their acts of spoliation would be made conducive to the interests of religion. They said by using well what they had seized, it might be consecrated; as if of theft and sacrilege they could do a charitable deed. They would build hospitals, and schools, and alms-houses. Thus the Queen of Navarre, eager to hasten the work of Protestantism in Béarn, resolved to establish a college there to instruct youth in what she termed true religion. The site of the Dominican convent at Orthez appeared favourable to her design. The building was of great extent, since it contained a hundred and thirty friars, and was in a beautiful situation. By her orders they were constrained to abandon it; and professors from England and Scotland were introduced to remodel every thing according to the plans of Calvin. An inscription in Latin verse was placed over the great portal, which in prose may be translated thus. "Formerly the foul waters of Styx, joined with those of Lethe, defiled and buried in oblivion the splendour and purity of the ancient doctrine, and placed in this house the imps of hell, to chase from it the daughters of heaven. But Jupiter, the all-powerful has caused Minerva to arise, in the person of Jane Albret, who has conjured and put to flight the children of darkness, who, victorious over ignorance and error, recalling the banished sciences, the exiled muses, makes minds ascend by a course of study to the source of true knowledge. Thus the celebrated Princess Jane makes to revive in Orthez, the glory of Athens, the virtues of her ancestors, the splendour of her country, and desires to obtain in all hearts an immortal reputation."*

The destruction of the monasteries was the great work accomplished by the advocates of the false reformation. For a moment they exulted in it; but the joy of their triumph soon became clouded over with misgivings and remorse. Even Luther began to regret the success of his own labour. "In the day of judgment who knows," he was heard to say, "whether these monks may not be judges of us all?"† He felt, as Michelet says, "his interior faith weakened when he saw his work externally accomplished. He wished that what he had written had never been written. Doubts began to pursue him, doubts in the most fearful form, involving him towards the close of his life in discouragement and despair: he says, that "the devil appeared to him, and tried to appal him by repeating these few words, 'Thou hast destroyed the monasteries.'" Innumerable complaints arose from amongst the professors of the new creed, who lamented this prodigious ruin.

"There were also in the reign of King Henry VIII.," says Camden, "(if it be not a crime to mention them,) monuments of the piety of our forefathers, built to the honour of God, the propagation to the Christian faith and good learning, and for the support of the poor. About the thirty-sixth year of that king, a torrent, as it were, that has broken down the banks, broke in upon the ecclesiastical state of England, and to the great surprise of the whole world, and oppression of the nation, at once threw down the greatest part of the religious with their curious structures, most of which, in a short time, were every where pulled down, their revenues squandered away, and the riches which had been consecrated to God by the pious munificence of the English from the time they received Christianity, were, as it were, in a moment dispersed, and, if I may use the word without offence, profaned. There are some, I hear, who take it ill that I have mentioned monasteries and their founders; I am sorry to hear it. But (not to give them any just offence), let them be angry if they will. Perhaps they would have it forgotten, that our ancestors were, and we are Christians; since there never were more certain indications and glorious monuments of Christian piety than those."*

"It may seem, peradventure, unpleasing to some," says Weever, in his epistle to the reader, prefixed to his work on funeral monuments, "for that I do speak so much of and extol the ardent piety of our forefathers, in the erection of abbeys, priories, and such like sacred foundations. To the which I answer with Camden, 'that I hold it not fit for us to forget, that our ancestors were, and we are of the Christian profession, and that there are not extant any other more conspicuous and certain monuments of their zealous devotion towards God, than these monasteries with their endowments, for the maintenance of religious persons, neither any other seed

* Poeydavant, Hist. des Troubles en Béarn dans le 16e Siècle, tom. i. liv. iv.

† Audin, Hist. de Luther, ii. 243.

* Camden's Britannia, Pref.

plots besides these, from whence Christian religion and good literature were propagated over this our island.'"

Marsham also speaks with horror and sorrow of the fall of the monasteries. "Now the fatal day," he says, "arrived for our monasteries, of which nothing but some half-ruined walls remain. Religion has now little influence on the heart, and the old saying is verified:

'Religentem esse oportet, religiosum nefas.'

We see, alas! alas! the most august, stupendous temples dedicated to the eternal God, now, under pretence of abolishing superstition, desecrated and ruined, and horses stabled at the altars of Christ, and the relics of martyrs dug up and dispersed!"*

Even the raving Burton says, "Methinks our too zealous innovators were not so well advised in that general subversion of abbeys and religious houses, promiscuously to fling down all: they might have taken away those gross abuses crept in amongst them, rectified such inconveniences, and not so far to have raved and raged against those fair buildings and everlasting monuments of our forefathers' devotion, consecrated to pious uses."†

Such were the palinodes sung in times nearer the catastrophe, by those who came in time to spy the mournful havoc; and we, to whom only ruins without any local remembrances are left, can well comprehend their sorrow and their shame. "Not seldom it hath chanced for men to do what they had gladly left undone;" but things past recovery are hardly cured with exclamations. It was not marvellous that many thought a cleaving curse was their inheritance. It was too late then to complain, like Cæsar, wishing to stop the slaughter:—

"... et qui jussa per annos
Tot ducis implessent magni crudelia semper,
Nunc solum, cum justa dedit mandata, rebellant."‡

The monks are dead; but in the ruins of their ancient dwellings, of which the stones merit veneration, and, as Dante says of Rome, the very soil itself, as having been predicted in the Holy Scriptures, they still speak to us; they still proclaim,

* Monast. Anglic. tom. i. an. 1655.
† Anatomy of Melanch. part i. sec. 2.
‡ Luc. sup. iii.

that to suffer persecution for justi
glorious and a blessed thing. How
childhood have I thus listened to th

"I knew not who had framed these
then,
Nor had I heard the story of their de
But dwellings of a race of wiser nei
And monuments of faith not changing
Tell their own tale to him who wisely
The language which they speak; and
me,
In ruins overgrown with tangled weed
The sacred lesson few are skilled to r
Interpreted those scrolls of mortal myst

I found a stranger once in Netle
the eve of St. John, standing conte
tive, who, after some space, accoste
It was some holy solitary man, wh
me he had been singing vespers to
self within the ruins of the church.
thought had been suggested to hi
verse of the Magnificat, which he was
to communicate. "The poor pers
monks," he said, "are now for ever b
in the centre of all felicity, while the
who made their dwelling-place a h
ruins, as we see, have been scatte
the conceit of their heart, and dis
through all the wastes of doubt, di
and error." Thus did the ruins ass
meditation.

Let us again visit these aban
sanctuaries:

"Desertosque videre locos littusque relict

As a poet mournfully sings of Scala
duchy of Amalphi, fallen from its a
state:

"Quis parcat lacrymis, dum tanti nominis
Cernit in obscurum degenerasse nemus?

The elder Pliny says, that the h
which had been once inhabited by
of a noble race, lamented when they
to new and unworthy masters, and th
very walls reproached the cowards w
tered a place consecrated by the monu
of virtue. A modern author, too,
"It may be generally remarked, th
more nobly a mansion has been ten
in the day of its prosperity, the viler
inhabitants in the day of its decline.
boors are the only inhabitants of Croy
gypsies of Netley, while other rel
houses are now possessed by the
class as that which caused their overt

* Italia Sacra, vii. 327.

matic critic, listlessly seeks to find the way to virtue by closing gates of hospitality. In France the contrast is most palpable. Malefactors inhabit Clairvaux and Fontevrault; even in Italy, gamesters at St Pan-cras hold their lottery in Florence, as thieves are said to nestle in the old Alhambra. There is a zeal, indeed, to transfer monuments to paper, and raise a monument of archive fame; but, with our Lord's rebuke in memory, Your fathers slew the prophets, and you now build their monuments, such creations convey no solid title. Of what avail is it to pourtray or visit these mouldering remains, to gaze on these ships of arches and pillars, and listen to the wind within the broken towers? The living mysticism is gone, the spiritual light obscured; for the monk has forsaken the cloister, no more is seen there the glorious sons of Christ, or the dark and learned children of St. Benedict, coming forth with soft and gentle step from secret cell, to sing the praises of God, and to console the wanderer in search of peace. "Quare non imperat vultus meus; quia civitas domus sepulchrorum patris mei deserta et porta ejus exusta igni?"*

Alas!" as St. Gregory the Great says of Rome in his day, after the destruction by barbarians: "postquam defecerunt homines, etiam parietes cadunt."†

The men who chased away the just from these abodes were cunning persecutors. Cæsar would not detract from any fame of ancient places; he permitted conquered cities to retain whatever had made them celebrated throughout the world.‡ The Phrygian forbids to trample on the dust of Hector; but the policy of Luther's followers was different. They persecuted beyond what seemed to them defeat and death. As poets say,

"They thought to act a solemn comedy
Upon the painted scene of this old world,
And to attain their own peculiar ends
By some such plot of mingled good and ill
As others weave;
Ignoble arts! for some brief passion
Are centuries of high splendour laid in dust,
And that eternal honour which should live
Sun-like, above the rock of mortal fame,
Changed to a mockery and a by-word."

Men should derive a lesson here, like that which the great Gerbert pressed on Rainaud, the monk of Bobbio, and say with him: Does this spectacle teach us the deceit and inconstancy of earthly things? Futuras desolationem nem tantum patriam, quantum animarum ingenium, et de Domini misericordia noli desperare."

The storm of persecution, of which we survey the sad traces, appeared to have spent its fury on the region over which it passed, when again it burst out with violence, and carried desolation over lands which the tempest of heresy had spared. That all Christendom would be persecuted at the end of the eighteenth century, was predicted so early as in the year 1568, as may be witnessed in the dedicatory epistle to Henry II. prefixed to the prophecies of Michel Nostradamus. It is true no great depth of magic lore was necessary to foresee the hurricane. The sky of the moral world gave no unequivocal signs of what was coming on. The storm then returned with more violence, if possible, than before, and with results as deplorable. Monasteries which had escaped the former shock now fell before the stern and terrible blast, which overthrew and withered all things holy. The same phenomena returned; the same signal vengeance, too, fell upon the persecutors. The bands at Soissons, that partook of bread made from corn which had been stored up in the church of the abbey of St. John-des-Vignes, lately desecrated by them, were poisoned by particles of stained glass from the broken windows, which had been accidentally mixed up with it.‡ Then were the noble abbeys of France, Italy, and Germany, either demolished, or converted into magazines or prisons. How many noble ruins, memorials of the Gallic fury, have I met with in places that one might have thought too far sequestered for its force to reach, and now only known to guides and hunters men, some on high mountains just bordering on steeps impassable, others concealed in forests, at a distance from all frequented roads! A modern author, describing his visit to the abbey of Eberbach, relates that this house was seized by the duke of Nassau, who violently ejected its inmates from their cells. "Four of the monks," he says, "are all that now remain alive, and the monastery has ever since been used partly as a government prison, and partly as a public asylum for lunatics." He found it full of unfortunate prisoners undergoing a sentence of three, four, or five years' imprisonment, for what we should call petty thefts, such as killing the duke's game, stealing

* Neem. ii. † Greg. in Ezech. Hom. xviii.
‡ Lucan, viii. ‡ Hist. de Soissons, ii. 2.

his wood or his grass; for the poor people were sure to be imprisoned if found collecting a few dead leaves, or pulling up with their hands the rank wild grass which grows here and there all over the forest. Then it was that St. Gall terminated the long series of its various fortunes, which had been related from its origin by Ratpert.* Its last historian, Ildefons von Arx, speaks in the conclusion of his great work thus: "Justly may I shed a tear over the grave of this foundation, which for nearly twelve hundred years played so great a part in the east of Switzerland, and had been so useful and powerful in meeting every exigency of each particular time; which, when the night of heathenism prevailed, gave preachers of the faith and apostles, who spread around the light of the Gospel; which when the land was wild for want of labourers, sent colonies of husbandmen, who cultivated it to the most secluded corner of the Alpine valleys; which, while facilities of intercourse were few, exercised a patriarchal hospitality, supporting a multitude of vassals, agriculturists, shepherds, and artisans; which, during difficult epochs, cultivated arts and sciences, and extended their discoveries and productions to all Europe; which, when the people required protection and government, was able with shield and spear to serve them, and to prove itself strong and beneficial, as well as under hood and banners; which, in the fifteenth century, when a reform of monasteries became necessary, was able to furnish so many skilful and saintly men, to supply the wants of other similar communities; which, in fine, when the storm of the eighteenth century burst, fell not as a decayed stem, but was found in a whole and sound condition, living, and active, and efficient for all good, of which its noble resistance was a proof. The contemporaries, who knew not personally the prince abbot Pancratius Vorster, and who were stunned by the revolutionary cries, may have judged of him disadvantageously; but posterity will pronounce in his favour, and proclaim him to have been no ordinary man, who disdained all personal considerations, when he might have secured a provision for himself, and preferred, through a high sense of duty, to embrace poverty, want, and humiliation, for the remainder of his days."†

In the year in which this work was first commenced these instances migh closed the series of the persecution monks. But, alas! the same tem destruction, which had then for a time returned, has overthrown wh escaped before; and now the mona of Portugal, Spain, and Switzerla resist no longer. They too disapp this unhappy age.

"When all that by a solemn majesty,
And an enduring being once rebuked
And put to shame the sordid thoughts o
Must be no more permitted to affront
Him and his littleness."*

Thus rapidly are these delicious of holy peace disappearing from the In vain has nature, in her most awf vulsions, been enjoined to spare the when at that Benedictine abbey of a river of burning lava, of the de twenty feet, stopped short and turne as if by a miraculous suspension ordinary laws. The moral volcano l discernment.

On the day when the Church cel the Assumption of our Lady in th 1834, Don Pedro, following the s Henry VIII., suppressed all the m orders in Portugal by a decree, which be cited as a specimen of incompara plicity. "These establishments," h "considered with respect to religio totally alienated from the primitiv of their institution, and almost excl governed by the love of the tempo worldly interests which they profes despise; and, considered in a p point of view, they were like denatio bodies, indifferent to the good or l tune of their fellow-citizens. To th fluence over individuals and families was the more dangerous as it was in tion secret, Portugal owes in a great the evils which it has just exper There are, indeed, in the individual bers honourable, but rare, excep Thus the same policy was pursued a former persecutions; only the deeds were more swift; for on the twenty-fo the following September the lips had uttered this fiat were for ever c

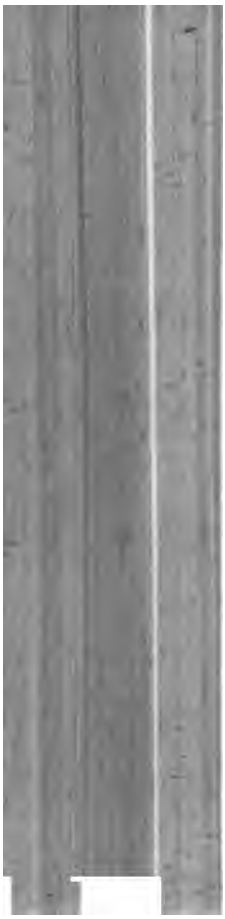
The dissolution of the Spanish may be said to date from the mass the Jesuits and Franciscans in M Madrid, which is described by a witness. In the seminary, the and scholars were taking their e

* Ap. Goldast, Rer. Alleman. tom. i.
† Gesch. des S. Gall. iii.

* Trench.

when the murderers burst open the
The community repaired to the
and awaited death on their knees;
olars were spared, but the fathers
others were cruelly slain. Father
io Barrau of Cortes was cut in pieces
the children; Brother Resedas fell
innumerable stabs. Father Sauri,
or of history, was more deliberately
death; his teeth were broken with
rs, his limbs covered with wounds,
is skull was finally cloven. The
ollege resounded with the clashing
rds, the report of guns, the groans
lying, the horrible voices of the as-
, and the sorrowful moans of the
ns, who were deploring the fate of
masters; and some youths were
d while embracing them. Father
hio Unanué, in the act of forgiving
mies, was transfixed with a bayonet,
nt of which came out at his breast.
he seminary the persecutors passed
ollege, where they slew Father John
, one of the most learned men in
and professor of Arabic. Near him
nd dead the laborious and edifying
Ortolara. Father José Maria Elola
nore painful death; for after hav-
tonsure beaten in with blows, he
d in his agony till two in the
g, when he was found on his knees,
s forehead on the ground, a few
before he expired. Father Petro
t was slain in the porter's hall.
José Garnier, professor of humani-
o was said to have never lost his
al grace, was recognised flying in
eet, struck on the head with a
nd then on his hands, as he raised
it in succession. Father Barba
ed at the street-door as he knelt
he assassins, and so covered with
that it was difficult to recognise
ly. Father Martin Beugons was
d while attempting to fly. Father
ncho, nephew to the great Father
n Sancho, who died in conse-
of his unjust imprisonment, was
along with a servant, and taken
street, where he received six deep
me of which in the neck, nearly
his head, caused him to fall and
Father José Fernandez Andalu-
most holy and learned man, re-
sword in his stomach; then, with
ds on the wound, he was led to-
e prison; till in the street of the
uevo he was run through the body
, so that his bruins fell out; some
of which were caught up by a woman, fried and eaten, being offered to others as Jesuits' brains. In general the tonsures of the slain were cut off and paraded about in triumph. Father John Ureta, professor of metaphysics in Valencia, after being slain in the street, was immediately thus disfigured by the swords of his murderers. Brother Munoz, being one of about fifty united in prayer in the chapel, when the murderers came to the door, was summoned by them by name to come forth, that his life might be spared, through consideration for his brother, who was favoured by the queen, while the rest were to be slain; but he replied that he preferred remaining to die with his brethren: in consequence of which resolution guards were placed at the door all night, and the lives of all of that number preserved; but Father Baovan and Brother Rudas, who led them to the chapel, were murdered. From this college the bands proceeded first to that of St. Thomas, where they slew nine of the friars, and destroyed all the books and crucifixes, and then to the convent of St. Francis, where they committed such crimes that, this eye-witness says, "the cloisters were deluged in blood, and for several days no one durst pass near it alone, the scene being too horrible to behold. In that convent forty-five fathers were slain, without reckoning those who afterwards died from their wounds, which, if enumerated, would raise the number to fifty-two. The murderers committed also unheard-of abominations in the church, destroyed the images, fired at the tabernacle, and reduced the whole house to desolation." Such was the first act in this tragedy; legal and military measures formed its conclusion.

On the twenty-second of March, in 1836, Mendizabal justified the abolition of the Spanish monasteries in words which the queen-regent pronounced at the opening of the Cortes at Madrid. She spoke thus: "Religious institutions had formerly rendered great services to the Church and the state; but being no longer in accordance with the progress of civilization and the necessities of the age, the public voice called for their suppression, and it would have been unjust and improper to have resisted it." Nothing should be substituted for the persecutor's own words. The Madrid Gazette announces the suppression of the convents thus:—"Although by my royal decree of the twenty-fifth of July last, I applied what seemed to



useless for the spiritual wants of the faithful, and it is necessary for the public weal that their property should be put in circulation, in order to augment the financial prosperity of the country, and create new sources of wealth. I, therefore, have deemed it expedient to decree, in the name of my august daughter Isabella, as follows:—All monasteries and monastic orders are hereby suppressed; those of the regular canons of St. Benedict, of the congregations of Tarragona and Saragossa; those of St. Augustin and the Premontres, whatever be the number of the monks and the religious of which those institutions are composed. The following, if they are still open, are exempt from this measure:—The monasteries of the order of St. Benedict of Montserrat in Catalonia; St. John de la Pena; St. Benedict of Valladolid; St. Ieronne; the Escurial and Guadalupe of St. Bernard de Poulet; Cartujos de Paular; St. Basile of Seville; but under the absolute interdiction to admit into monastic orders those who are now under novitiate. The revenue of those monasteries shall be appropriated to the public service, like those of the suppressed monasteries. The ministers shall immediately transmit all orders necessary for the execution of this decree, so that the property of the suppressed convents may be placed at the disposal of the state. The minister of finances will present for my approval the measures that he shall judge to be most suitable for ensuring the subsistence of the monks and religious; in the mean time

days in the calm silenc
conscience; and accor
to-day appeared shut
ment. The servants
passed to a better life,
society of the world.
property have gravitate
to the property of the
an addition to the reso
the payment of the ho
gard to the convents,
are doomed to change
same time that their
their dress. A comm
the civil governor, the c
and the patriotic deputy
to change the convent
zaars, and houses; to
destinations of public
funds are alloted for th
will soon be able to sa
a convent.' This is a
is something like progr
the ministers will short
the regular clergy." T
ceeds to anticipate its
too coarse and offensi
words being repeated h

Then follows a letter
the twentieth instant, a
for the suppression of
has been published in t
produced the moral effec
Politicians have receive
in part of the secret pl
and as a natural conseq

the progress of civilisation," this un-
princess abdicated and fled. But let
some details respecting the execution
decree, which followed hard upon it;
following account of the destruction
convent of Aranzazu, as given in a
from Villa Real, Guipuscoa, may
:—"The night of the seventeenth of
t, the general-in-chief sent a party of
to burn and raze this magnificent
t, situated a league and a half from
. This convent has been, from time
norial, held in reverence as the sanc-
of saints, by the inhabitants of the four
ous provinces. It contained one hun-
rancistan friars. They collected alms
hout the provinces of Navarre, Biscay,
and Guipuscoa. At their nod, con-
ons of wine, and meat, and bread, and
necessary, were poured into the cellars
se holy men. The convent was a
ete palace; it contained every comfort
uld make a retired life agreeable, and
enjoyment that man could desire, a
ficent library and an excellent orchestra.
commencement of the rebellion its
furnished wine, and its stores bread
eat, to the rebels. This convent was
in the centre of a rocky mountain; a
t ran beneath its walls; an immense
of mountain oak extended far on every
in fact, it presented the most pictures-
ppearance that the imagination could
ve; so romantic, so isolated, separated
ere from the world, in the centre of the
eautiful and solitary mountains I ever
l. The chapel of the convent was most
ficent; the cells of the monks were
t. At nine o'clock at night, the party
ed to set fire to this massy edifice
l. The friars were ordered out; the
an received an intimation to take away
alices and other holy ornaments. The
of the holy virgin was also carried
on the shoulders of the monks. In
han a quarter of an hour the altars
broken in pieces, piles of wood were
in different parts of the edifice, and
moment the whole convent was in a
Never did I see a more imposing
cle; the glare of the flames illuminated
ountains and woods for many leagues
d; the night was dark, and the proces-
f monks chanting a solemn hymn could
tinguished on the verge of a mountain
to the convent. The soldiers took
sion of the wine, and sat around the
ge bonfire, and drank to the health of
neen; while nothing was to heard
d but now and then the report of a
musket fired by the Basques in the moun-
tains, to give intelligence to the Carlists of
some extraordinary event having taken place.
The monks were marched into Onate, carry-
ing with them the holy virgin, and terror and
dismay stamped on their countenances.
General Rodil inflicted no other punishment
than that of burning their convent, and
sending them to different convents in distant
provinces. Many stories, doubtless exag-
gerated, or perhaps altogether destitute of
foundation, had been circulated, derogatory
to the character of the institution. We
advise such of our fellow-citizens as have an
hour or two to spare, to visit the ruins of the
convent. A more melancholy scene, or one
better calculated to awaken the best feelings of
our nature, we have never witnessed. What,
but a few days ago, was one of the loveliest
spots in the country, is now a scene of devasta-
tion and ruin. The convent occupied a most
commanding situation; the main building
was large and elegant, and has been often
commended for its architectural neatness.
All that remains of it now are the naked walls,
and these are in so unsafe a condition as to
require the immediate attention of the
authorities."

It is consoling to find, that amidst these
horrors there were some brave and religious
hearts which evinced sympathy with the
sufferers. In 1837, in a considerable town
of Old Castile, an officer transformed his
house to all intents and purposes into a
convent, receiving into it some persecuted
monks, and enabling them to discharge
their usual service as if in their monastery.
Italians in this respect, after the French
revolution, had set a noble example. Count
John Marius Andreani purchased a church
and house of the monks of St. Barnabas, and
assigned it to the monks of many suppressed
houses, who continued to serve the church,
living in a regular community; and in a
similar manner the great Benedictine monas-
tery near Cesena was preserved. But we
must not dwell longer on these recent events,
to which might be added those which are now
passing in the east of Switzerland, where the
magistrates of Argovia have inflicted on Muri
and several other monasteries what can only
be compared to the feat of the ignoble animal
over the weakened lion. This passing allu-
sion to them however was unavoidable, and
it has conducted us by a gradual descent to
the considerations which must terminate
this book; for it leads us to observe that in
general, persecution for justice, with oppres-
sion of the Church especially, still continues,
as it must continue until the end of

There is enough written upon this earth to stir a mutiny in the mildest thoughts, and arm the minds of infants to exclaims. Yet every year adds to the sad legend; so true is the remark of Aristotle, Ὅμοια τὰ μέλλοντα τοῖς γεγονόσι.* "Tempora mutata video," says St. Augustin, "Creator temporum non mutatur."† "Truth, which changes not, has still the same reception from the world; and the pride of those who hate God ascendeth ever."‡ "In history," says Pazelius, "things are not changed; persons only are changed. The same nature of man remains, and so each affair returns. There are the same causes, the same occasions, the same errors."§ "The present is not intelligible without the past," says Novalis.‖ This age, therefore, has wherewithal to instruct us; "ad quod," as Heinsius says, "nisi referantur vetera, non satis prosunt nova."¶

We must not be careless and indifferent observers of the great events which are passing under our eyes, meriting the reproof which Tacitus ministers to his countrymen, saying, "Dum vetera extollimus, recentium incuriosi."** For now the blood of martyrs flows in torrents as in early days. Who has not heard the traits of heroic fortitude in suffering for Jesus Christ, which are recounted in those admirable annals of the propagation of the faith among the heathen nations? Where is the Christian to whom the name of Cornay in not precious?†† Let Ruinart revive to enlarge his immortal Dypticks. The mother of Jaccard, on hearing of his martyrdom in Tong King, is overjoyed. When the news reached her, she uttered a cry of transport, and then said, "Blessed be God, my sweet son has conquered, and, in spite of my convictions that no sufferings could ever daunt him, I need fear for him no more." But without leaving Europe, the persecutions of the just are before our eyes: for now, as the learned Boyer observes in a late work, the Catholic Church has to be defended against the constitutional heresy which subjects religion to the magistrate, renewing the contests of the middle ages. Now again is the Church persecuted by emperors and kings "deliberately and safely," we are told by English writers, "as in Germany, or by democracies, energetically and more rapidly still," to use their words, "as in Spain," where heaven's stern justice lays chastising hand; which desolation these infatuated wanderers of the Anglican schism consider as the work of God, to establish what they term "a truly Catholic episcopacy in opposition to the Romish corruptions." When one compares the letters of St. Thomas of Canterbury and of his contemporaries with the documents relative to the events of the present day in Prussia and in Poland, the heart sinks at the evidence of this protracted, monotonous, never-ending struggle. Here are again the same difficulties, discouragements, I had almost said impossibilities, encompassing the just; the same ability, cunning, strength, and success, attending those who persecute them under the world's banners. St. Athanasius and St. Thomas return in these great and admirable figures of Clement Augustus Droste Vischering of Cologne, and of Martin de Dunin of Posen, these glorious confessors of the nineteenth century, canonized as it were in advance by the infallible praises of the successor of St. Peter. The bishop of Podlachia imprisoned by the Emperor Nicholas; Hughes, bishop of Gibraltar, thrown into a felon's gaol by the authorities acting under the British government, for discharging the solemn and strict duty of his office; Ardriani, bishop of Pampeluna, with a crowd of Spanish and Portuguese prelates, banished and outlawed; the clergy of Toledo imprisoned and menaced for proclaiming that they will obey the Holy See rather than the political chief Becerra, nobly replying to the government, "The menaces of death will not intimidate us, for we know that at the present day death is martyrdom;" Michaelis, chaplain to the archbishop of Cologne, Binterim, the curate of Bilk, afflicted with a long and barbarous imprisonment: all persecuted for justice, for truth and honour—such are the examples of our age, verifying the words of Pope Innocent III., that "the sufferings of martyrs convert men to truth. Hoc est enim," he adds, "vetus artificium Jesu Christi, hoc miraculosum ingenium Salvatoris, ut cum in suis victus esse putatur, tunc vincat fortius in eisdem, et ea virtute qua ipse mortem moriendo destruxit, a superatis interdum famulis suis superatores eorum faciat superari."† The political chief raging against the chapter, an old man of Toledo writes to a relation at Madrid, saying, "I hope that your heart is comforted: if you cannot have consolation where you are, come here; come and visit the vicar in his prison, and you will find innocence, firmness, and all virtue

* De Rhet. † In Ps. xliii. ‡ Id. lxxiii.
§ Christoph. Pazelius Orat. de Historia.
‖ Schriften, ii. 321. ¶ Orat. xvii. ** ii.
†† Martyred in Tong King, 20th of Sept. 1837. Annales de la Prop. de la Foi. Mars, 1839.

* I am unwilling to cite the author.
† Epist. Inn. III. Lib. xi. 26.

encouraging timid and tepid souls,
ake them wish to share his prison.
utiful is innocence! how glorious
uffer for justice!" Forty-three
his illustrious church of Toledo
prison, the chapter of Saragossa
e same fate. And in men of
conspicuous, how many dangers
nly* encountered, and sufferings
r justice! Witness the curate
, Don Diego Estebanez, thrown
for having read from his pulpit
ion of the pope, and then con-
the tribunal of Bagneça to per-
ishment and confiscation. Amidst
oleration many, indeed say, like
l, "Si fuissemus in diebus patrum
non essemus socii eorum in san-
hetarum."† But with these scenes
fore our eyes, such self-congratu-
n only be received for their just
Palinurus says to the delusive
bids him sleep,

placidi vultum, fluctusque quietos
abes? mene huic confidere monstro?"‡

ame lot is reserved for all su-
merit. "Give me back Pytbago-
Petrarch, "and I shall see you
f his genius. Let Plato return
let Homer and Aristotle live
arro come back to Italy, let Livy
let Cicero again flourish, not only
nd men slow to praise them, but
envenomed detractors, as each of
ienced in their days."§ So we
give us back St. Ambrose, or St.
, and we shall find it needless to
v they will be regarded by the
ower. What new thing can be
Τέθνηκε Φίλιππος; οὐ μὰ Δί'. The
ants would soon be found alive,
eir titles or their forms might
l. But why do we speculate,
orld beholds how unceasingly the
hurch is persecuted in her mem-
Dante saw the spirits passing to
strand, obedient to the call of
ing over through the umbered
ere they on the opposing bank
l, on this side another throng still
thus rise the Church's enemies,
nother following, suffered by the

living justice to execute the vengeance of his wrath. "No favour to the just in the fifth race of men," says Hesiod,

. . . . μᾶλλον δὲ κακὸν ῥεκτῆρα, καὶ ὕβριν ἀνέρα τιμήσουσι.*

Are these the works and days of the world now? O wretched race! "whence doth this wild excess of insolence lodge in you? Wherefore kick you against that will ne'er frustrate of its end, and which so oft hath laid on you enforcement of your pangs?" Reader, look well around thee, and such things thou shalt behold as would my speech discredit. What do not Catholic nations still endure for justice? O blest Ireland, how patiently dost thou abide thy ill-entreating! The best men who sought the deliverance of thy people and of the Church, which cannot minister to thy wants as she desires,—lovers of their country, who might say, with Cicero, that it was their fate that no one should be an enemy of the republic who did not declare war at the same time against them,†—steeped in contemptuous humiliations for attempting, and for in part achieving it; martyrs of the press and tribune succeeding those of the gaol and gibbet; heresy, unable to weary out its workmen at their black smithy, labouring by turns, while it cries aloud for help on all sides, launching out the bolts with all its might, as if to enjoy a sweet revenge: others constrained to seek repose in foreign lands, unable to resist its barbarity at home: elsewhere the cross, knocked down in sheer disdain of God, and venerable prelates sought out for massacre; force substituted for justice, setting at nought the high omnipotence; insult added to the breach of all law and honour: in another nation, religion attacked by foreign states, urged on by usurers, under pretence of an alliance;‡ in another, where the people seem by nature formed for peace and gentleness, just and holy men, calumniated and persecuted by false brethren; a Milner treated as a visionary; a standard set up by members of clubs, having hosts of followers; such men, to use the comparison of Lucas, as enlisted under Falstaff's banner—namely, Wart, Mouldy, Feeble, and Shadow—singly, contemptible, but acting with united cries upon a nation that has been ever distinguished by its rich men making martyrs, contributing to create against the holy and the just a querulous, suspicious, detracting,

hronic. of St. Denis (the expression the king of France at the battle of ii plus vassalment s'y porta que nul . ann. 1356.
xiii. 30. † V. 848.
oist. Lib. i.

* Op. et Dies

depreciating persecution, verifying the words of St. John Climachus, that "among the race of men, some are the friends of God, nonnulli vero quamvis imbecilles tamen adversarii."* A glorious war, as Marsilius Ficinus observes, is said to have been waged formerly by giants against Jove, an ignominious one is here by pigmies.† Here even external foes, though bitter, are now dwarfish. "Non eis remansit," as St. Augustin said, "nisi sola infirmitas animositatis, quæ tanto est languidior, quanto se majores vires habere existimant."‡

"The broad waters of bitterness," as an eloquent voice proclaims, "now no longer hold the ark; it is wafted into safety. But a small, pitiful, muddy stream of persecution penetrates into the comforts of the poorer classes. Heresy still persecutes in work-houses; it tortures in gaols; it gives to the poor widow, and says you shall not pray for your deceased husband; it turns away servants and discharges labourers, and sends adrift tenants to perish by famine on the wayside." The ministers, afraid lest any should be moved to follow the light of faith, and leave those whom they have steeped in error, go by thousands around the foss, in which they seek to retain all, aiming shafts at whatsoever spirit dares emerge. And thus it verifies the divine prediction, that the world should be divided by "the doctrine of the cross;" that each house should have in it believers and unbelievers; that a good war should be sent to break an evil peace; and it enables the children of beatitude to maintain that beautiful order of charity which consists in the subjection of affection to religion, preferring God to fathers, and mothers, and children, and to endure the austerity of the evangelic law through hope of the eternal promises. Not content with local and domestic persecution, it still hungers and thirsts after a national denouncement. It causes complaints to be eternally repeated in the Parliament, in the journals, in the popular writings of the day, reviving those of the proconsul Pliny, denouncing to the state "the progress of the superstition." For, as St. Augustin says, "It is a kind of punishment and judgment when the sinner, and unbeliever, and enemy, sees the extension and propagation of the Church in this world, after so many persecutions in which he thought that it would have utterly perished. Then he is angry,

dentibus suis frendet et tabescet. can deny that this is a grievous ment."* Yes, every where, on the of its unblessed feet, heresy persec faithful; for every where it takes diminishes what gives joy to their yo a foretaste of heaven to their aged, ternal rights of religion, the processi the union of earth with heaven in th fying solemnities of faith, all that its still grapple with and suppress. F than three hundred years it has trin and if it should endure twelve hundre like the sect of Mahomet, it will a blight upon the moral world still, et ing a joyless, dismal, black, and s issue. In Switzerland, in Prussia, working at its ancient work, and same thirst as of old, with fang impur the bosom of the holy Church. Luther and Calvin's day it has not nor ever shall, I ween, till time hath course. Whether it advances or re know not. Like those tall water which one sees by night in Alpine when every other object is conceale darkness, and no other sound is h the monotonous roar which issues fro and one cannot determine whether nearer or further than at first, so appear. True, much of its matern nance has been withdrawn. Here are no monasteries for sale now. from its present violence, and reme how "evils that take leave, on their d most of all show evil," some are up with the hope that it recede others, looking round on "the nois of the world, words with little a actions with little worth, loving to silence on what passes,—the nobl men, scattered here and there, not like Xenocrates with one hour's si the day,"† but rather aspiring at habits, "each in his department thinking, silently working, whom n ing newspaper makes mention of these seem, as if thinking it stationa content with repeating the words of

ὕβριζε, νῦν γὰρ εὐτυχοῦσα τυγχάν

placing all their hopes in the appe they have solemnly sent to that final where, as Dante says, reply to inn made. In all other courts, they h their bill thrown out with laughter,

* Scala Paradis. † Mars. Fic. Epist.
‡ In Ps. xxxiii.

* In Ps. lxxvii. † Diog. L
‡ Carlyle.

prospect of endless and glorious reunion in heaven. They think it wise, therefore, to wait in vain in silence the vengeance of that abyss which will surely be just, just beyond, fulfilling what is contained in the first as well as in the last page of the Book of God: for Genesis begins with "Elohim," a Hebrew word which stands not only for Creator but for Judge, and the last words of the Apocalypse are Veni, Domine Jesu. "Even so," Come, Lord Jesus. These seem the only remedy, while the world goes on, to good malignant, to bad men benign; for, that all the dangers may be seen ere we conclude, persecution now assumes a form more dangerous still than that inflicted by the violent, and is productive of effects more immediately ruinous than can result from all their fury; since, as the Venerable Bede remarks, "There are two kinds of persecution, one by open war, the other by men of a feigned fraudulent spirit of conciliation."*

"There is in the Psalm," says St. Augustin, "a voice of fellow-sufferers, and of martyrs in dangers in their passion, but still presuming in their head, Vox confitentium et confitentium, sed de suo capite præsumentium. Let us hear them, and speak with them with affection of heart, if not with multitude of suffering. Not that such persecutions befall us as assailed them, but perhaps that worse description of them arising from so many kinds of scandals; for our times abound far more in that woe pronounced by our Lord, 'Væ mundo ab scandalis:' and since iniquity abounds, the charity of many has grown cold. For neither did Lot in Sodom suffer any corporal persecution, nor was it said to him, that he should not live there. The wicked manners of the people were his persecution. Now indeed Christ is seated in heaven, glorified; the necks of kings are subjected to his yoke, and his sign is marked upon their foreheads, no one remaining who dares any longer to insult Him publicly: and yet amidst organs and symphonies, we still mourn; still the enemies of the martyrs, because they cannot with their cries and their voices, persecute them with their luxury. And would that we had only the pagans to endure; there would be some consolation in writing for them, who are not yet signed with the cross of Christ, who when they were signed would cease to rage: but we see men bearing his sign on their foreheads, at the same time bearing on them the insolence of luxury, not exulting [illegible] insulting on the days of the solemnities of the martyrs! Amidst these we groan, and this is our persecution, if there be in us that charity which saith, Quis infirmatur, et ego non infirmor? Quis scandalizatur, et ego non uror? Thus it is that Satan continues to rage, although fettered, and to instigate the impious who gnash their teeth against the dignity of the Church, and the peace of Christians; and because they cannot rage with deeds of violence, saltando, blasphemando, luxuriando, they do not persecute the bodies, but they lacerate the souls of Christians."†

"A viro injusto erue me; and," adds St. Augustin, "there are many of the unjust who do not seem to be cruel or rough, or to have the wish to persecute, yet they are persecutors; for how can they injure no one who injure themselves? Must they not injure you by injuring themselves? You ask how do they injure me? They do not touch my property or my life? They injure you by their evil example, because they live with you, and tacitly invite you to follow them; for when you see them prospering in their luxury, you are tempted to esteem their actions; they injure you by corrupting what is in your heart: therefore every unjust man is necessarily dangerous, whether he be bland or whether he be ferocious; and whoever is taken in his snares discovers it to his cost; for thorns do not wound at their roots: hold them by the roots and you feel no pain; but it is by the extremity that they wound: so it is with these men who please you, as if bland and amiable. This love of pleasure has its points, which will sooner or later lacerate you; for they may be silent, they may hide their hatred, but they cannot love you; and therefore pray to be delivered from them, as from the man malignant and unjust."‡

These are the persecutors most formidable now: these diffuse far and wide, what Dante found within the seventh circle—dissimulation, flatteries, theft, falsehood, simony,—for these include all who seduce to lust, or set their honesty at pawn with such vile scum as serves the world under learned titles, infecting each profession. "Pray to be delivered from such men. It is not necessary to ask who they are; they are known. You must not ask, but pray."§

"Our enemy was at one time a lion, when he raged openly; at another a dragon, when he lay in wait secretly; but He to whom it is said, Conculcabis leonem et draconem,

* Bede in Tribul. Christi. Lib. ii. cap. 9.
† Hom. iv. in Luc.
‡ St. Aug. in Ps. lxix.
§ Id. Ps. cxxxix.

since we are His body and His members, as He trampled on the lion by the feet of our fathers, openly raging and dragging the martyrs to their passion, so will He trample on the dragon, lest he lie in wait and destroy us. Nevertheless, persecution, either from the lion or from the dragon, will never cease to the Church; and more is he to be feared when he deceives, than when he rages. Persecutio tamen sive a leone sive a dracone nunquam cessat Ecclesiæ, et magis metuendus est cum fallit quam cum sævit."*

"Et in umbra alarum tuarum sperabo, donec transeat iniquitas. This also is our voice," continues St. Augustin, "for not as yet hath iniquity passed; still iniquity rages; and he only can persevere and be saved who has learned from Christ the patience of perseverance. You have passed, and lo your temptations have passed, and you depart to another life, to which the saints are departed, if you be holy. But think you, because you have passed hence, will iniquity have passed? Other unjust men will be born as other unjust men have died, and as there will be other just men born; for until the end of the world iniquity will oppress and justice suffer: Usque in finem sæculi nec iniquitas deerit premens, nec justitia patiens."†

The Psalmist says, "Negavi consolari animam meam. Whence this tædium? Perchance, because the hail has destroyed the vines, or because there is no oil this year, or the rain has spoiled the harvest? Not so. Tædium detinuit me, a peccatoribus relinquentibus legem tuam."‡ Reader, this leads at once unto the end, by a consideration of the reward promised to the children of this beatitude.

"Of all the eight ways of blessed life, indeed," as St. Bernardine of Sienna says, "the end is the kingdom of heaven: for the meek will inherit the earth of the kingdom of heaven; mourners will be comforted but in the kingdom of heaven; those who thirst after justice will be filled but only there; the merciful will obtain mercy, but only when they enter the kingdom of heaven; the clean of heart will see God intuitively in the kingdom of heaven; the peacemakers shall be the children of God chiefly in the kingdom of heaven; but above all, for the poor in spirit, and for those who suffer persecution for the sake of justice, the reward is immediately to there: since to them is given on earth part in heaven: for to persecution, as w as to poverty of spirit, is granted not o promissively, but possessively, the keys the kingdom of heaven; for poverty nothing in the world, and persecution take the whole world from man: and the provident Creator makes no creat without a place, therefore possessively grants to them a heavenly seat. Besid persecution for justice, like poverty of spi makes man impassible, agile, subtle, rich; impassible in calamity, agile to low Christ, subtle to penetrate heaven the narrow way, and rich to purchase it

Nevertheless, even those whose spi were already thus in Heaven, in comm with all that bore the sign of Christ, w while on earth, men who walked w heads bowed down, waiting for those m nifestations of the second advent, of wh our Saviour says, "His autem fieri inc entibus, respicite, et levate capita vestr

All the souls which Dante met in h expressed the greatest desire to be recal to the remembrance of men, and evet draw the attention of those who had known them. Amidst those revoluti of torment, in those burning sepulch under the horrible soil of the rain of f and on the waves of that eternal cold, movements of vanity were required to hance the everlasting woe of sinners; the children of beatitude while living h below, had learned to despise the pra or the blame of men. They all knew t they were Christians for this end, as Augustin says, "Ut præsentia super et futura sperent."§ "We are Christian he says, "only on account of the fut world."‖ Therefore, he adds, "let motto be, Sursum cor, sursum cogit onem, sursum amorem, sursum spem Yes, he says again, "We are as yet in land, not of the living, but of the dyi our life is hope; mutandum est cor, lev dum est cor, non hic habitandum co Hæc mala regio est; sursum corda hal mus."**

"Let us enter, then, on the way of li says Venerable Bede, in a passage wh is read during the octave of All Sai "let us return to the celestial city, in wh we are inscribed and enrolled as citiz Let us consider, as far as it is possible

* In Ps. xxxix. † Id. lvi. ‡ Id. lxxvi.

* Sermo xii. et v. † Luc. xxi. ‡ Artaud de Montor, Hist. de Dante. § In Ps. xc. ‖ Id. lxi. ¶ Id. xc ** Id. xl.

us to consider, the great felicity of that city; for to express it no tongue suffices."

"Sometimes," says St. Augustin, "when a man travels far, he lives among better men than he would have lived with in his own country; but it is not so when our absence is protracted from that celestial Jerusalem. A man leaves his country, and, while he travels, it is well with him; in travelling, he makes faithful friends, whom he could not have found in his own country. At home he had enemies who drove him thence; and, as a stranger and pilgrim, he finds what he could not have had amongst his fellow-countrymen. Such is not that Jerusalem which is our country, where all are good."*

"Yet a little while," writes Fenelon to Madame de Gamaches from Cambrai, a few days after his sentence of banishment, "Yet a little while, and the deceitful dream of this life will be dissipated, and we shall all be reunited for ever in the kingdom of truth, where there will be no more error, nor division, nor scandal. There we shall breathe only the love of God; and His eternal peace will be our peace. Meanwhile, let us suffer, let us keep silence, let us submit to be trampled under foot, carrying the opprobrium of Jesus Christ; too happy if our disgrace should contribute to His glory."

Such was the heart's inmost desire, such the unchanging voice of all just men, during the ages which I have attempted to review in this history; whether in honour or dishonour, in peace or in persecution. Heaven, from which came the Spirit of which they sung "in labore requies, in æstu temperies, in fletu solatium," was the end on which their eyes were ever fixed:

"E'en as the bird, who midst the leafy bower
Has in her nest sat darkling through the night,
With her sweet brood, impatient to descry
Their wished looks, and to bring home their food,
In the fond quest unconscious of her toil:
She, of the time prevenient, on the spray,
That overhangs their couch, with wakeful gaze
Expects the sun, nor ever, till the dawn,
Removeth from the east her eager ken."*

So stood the just, expecting Heaven; through the long night of ages, ever looking wistfully towards the region of that most blessed light where they would see, as St. Augustin says, "not more than they then believed," as one hears some ignorantly pray, but "what they had believed, without seeing it, for that is the reward of faith;† where all persecutions, all sorrows would finish, all tears be dried for ever."

CHAPTER XIII.

READER, the eleventh book is concluded, and with it our long journey through the ages of past time. The work then even in regard to its divisions will be left imperfect; for this number signifies something unequal and incomplete; as it would require one more to be added, in order to make up that sacred number, as Albertus Magnus styles it,‡ which, as St. Augustin observes, implies perfection and totality. If we break off at the eleventh, to every skilful eye our structure will remain unfinished. However, so it must be. The ancients indeed shrunk from such an issue. To perish ἀτελευτήτῳ ἐπὶ ἔργῳ was the climax of misfortune in Homeric minds.‡ Their works are never designedly left unfinished; and the very number of their books signifies that they had succeeded in realising their ideal; but in the Christian philosophy nothing while it remains on earth can be consummated. The brightest things must resemble the planet Mercury, that never appears quite full: the illumination can be never perfect; and we may remark too, that between Christian and heathen writers, the same cause leads to a singular difference of style in the composition as well as of arrangement in the division of their works; for that of the heathen

* In Ps. cxix. † In Luc. vi. tom. x.

* Dante, Par. xxiii.
† In Ps. lxxxiv. et cix. ‡ i

authors is never to place the force at the end: their discourse ascends majestically, and then descends gradually to the end; whereas the Christians follow an ascending order to the last, and end abruptly with the part which is most exalted, as if unable to finish or realise their conception. So at the words "quoniam ipsorum est regnum cœlorum," we have no alternative, but must end abruptly with the eleventh book; as if dazzled and unable to look any longer, on seeing the heaven wax more and more resplendent, and hearing a voice like that of Beatrice to Dante,

> "Behold the triumphal hosts
> Of Christ, and all the harvest gather'd in
> Made ripe by these revolving spheres."*

The twelfth can only be written "in the last sphere;" in that celestial city where every lofty aim will have completion, and by one of those who shall have passage to its clime to be an eye-witness to heaven's mysteries. For, as the wisest of the ancients said, *τὸν δὲ ὑπερουράνιον τόπον οὔ τέ τις ὑμνησέ πω τῶν τῇδε ποιητὴς, οὔ τέ ποθ' ὑμνήσει κατ' ἀξίαν.*

There alone can be accomplished the mystic number which signifies universality and consummation. There alone can be seen the reality, that sum of blessedness, of which the fairest forms on earth are but a type and shadow. We should therefore separate, gentle reader, here, and close the volume; but, if you desire the epilogue of the rhetoricians, there is no reason why I should not comply with your wishes, after having thus explained the essential difference which will allow us only under certain conditions to pursue their art in this respect; nor need we object to the delay, "since," as Baltasar Gracian says, "The truths which most concern us are never but half-said." Yet, to look back on all that has been seen were difficult, though we might earnestly desire such a retrospect; and I begin as one by over-eagerness perplexed:

> Ὦ φίλος, ἀργαλέον μὲν ὅσ' ὀφθαλμοῖσιν ἴδοιτο
> Πάντα λέγειν; πολλοὶ γὰρ ὁδὸν πρήσσουσιν ὁδῖται.†

As pilgrims, by mistake of some small path, having told many weary steps, at night when their hopes flatter them they are not far from some kind entertainment, find themselves lost in a wilderness, unable to retrace their way, so am I perplexed to find the issue, in one respect alone, Dædalus, of whom the poet says:

> "——— vix que ipse reverti
> Ad limen potuit: tanta est fallacia tecti."

The conclusion of a work which has long transported us to beauteous and majestic scenes, giving us an occupation that of the ancient mystagogues, which according to the remark of Cicero, used to consist in showing "not where things are, but where they were," creates a weight and a serious brow, which I would put on as contrary to the joyful tenour of its whole from the commencement;

> "Now time his dusky pennons o'er the scene
> Closes in stedfast darkness, and the past
> Fades from our charmed sight. My task is
> done:
> Thy lore is learned. Faith's wonders are thine own,
> With all the fear and all the hope they bring.
> My spells are past; the present now recurs."

The thought of having done, of having had life prolonged to finish any work by the permission and grace of Him in whom all things live, and of one's view hovering the brink of dread infinitude, is solemn. 'Tis like the sound of the sea, the murmur of the grove, after the departure of a friend whose presence on the previous day had tuned it to unmingled gladness; it is like the sorrow of one who casts a last lingering look at the beauties cities of Italy, or at the snow-capped mountains of the bright warm south, which he is leaving never to see them more; or like recalling to mind the journeys that were made along the beautiful shores of Alpine lakes, when one was a boy; the thousand innocent transports to which the heart yielded with such ardour, as one walked through vineyards, rode through valleys, clomb rocky mountains, and swam in the placid or the rushing waters of those delicious climes; or 'tis like the hour

> "When the last sunshine of expiring day
> In summer's twilight weeps itself away"

when nature of itself disposes the mind to reflections deeper than the tongue can utter. "The evening," says Richard of St. Victor, "is a time of sadness; the morning is a time of joy. Wherefore does not every heart grieve, unless because no heart

* Par. xxiii. † Hom. Hymn. v. 202.

* Met. viii. 168.

perpetual day, because no heart
s have present to it the light of
For the sun rises, and sets, and
o its place, because the intelli-
truth one time is given, at an-
ithdrawn, and again a second
ored. How should it be strange
very heart should grieve so long
ures in this manner the necessary
of these alternate vicissitudes?
n there is day without night; in
t without day; on earth neither
hout day, nor day without night;
say, neither sorrow without hope,
ithout fear. Of necessity, there-
st every heart grieve and lament
perfectly escapes its darkness,
he soil of glory, and its throne
as the day of heaven."* The
erself teaches us thus to moralise
me; for, at the close of her bright-
al, she invites us to repeat those
vords, "Mane nobiscum, Domine,
advesperascit;" and St. Augustin
we read of no evening of the sab-
, because in heaven our rest will
end.† Therefore, in her evening
f "Lucis Creator optime," the
ddresses prayer to God with weep-
udi preces cum fletibus," and
grossed with a contemplation of
rnful and dangerous side of the
xistence, adding,

"Ne mens gravata crimine
Vitæ sit exul munere;
Dum nil perenne cogitat,
Seseque culpis illigat."

be sad too, because we are descend-
the mountain of the beatitudes,
nt which pilgrims from the Holy
l us is so isolated, as if to signify
e perfection of what is found there
e are leaving those with whom we
conversed, namely, the departed
d holy, who like shadows have
ore us and are now departed with
ed bard who sung them; "Oculus
emoria mea," says St. Bernard,
tare de sanctis quodammodo eos
st." Besides, imperceptibly men
he spirit of those with whom they
we have lived with the generations
es of faith, of which the spirit, as
seen, was an affectionate and ten-
, such as the apostle recommends:
t have a mind without affection,"

tatu Interioris Hominis, l. i. 27.
. xcii.

says St. Augustin, that great monitor, whose thoughts were their thoughts, "for they are reprehended who are without affection."* What affection did the men of these ages manifest for our divine Lord, for His blessed Mother, for His sacred humanity, and even for places sanctified by His presence; so that it was a custom in Italy to have family groups represented amidst the different stages of the Passion in Jerusalem; as in the picture of Cosmo de Medicis, where all the members of his house are thus painted adoring in the Holy Sepulchre, the Garden of Olives, and on Calvary. Geoffrey Fulcher, a knight-templar, writes to King Louis VII. of France, and concludes thus: "Do not suppose that I have neglected your commission; for you told me that I should salute for you the holy places, and in visiting them make a memento of you in each. Mindful of your charge, I send you a ring which I carried with me to all the holy places, and with which I touched each of them in memory of you. For the reverence of which, I pray that you will keep and guard the ring."†

It was the spirit of these ages to make men practically know, that no one could come, unless by love and tenderness, to Him who, for that reason, as St. Augustin says, had ascended above cherubim, and was exalted above the plenitude of science. What affection for all! Tear for tear, and loving kiss for kiss, they were ready to tender on each other's lips! If there had been no other argument to prove the existence of God, they held that He must necessarily exist, if it were only to comprehend the graces which they traced in beings around them. No father or mother, they supposed, could love their children as their childhood and their youth deserved, though they would pay them all the sum of debts that they should pay, for this was countless and infinite. That infantine beauty, that young grace of adolescence, that hoary wisdom of old men in the sun, required an audience more divine than theirs. God must exist, they argued, not alone to bestow such graces, but to love them. Hence the pensive air which characterised their affection. "In whom I placed my melancholy," says an old poet of Jumiéges in a dramatic legend, meaning whom I loved. Friendship, love, and piety were all treated with mystery, as if

* In Ps. lv.
† Epist. Ludov. vii. ap. Rer. Gallic. Script. xvi.

to avoid profanation. As Novalis says, "Shame would not permit mention of them, except at rare intervals. They were understood in silence, as things far too tender to be a theme of talk."*

The fifteenth century, antichivalrous and irreligious, witnessed a great contrast to this view of the relations of human life: but such was the spirit of ages in which faith predominated. In palaces, as in cottages, the affectionate disposition reigned. What a beautiful instance is that related by Joinville, when describing a certain royal banquet, he says that "the Queen Blanche, hearing that a young German, of eighteen years of age, who served, was the son of St. Elizabeth of Thuringia, kissed his forehead through devotion, because she had heard that his mother had often kissed it." What love did Charlemagne evince for his sister Ghisla, abbess of our Lady at Soissons! She had refused to marry the son of the eastern emperor, and the son of Diderick, king of the Lombards. In 804, Ghisla falling sick in the abbey of Chelles, Charlemagne instantly flew to her from Soissons, where he had just arrived with the Pope Leo III., and did not return to him at St. Medard, "till he had enjoyed some conversation with Ghisla," say the annals of Metz; the cares of politics never being able to extinguish his domestic affections. On the occasion of the Emperor Charles IV. visiting Charles V. king of France at Paris, the chronicles of St. Denis relate an affecting instance of the same kind. On the Sunday, say they, the Duchesse de Bourbon was presented to him in the hotel of St. Pol, "and when they came near each other, the emperor began to weep, and the duchess also, so that it was a piteous thing to behold; and the cause was, his remembering that the sister of the said duchess had been his wife, and also that the said duchess had been the companion, and brought up with the duchess of Normandy, the emperor's sister and the king's mother. In that place they could not converse together, but the emperor prayed that after dinner he might see her and talk with her more secretly; and so it was done."† Such was their affectionate spirit; and, therefore, having long lived and conversed with persons of this tone, one learns to love and to weep like them, to be sensitive and sad at the thought of seeing them no more on earth; for how should we not love them? as the old orator exclaims: *τίς γὰρ οὐκ ἂν ἀγά τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐκείνων τῆς ἀρετῆς;* Certain leave them thus is a thing that may teach the eye to flow. Alas! if these living now, how different would be ou and that of our children? Had their been more, much evil that afflicts us had never chanced. But they are g they whose glories far and wide resoun once, are now scarce with whispers nam and what remains to us of all this mig ness but the high lesson:

"Follow, where all is fled! Rome's azure s
Flowers, ruins, statues, music, words, are w
The brightness they transfused with fitting w
to speak."

Moreover, these concluding labours b brought us back to that solemn epoc the declining year, when, in our new juvenile in years, we commenced them which festival the poet Pindemonte mournfully sings:

"Quando il cader delle autumnali foglie
Ci avisa ogni anno, che non meno spesse
Le umane vite cadono, e ci manda
Sugli estinti a versar lagrime pie."

Again surround us, at the funeral s of "Regem cui omnia vivunt," those h of dead, nobler than the ghosts Æneas s

"Magnanimum heroum, pueri, innuptæque puel

thick as the fallen leaves that strew ground of forests in the first cold of autu

Reader, you may remember, that it on the day when souls are kindled, as flame of embers is enlivened at the brea ing of the wind, on the day of All Sai and as the sun, then entering the eig degree of Scorpio, was sinking to its b that we began this journey back in templation through past ages. A leaving the Church, my insatiate eyes travelled to the spangled firmament, wh the stars, in magnitude and lustre, shin forth with more than wonted glory, see to declare the beatitude of those wh justice was an effluence of Him wh seat is thus inlaid with thick-stud gems. These planets, to which the appears so much more glorious than does from our earth, globes in which heat is so intense, which move with s amazing velocity that the Greeks even g them the name of divine messengers; s so near the sun as to be seldom visi being lost in the effulgence of its ra

* Schriften, ii. † Ad an. 1378.

more remote, alternately rising in rning and in the evening; but, bringing light or love, constantly towards the source of their illumi—these stupendous bodies, moving such obedience, and contributing happiness of beings so remote as emed to invite the mind to conneditating on those living splenhat see face to face Him who is the all intelligence, that glow with of love proportionate to their disrom its everlasting fountain, and r its sweet influence, are to their istant swiftness winged, impelled that moves the sun in heaven and stars. In Ages of Faith men witorder in the Church resembling in these orbs is seen, only that, as says, "in the sensible world, there s difference, that each showed more as each was wider from the centre." ening, when I first conceived this ne moon, then in the twenty-sixth of Taurus, was nearly half-illuas her sixteenth day would indid in the sky all night. I remember ; for she did me good service in the of the deep wood through which I journey. When the monks left the the sun had already touched the n the plain beneath, and ere I left ster, through its broad arches could ed some pale splendours. Capella ssiopeia lay over the north-east; the nearer to the orient, Aquila tothe south by west, and Cygnus over head. Lyra was fainter in the while the great Bear paced his in the north-west. When I rode ome I had watched were sunk, and risen in their stead. The Twins rion towards the north-east with ting glance played along the hori- Belt just rising below Aldebaran: ir was mounting to the Pole. Bepulled the rein, it was midnight, ll increase of beauty. Orion fired ith-east nearly half-way from the the summit of heaven's concave: eiads moved aloft verging to the Sirius and Pegasus had caught ze. Associated in memory with e of All Saints, and vigil of the hen the first thought of this long darted across my mind, I can thus recal their places as they wheeled the serene air from fall of night twelfth hour, star by side of star; , after ten solar circles, the inclination of the axle on which our world spins ever night and day recals the same great solemnities of the Church; and again she chants her own beatitude, as truly blessed mother. But while our earth has been performing these revolutions through the unimaginable space, while spirits beyond number have been added to that crowd above, and we still journeying through the obscure atmosphere of mortal creatures have been enjoying deeper and deeper insight into the manners and events of past ages, accumulating proofs with every change of position produced by the silent flight of time, the circuit of our vision widening from day to day, causing increase of beauty and of wonder since those first vespers, when we heard sung, "O quam gloriosum est regnum in quo cum Christo gaudent omnes sancti!" while heaven as well as earth has thus participated in the advance of years, it seems as if for us time had been stationary; the one Allhallows lasting without interruption while we were composing the books that were to illustrate it, as when the brief space of another holy season sufficed for that mysterious voyage to the three worlds, which the monarch of celestial poesy describes. Traces of the same impression are, in fact, discernible in many works. The whole of the Republic of Plato, ten books in length, is put into the mouth of Socrates, and supposed to be repeated at a sitting, as the narrative of a conversation held the preceding day. The reason is obvious. It is that when high and glorious themes have seized the faculties with sensations of delight, time passes, and a man perceives it not. This find I true by proof, for years have rolled on unobserved as the advance of death, who, though we do not hear him tread, yet every minute is approaching. Why do I talk of death? you ask, as if a mist weighed down my eyes already! Oh! if we had profited by our late quest—so as to know clearly and to feel:

. . . . . ὅτε οἱ πατέρων
Ὀρθαὶ φρένες ἐξ ἀγαθῶν
Ἔχραον.*

what the just minds of our good fathers prophesied; though we indeed saw death, in a long robe of darkness, preparing to seal them up to this earth for ever, we should say, with the Catholic poet who beholds Clariana die:

* Pind. Olymp. vii.

"———'Twere no death
If we could lose our sins as we do breath."

But by me, alas! as Eckerhard of St. Gall said with less truth, one thing is to be dreaded, after relating the glorious actions of the wise and holy, "lest God should say to me a sinner, Quare tu enarras justitias meas, et assumis testamentum meum per os tuum?"*

Alas, and woe is me! I may exclaim, borrowing the words of Guy de Roye in his Doctrinal de Sapience, "I am like the mill which grinds the corn, and when it has ground it, remains empty retaining for itself nothing from what it delivers to the people; certes thus it is with me, poor sinner. I have ground the corn and delivered it to you, with which you readers and hearers will be fed. Alas! I retain no profit for myself: for I confess humbly before God and all the saints, that I am not what I admonish you to be. The words I transcribe; but the effects in me, are not like the words. I do not the good that I speak of; too far is it otherwise: but God knows that I am sorry for it, and desire that my deeds might be accordant with my words. But though I am not good, I wish that all others may be good. I should wish to be the worst of all that are on earth; not that I should become worse, for I have no need to lose aught, but that all others may be better than myself; and this is what consoles me, that I love in others the good which I love for their sakes; for that is to begin well. O! ye who read, or hear read from this book, do not disdain it because it has been written by me; for a bad man often treads out good wine, though he does not make it. An ill-looking mason constructs a beautiful edifice, though he does not make the stones. Certes, thus it is with me. I have done nothing, but draw the words from books and join them together. There is nothing here of mine own but the pains which I had in turning over the leaves of many books." If more be required to explain why one without authority should have offered his services for such a work, requiring a mind so different from his own, I would urge, as in the beginning, the precedent, so far as wanting an express authority only, of others who have done so without blame. Not to recur to such ancient examples as those of a John Francis Picus of Mirandula,† and a Sir Thomas More, the duc du Maine, in recent tim has left a book of meditations on the divi doctrine of the beatitudes, as if he h assisted at those conferences by night the Vatican, which Saxius has record under the title of Sancti-Caroli Noc Vaticanæ; whereas I have only shown historical results, of which men, really gr and wise, are often ignorant. The Vicou de Marsellus, in his travels in Sicily, lates, that one day, as he walked in t public square of Castel-Vetrano, unable divine the meaning of the words Palm Civitas, which he had read over the weste gate, he accosted a company of five pries whom he met there, and asked them explain the enigma. On their replying th they knew not, a certain young man join the group timidly, as if waiting to be i terrogated, and when the question w addressed to him, gave a satisfactory answ citing a verse of the Æneid to substantia it, while the others appeared to evin indifference if not contempt for that kin of erudition. On the viscount expressi surprise at his learning, the youth replie "I am only a poor scholar; the pries whom you interrogated know more than do, but they do not often read the poets attend to studies such as these."* Th same would be my reply, if any one shou express pleasure at having derived info mation from these pages, which he had n found in graver and more solid books.

It chances often, when one sort of goo hath satiated, and of another still the a petite remains, that what is best is laid asid and that which has more novelty accepte Those who, like myself, only pass the tim carelessly, as if reposing on the pale cow slip beds, can pick up flowers which thei masters cannot stop to gather.

In the middle ages we find Dante, s far like myself, in being prone to ange and, through compassion, fainting for th victims of our common nature's sin, writin on the credo, on the seven sacraments, o the decalogue, on the penitential Psalms and, in the nineteenth century, captains o artillery, in the camp, during short inter vals of repose in Africa, treating on th accordance of reason with faith,† whil other soldiers of the same army, with a enthusiasm that reminds one of Petrarch' praises, expressed in his letter to Boccaccio are reading the commentary of St. Augustin

* Eckerhard, Prolog. in Vit. B. Notkeri Balbuli.
† He wrote de Morte Christi.

* Vingt Jours en Sicile.
† De l'Intelligence et de la Foi, par M. Guil lemon, Capt. du Génie.

on this Psalm. It is true, as the Bishop [illegible]

[illegible] but Maximus replied lastly to one who complained that he had not published any literary work for a long time, "We must all come to theology at last."*

Tacitus relates, that the Roman soldiers, when encamped on the moor in which Varro and his legions perished, were moved to a sad remembrance of them. In silence, through smouldering fires, they passed amidst their tents that night, sleepless rather than watching. The fearful stillness terrified the general, for he seemed to see and to hear Quinctilius Varro, covered with blood, emerging from the marsh, as if calling him, and yet repelling his outstretched hand.† For those who survey the scenes, full of grace, and state, and woe, in which the noble army of the saints and heroes of the Ages of Faith fulfilled its destiny, other images are reserved, and far different recollections. For them too 'tis possible to call the departed back, but it is a divine sound, which issues from such ground; it is a voice, as poets say,

"Which should our holy churchmen use, might
Without addition of more exorcism,
Disenchant marshes, tie up nightly spirits
Which fright the solitary groves."——

"Hæc sunt enim vestigia, quæ nobis sancti quique revertentes in patriam reliquerunt, ut illorum semitis inhærentes sequeremur et gaudia."‡

Shortly before his death, travelling to Nuceria, the holy friar, Thomasuccius, on the feast of All Saints, entered a half-ruined and deserted church, where he began to meditate on the majestic splendour and variety of that festival in heaven. Then falling into an ecstasy, he was led by an angel in spirit to behold the glory of the blessed; when he saw in mystic ecstasy all the distinct orders of the happy. In this vision of glory he remained immovable from rising till the setting sun, and, on coming to himself, related to his disciples what he had seen. Next day he came to Nuceria, and shortly after died, having predicted his own death.§ Our vision ceases where the saints begin; but the end for others may be similar to his; for, from a commemoration of great and holy deeds, they may attain to a participation in their recompense, if they attend to what St. Chrysostom lays down, that "they who admire and praise the merits of the saints should imitate their manners. For either they ought to imitate, if they praise, or they ought not to praise, if they will not imitate; for we, ourselves can be what they were; and we can do what they did. Now, in all these, the virtue was the same, the combat dissimilar, the glory equal. Therefore," adds the holy doctor, "you are a false soldier if you think to conquer without fighting, to triumph without a contest. Consider the covenant and conditions of your engagement, the warfare for which you are enrolled."*

Thus, reader, have we surveyed the ages which were influenced by the belief and manners of that class of men of whom the ancient writers say, that they were in faith and action Catholic, "fide et actu Catholicus,"†—ages whose philosophy was sung by Dante, whose practices of life by Shakspeare, whose faith produced "a world all sincere, a believing world." Thus have we seen the prayer of our Lord reduced to action, which, as Vincent of Beauvais observes in his mirror of history, has regard in its seven petitions to the seven beatitudes, the eighth not being distinguished from them, as it is but the complement of the others; for, he observes, when we say, "hallowed be thy name," our prayer is, "grant us the spirit of wisdom, by which we may ever firmly adhere to thee, and so attain to perfect peace." In the words, "may thy kingdom come," we petition for the spirit of understanding, by which we may be cleansed so as to see God, and thereby reign; in those, "thy will be done," for the spirit of counsel, to enable us to fulfil his will, which must be done by mercy, according to the verse, "Misericordiam volo;" in those, "grant us this day our daily bread," our prayer is for the spirit of fortitude, lest we should faint on the way, that we may ever more and more thirst after justice: when we say, "forgive us our trespasses," we implore God to grant us the spirit of knowledge, by which we may mourn for our sins, that they may be in consequence remitted: when we add, "lead us not into temptation," we beg that He will grant the spirit of piety, by which we may be made meek, so as never to be irritated, and thus escape the wiles of the old adversary; and, in the last petition, to "deliver us from evil," we implore Him to render us

* Fred. von Raumer's Italy [illegible]

† Bede.

‡ Wadding, Annal Minorum, [illegible]

* In Octave of All Saints.

† Vit. Godehardi, Episc. Hildesheim. ap. Leibnitz. Script. Brunsw. tom. i.

poor in spirit with fear and humility, that we may be freed from sin; for it is the fear of the Lord which expels it from the heart.* "Behold then," adds the holy Bernardine, "in how many different ways did saintly men, directed by our Saviour, act a meritorious life! behold what was the diversity of actions, of which the end was heaven!"† To sum them up here in conclusion would be needless. The history of them might be termed the history of love. As St. Augustin says, "Be not anxious to think of the multitude of the branches,—hold the root, and the whole tree will be in you: hold charity, than which nothing more eminent can be found in the Sacred Scripture,—that more excellent way of all who appertain to the kingdom of heaven, that which is above the heavens, above all books, for which all these generations militated: hold the sacraments of the Catholic Church, which were the hidden root of their actions, and then from the hidden root their good works will revive in you, manifest to all; as from the bottom of the cross, which is fixed in the earth, the whole visible cross rises and is seen."‡

"The habits of the cardinal virtues," says Albert the Great, and in the book which treats of them by St. Martin, bishop of Braga, we see proof, "principally dispose to action, and those of the gifts to contemplation; but the habits of beatitude disposed to the perfection of both."§

Such, in fine, were Catholic manners during the long course of ages which deservedly are distinguished by their quality of faith, that mysterious grace, without which no one will ever be able to understand their history, much less to imitate their manners; that divine gift of which the ancient sages seem to have had some conception, when, as St. Clement of Alexandria remarks, "It was an axiom according to Plato, that the mother of virtues is faith."‖

How many just men and prophets of the ancient world wished to see the things which these ages saw, and did not see them, and to hear the things which they heard, and did not hear them? For then was prophecy fulfilled. The Lord reigned. He who stood before the judge, He who was buffeted, He who was scourged, He who was spit upon, He who was crowned with thorns, He who was smitten on the face, He who was suspended on the tree, He who was mocked while hanging from it, H died upon the cross, He who was w with the spear, He who was buried, l rose again. Dominus regnavit. Th exulted, and many isles were glad; servants of God were every where, an ing to the nations His glory; His, now their own glory; bringing to th the glory due to His name; not name of men, not to the name of the not to their name, but to His name ing glory.

When the words were finished, first unfolded this way of beatific li read that the people wondered; wh manifestation of their power over the heart in their consequences, as they in history, is observed, what remains exclaim with Thomas, as if we behe feet and hands and side of Christ, " Deus meus, alleluja!"

The ages of which we have revie manners, constituted what St. Augusti "the generation of generations;" wh pression he explains thus: "one gen goes, and another comes; for the gene of men on earth are like the leaves olive, or the laurel, or other evergre which is always clothed with them some leaves are dying, and others sp into life; so the earth is always full though passing thus quickly; but coll as we have done, from so many gene all the holy offspring, and thence one generation, we form that genera generations to which is promised a s the eternity of God."*

Reader, in regard to the manner o ing history adopted in this work, th been need of your co-operation; ther will say with Dante,

"Lo! I have set before thee; for thyself feed

Feed, and reserve for the hungry morsels from so high a table; for tho leave behind have vulgar, often bestial and you who know how wretchedly the and who have tasted the sweets of thi quet, composed of such varied and precious things, should learn pity;‡ b discretion give what is provided. H have partaken of it to little purpose, w have only looked at the preceding ex and sentences in themselves, without a ing to the great facts deducible from for each contained indirectly a refuta some error maintained in the most p

* Vincent, Bel. Spec. Historiale, Lib. vii. c. 16.
† Serm. xii. ‡ In Ps. cii. ciii.
§ Alb. Mag. Compend. Theolog. Veritatis, v. 55.
‖ Stromat. ii. 5.

* In Ps. ci. † Parad. x. ‡ Co

histories, in which, as Thierry says, "are united the greatest chronological truth, and the greatest imaginable historical falsehood." By them, if duly weighed, many arguments are void which oft might have perplexed thee. Each contained often an apology for whole generations of men; for each was indicative of the state of society existing at the time, and of the public mind of which it was but the expression. They were all to be examined with a view to something further than the specific purpose avowedly professed in the passage itself. For external facts have importance chiefly from their harmony with interior facts, with the opinions of men; and institutions placed between actions and opinions, are, as it were, the permanent forms of the thought of a people." Aristotle objected to history that it is confined to particulars; and, on that account, as far as regards instruction, he gave the preference to poetry, saying ἡ μὲν γὰρ ποίησις μᾶλλον τὰ καθόλου, ἡ δ' ἱστορία τὰ καθ' ἕκαστον λέγει: but in the preceding books history has been presented in a Catholic character, affording lessons to philosophers of a universal interest, and supplying undesigned testimony to general truths of the highest importance to mankind.

Nevertheless, I think it has not been my failing to make the truth of history subordinate to its moral use, just as a history is sometimes written for the purpose of inculcating certain political or sectarian tenets, by men who spread a shadow of their own likeness over it, whose minds seem like a many-sided mirror,

> "Which can distort to many a shape of error
> This true fair world of things, a sea reflecting love."

The facts here adduced have not been modelled by the nature of the man who selected them; for then they would have yielded pain. They have not been modified by his own manner of thinking, which is of little worth; the ages he has described are not the multiplex image of any mortal's dream, for the whole is given as it was found in ancient monuments, to which every one may refer to verify them. Nor does the impression of greatness, which every picture of the Ages of Faith must leave on the mind, arise from their being past and distant ages. They required not time to magnify them; for the present enables us to see the past in its reality, and every act of faith now exhibiting before our eyes obtains from just men the admiration which they bestow on these records of the deeds of our fathers. As the chief object was to defend the middle ages from the charges of those who attack religion through them, the main substance was necessarily what Brunetto Latini in his Trésor terms "les anchienneteis des vieilles hytoires:" yet I have occasionally alluded to the present times; for as an ancient writer observes, "in all writings, if there be regard to truth and utility, æque valet novitas et antiquitas."*

And this was necessary too, because as an acute French writer says, "there is more imagination in all modern parties than is generally supposed. They are all greedy of establishing themselves in the past. They remake and arrange history to the profit of their passions; by a phantasy imposing on some illustrious dead the part of representing their opinions."† Sophistry costs them nothing. Indeed, we have Shakspeare's word for it, that "He who stands upon a slippery place, makes nice of no vile hold to stay him up." As Benvenuto di S. Giorgio says in the beginning of his history of the marquises of Monferrato, "Remoto Deo, cœlestique doctrina, erroribus plena sunt omnia."‡

What can be expected from their inductions, when their citations are absolute contradictions to their theories, as when one illustrious writer, while attempting to prove that what he termed philosophy and not Christianity conduced to abolish slavery, cites in proof, the testament of Lemmo di Balduccio, made in Florence in 1389, which begins with declaring that he grants emancipation for the love of God?§

If it be said that I have ascribed to the influence of faith more than duly belonged to it, I would reply, in the words of a modern and most gentle author, who has more than once furnished me with weapons against the citadel which he is still attempting to defend, "the question, whether the Church meant such a particular beauty, comes to much the same thing, as the question whether the sun means that his light should enter into such or such a flower."

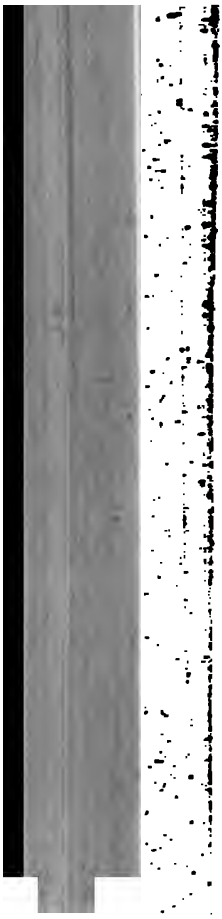
And here, in answer to an objection advanced against me by this accomplished scholar, who would convict me of being a false spy, I must declare that in no part of these books have I set up noblest stories,

* Adelbold, Episc. Traject. Prolog. in Vit. S. Henrici Imp.

† Timon.

‡ Ap. Muratori, Rev. Ital. Script. tom. xxiii.

§ Per l'amore di Dio assolve e libera la chiu... di ..Hist. des Sciences Math. en Italie, ii.



great their struggle to correct themselves, great their repentance. Yet with all their defects, such is the contrast they present to heathen times, that the anticipations of the first apologists seem so far verified as to force the ridicule of Gibbon to recoil upon himself; for what Lactantius expected, and almost ventured to promise, did arrive. Ages of comparative innocence and felicity did return; the worship of the true God did moderate war and dissension among those who mutually considered themselves as the children of a common parent. Impure desires, angry and selfish passions were restrained by the knowledge of the Gospel: and in many places the magistrates might sheath the sword of justice among a people actuated by the sentiments of truth and piety, of equity and moderation, of harmony and universal love.

It is curious to remark how writers of the middle ages, when describing the manners of society around them, reply to charges of the same kind. "But perhaps some one will say," observes an old historian of Pavia, who wrote in 1330, "that it seems from this, that all are perfect, and that there are no reprobate amongst them? To him I answer, that it is for me to recite not the sins of my people, but their good works; for if perchance they should sin, it is to be hoped and piously believed, that all stains are washed away in true penance and confession, making satisfaction and restitution; and giving alms, and so making all things clean to them." In-

unless God alone, and them, how much alms by nobles and plebeians sound a trumpet befor give? For there are r secretly to the poor, or brethren of the Holy S the common house, or churches, that the giver by men but by God. certain festivals of the banquets given to the p vitations, and they hav bles. The bishop, be and the fines of clerg distributes, gives grea revenues by ancient ins the canons of the cathe of the different convent the churches. The lait on the seventh day, and dead, give abundant al of alms seems to be in zens from ancient times father Syrus, who, by God, always obtains th for the poor of Christ, for some relate, though in Scripture, that he w St. Andrew spoke to ou puer unus hic qui ha Thus deservedly is our if to express pauperibus resuming his argument, any reprobate amongst zens are not on that

them interrogate our fathers, and examine our chronicles, and they will find that I have advanced nothing but what is true."*

Neither is it just to say that I have culled these stories as if rare passages from ancient books; for whoever has pursued studies of this kind must be aware that the difficulty arises from the infinite multiplicity rather than from the deficiency of such evidence. If we continued still to look upon that light which ancient histories supply, the same phenomena, still new miracles of grace, would be described, toiling us with the change and defying any attempt to record all: so that, in fact, the passages which have been here adduced are not gleanings from a gathered harvest but specimens of an inexhaustible supply, that may be said to be still standing untouched by the sickle. My gentle adversary objects also to my witnesses, for the reason that "they speak the sentiments of the best and worthiest from the Apostles to the sixteenth century:" but with what consistency can he say this? That thrusted home should make him a Catholic. Who thus styles them the best and worthiest? It is one who by his profession is bound to consider them as idolaters and enemies of truth; for indubitably they clung to what makes men such, if his theology be admitted. If I have shown then that they were among the best and worthiest, this work is not a monument of delusion or of sophistry; nor is it a small point gained to have obliged those who are ranged with him to admit that they were good, however inconsistent may be such a concession from their lips. By that admission they are, in fact, left without defence, insomuch that we may repeat Spenser's words in reference to them, and say,

"Now need we no longer labour spend,
Our foes have slaine themselves, with whom we should contend."

Again, to reply to another charge too hastily advanced, I have not, when alluding to what is erroneous and perverse in modern times, absurdly indulged in the stale complaints of Cicero, saying, "Videte nunc, quam versa et mutata in pejorem partem sint omnia." Nor have I so much as breathed the poet's wish, which in me would be insane;

——"Hos utinam inter
Heroas natum tellus me prima tulisset!"

* Amos, Ticinensis de Rebellione Papiæ, c. 15. Ap. Muratori,

I know indeed, to use the words of a Roman who loved his country, that "things more agreeable to many might have been said; but necessity, even if my disposition did not move me, required that I should speak not what is agreeable, but the truth: vellem equidem vobis placere; sed multo malo vos salvos esse, qualicunque erga me animo futuri estis."* Had I really incurred this charge, the wisdom of the ages of faith would have condemned me; for its sentence was, "Ne dicas, quid putas causæ est quod priora tempora meliora fuere quam nunc sunt? Stulta enim est hujuscemodi interrogatio." In every age our poor humanity has always traces of the time when it was good in its Creator's sight; and I know not how any one can love those whom he has never seen but in books, if he has contracted no friendship, no intimate affection for those whom he has seen in life; who however personally strangers to him, yet have countenances familiar to his eyes; for those with whom he grew up and played, and studied, and bore the heat and burden of the day. I love the plants of the Eternal Gardener, each human flower as I pass it by, the youth, though wild and untaught of this generation, the further from discipline, alas! the more like myself. I love the gentleness of the rough-clad and laborious sons of the people, whose errors are not the result of their own seeking, or of their preference of any human consideration to truth; hearts they have that might bear any fruits, hearts not unworthy of beatitude. Truly we need no master of the new learning's remonstrances to teach us to love them as the good dealt by the Eternal Hand that tends them all. But to wish that besides wearing nature's faces, which gladden us with their beauty, they were children of the Catholic Church, instead of being left as sheep without a pastor, or after hearing the farrago of confusions repeated by preachers of the thousand and one false notions of religion, driven to abandon all belief, and to repeat the reckless boast that "this world is but a show or appearance, no real thing, a shadow hung out on the bosom of the void infinite, nothing more:" to wish that the influence arising from familiarity with these smiling countenances and engaging manners among the youth of humble and laborious life that throng the public ways, might be exerted in strengthening by the force of example, and not, as at present, in weakening by the same power the salutary bonds of that noble Catholic morality which regulates and sanc-

* Liv. iii. 69.

tifies without destroying nature; and to show that the supernatural light of faith, which would have made them blessed, was more diffused in former times than in our own, argues no want of love for them, no folly, no insensibility. To mourn even over the condition of the majority of the people now is to utter but a just complaint, as even their most admired guides acknowledge. "Yes, we may truly deplore it," says one of them most conversant with the past and present: "the condition of the majority is not easy, neither happy nor secure. It is impossible to regard, without a profound compassion, so many human beings carrying from the cradle to the grave such a heavy burthen, and carrying it without intermission; and, in this continual pre-occupation of their material existence, hardly being able to expend a thought on their moral life."*

As for the guides from whom our tears have had their spring, who still are followed nominally by the erring crowd, they are deciphered. Yes: be you who you may that seek to throw a mysterious halo of glory and sanctity round them, to hide the lashes which justice has inflicted, *οὐδὲ ἀνὼ διαῤῥάγης ψευδόμενος*, if one may use the old orator's harsh expression, justifiable perhaps when one thinks of the attempt, 'tis even so: they are marked, and with hands that smote unmercifully, for what they were, dress and parade them as you will now. "De quibus," to use Cotta's words, rather than terms that might offend the ear, if you desire to conceal their brand, "habeo ipse, quid sentiam; non habeo autem, quid tibi assentiar."† And as for the fictitious nobles, their earliest and latest friends, who think not that ancient, as Frederic of Suabia said, but that new riches, however scraped, constitute nobility, and who deem god-like those who help them to varnish over the past, and keep the alms of good men to the poor, in order that they may build palaces and arrange banquets with the spoils, thinking, like the robber who invites guests and covers the table with an altar-cloth bearing still the Church's mark, that no one will recognise the stuff, what are these but the converse of all we have learned to praise and reverence? Our scorn must be as transcendent as our love: for them and their magnificence only laughter, or unappeasable silent reprobation and abomination. Adore the present age, like those who say they bow down to the majesty of those who form it,—I cannot.

* Guizot.
† De Nat. Deor. iii.

—— "Let them pass,
I cried; the world and its mysterious doom
Is not so much more glorious than it was,
That I desire to worship those who drew
New figures on its false and fragile glass,
As the old faded—phantoms ever new
Rise on the bubble, paint them as you may
We have but thrown, as some before us th
Our shadows on it as it past away.
But mark how chained to the triumphal cr
Were the great figures of an elder day."*

In respect to essential things more is t
than I have now admitted; for it might
shown that the present is for the Churc
happy and a glorious age, and even of
peculiar forms of the ancient grace not wh
destitute; for, not again to cite the comm
people who are always amiable, some reti
Catholics among the great are found livi
as in the eleventh century, like some n
trees that are left standing here and t
in a forest that has been cut down, a
to be a memorial of what once existed,
to edify those who pass. The Spirit
Christ reigns ever. There are besides o
lands where still faith is found fruit
Beneath Ausonian skies all these deed
love are practised, and Catholic manner
of old: and this I know to be so true, fr
what I saw and heard, that in this dista
of years, long separated, I feel that there
danger of mistaking Italy for heaven. B
to use the phrase of elder men, since I h
run so long a career in this matter, methin
before I give my pen a full stop, it will
be lost time to inquire why England,
mother of excellent minds, should contin
so hard a step-mother to Catholics; wh
certainly, in all the virtues that she ho
most precious, ought to pass all others, sin
all can only proceed from the living spri
at which they drink, to ask why, in all th
laws and writings against true faith, t
people is so fell; and why the symphony
paradise should here keep silence wh
pervading with such sounds of rapt devot
so many other states. Sweet religion, t
hath anciently had here kings, senat
great captains, learned teachers of ev
valued science, great philosophers and orat
and piercing wits, not only to favour Cat
lics, but to be Catholics,—that religi
embraced so long, and still pervadi
countries from which we are obliged
borrow arts and letters, should continue
find in our time a hard welcome in Engla
I think the very elements lament it, a
therefore are our seasons, from whi
no meek procession fasting supplica

* Shelley.

colder than they were of yore. Is there no touch of mercy in the breasts of those who lead her? What! still angry; still devoted to the thoughts of self; still sitting apart and separate, while the faithful sons of holy Church faint and are oppressed! Then art thou punished, in that this thy prides lives yet unquenched.

Μὴ ἐμὲ γοῦν οὗτός γε λάβοι χόλος, ὃν οὐ φυλάσσεις·

Boast not of your ancestors: heroes and sainted dames are not amongst them.

. . . . γλανκὴ δέ σε τίκτε θάλασσα,
*πέτραι δ' ἠλίβατοι· ὅτι τοι νόος ἐστὶν ἀπηνής.**

Were it lawful always to indulge the first emotions of one's breast, there are some whose words might be contemptuous. Unlike the Roman, who, knowing the noble minds that ruled the assembly, interrupted the discussion by inviting his hearers to the capitol to return thanks to heaven, these might rather be tempted to wave all arguments and dismiss their countrymen, bidding them hasten to the broker's, if such should be his title, who can tell them the value of their bonds or shares, the only speculations in which they feel any interest. Of what avail, they might demand, to show you what we prize? Here is nothing that acts of parliament can either make or abolish. Men take pleasure in things in which they excel. Come then, lords and gentlemen, lead on to the exchange, where, like Bacchus, you may drive a bargain with the dead, and evince that courage which did not shrink from the attempt to barter with a spirit disembodied. But charity restrains such lofty scorn, and tries to efface the fierceness even of a just and chivalrous indignation: therefore, recurring to the holy fathers, they will say, "Recognise the master, recognise his property." "Sometimes," continues St. Augustin, "we approach these men and say, 'Let us seek the truth, let us find the truth;' but they reply, 'Keep what you possess, and we will also keep our own. Thank God, my sheep are His sheep.' 'No, they are neither my sheep nor your sheep, but the sheep of Him who has purchased them; of Him who has marked them with His seal. Why should I have mine, and you yours? If Christ be there, let my sheep go their way, for they are not mine; if Christ be here, let yours come, for they are not yours.' 'No,' says the heretic, 'it is not my property.' 'What do I hear? Let us see if it be not your property; let us see if you have not appropriated it to yourself. I work in the name of Jesus Christ, and you in the name of Donatus: you say the Christ is here, and I say He is every where. The Saviour has said, He that gathereth not with me scattereth. You divide unity, you seek a private possession; why should it bear the name of Jesus Christ? Why have you put the titles of Christ upon your own possession, in order to defend them in the same manner as some people write on their house the name of a powerful man, to terrify by this false title those who might wish to invade it. O unhappy house! Let Him possess you whose name you bear: decorated with the titles of Jesus Christ, no longer belong to Donatus.'"* You say that all might have been well formerly, but that as the state has changed things, it is necessary to yield compliance and follow those who are now the leaders. I cannot consent to you in this; and Socrates has left a sentence which is to justify me,—*παλαιοὶ γὰρ καὶ σοφοὶ ἄνδρες τε καὶ γυναῖκες περὶ αὐτῶν εἰρηκότες καὶ γεγραφότες ἐξελέγξουσί με, ἐάν σοι χαριζόμενος συγχωρῶ.*†

Socrates says elsewhere that, next to speaking against God, there is nothing we should beware of with more vigilance than uttering a word against those who resemble Him; that is, he adds, "against divine men:"‡ that while the base part of men have no regard to their fame after death, the good are careful to leave an honest name to their posterity; and he regards this as an evidence that there is a knowledge with the dead of what passes here.§ The Greek poet, too, says that those who protest against the just should fear for themselves, since as the ancients thought,

Τὸ κακὸν δοκεῖν ποτ' ἐσθλὸν
Τῷδ' ἔμμεν, ὅτῳ φρένας
Θεὸς ἄγει πρὸς ἄταν.‖

To judge only from these instincts of the ancient wisdom, what an overwhelming disgrace would be reserved for us on the day when we shall meet, I do not say the learned sages and heroic martyrs, but any generous believers from those multitudes

* Il. xvi. 34.

* St. August. Enarrat. ii. Ps. xxi.
† Phædrus. ‡ Plat. Minos.
§ Plat. Epist. ii. ‖ Antigone.

gade who feared the reproaches of others if he should return to truth, "the reproach will be much greater in the day of judgment." "Propter hos igitur," to use the words of St. Augustin, "in unitate permanendum, propter hos quicquid hæreticorum mali est devitandum."†

We read of two poor villages of the principality of Neuchatel, Landeron and Cressier, that when the Calvinist ministers came to tempt their faith, the inhabitants showed them the cemetery where their fathers slept, and declared that in the day of judgment they wished to rise with them, confessing the same Gospel.‡ It is not to one cemetery that we should point; but we refer you to the soil which covers the generations of sixteen centuries, from which the holy and the just, clothed even to their fleshly weeds with the symbols of Catholicism, will rise to life and glory. But waving this consideration, which Sir Thomas More urged upon his judges after they had condemned him, "What ground of probability is there," says Pelisson, "that our Lord should have hidden Himself from that line of excellent men called saints, who had no other wisdom but what was of heaven; whose grandeur consisted in humility, whose days were spent in meditating on His word day and night, and in following not only His precepts but His counsels, by a life like that of angels, sometimes crowned by a death still more precious in His eyes? And if He concealed himself from these

it has, from the discipline
antiquity; that it is your
excused and to be forgiver
one conversant with the
optimi consultores mortu
silence, and a look like
when Ulysses makes his
him, the best answer. "P
dere," as St. Leo says, "qu
patienter audire." An his
the events which led to the
a bad preparation for asser
sitions which are generall
those who do not view th
centre of Catholic unity.
Prætorian prefect under C
ordered to compose an a
murder of Geta, replied,
easier to commit than to
cide;" and thus sacrificed
Such, if pressed to speak,
answer, when we are asked
the excuses of those who se
from her true mother, and
line of saintly ancestors.
condemned rashly; you mu
self from this crime: and a
there is to those who sin a
fication, καθαρμὸς ἀρχαῖος, wh
not know, but Stesichorus
it; for he knew the cause of
ness, and immediately said
λόγος οὗτος, and finished the
when he recovered his sig
crates, then, be still wiser
rus, and before you suffer th

pere vincula vanitatis; quia non dedecus, sed honor est transire in libertatem veritatis."* Be not as Jephthah, once, bent blindly to execute a rash resolve, whom better it had suited to exclaim, "I have done ill," than, to redeem his pledge, by doing worse;† and, after all, you may have nothing personal to retract; for it is no more possible to be born a chooser, protesting against the Holy See, than to be born a Berkleian, denying the existence of matter. Talk not of mutual concessions and of compromising. There is nothing left for you but to sing the palinode of Stesichorus, οὐκ ἔστ' ἔτυμος λόγος οὗτος.‡ The whole sum is easily made out: you admit that there is but one Church; who could number the testimonies to it diffused through the world? as St. Augustin asks, who could number them? You admit that the Church of the middle ages must have been the Church of Christ; for if not, where did it exist? Therefore, since truth and justice require that a man should not be allowed the advantage of two contradictory hypotheses, you, who know what schism is, cannot be at a loss to discover in what category to place those who remain under any denomination, separate from her pale. You have only to take the trouble of drawing the conclusion which leaves you no choice. Cease, then, from arguing, as if time could give sanction to errors, and of apostates constitute a church; cease from repeating the old misrepresentations; cease from calumniating the Holy Bride, who with the lance and nails was won; sing, O from your heart's core, sing the palinode.

If, as the ancients said, Homer was blinded for having vilified Helen, what judgment must not he expect, who persists in vilifying that truth which, as St. Augustin says, is fairer than the type of all corporeal beauty? Alas! for errors of little moment, if connected with things temporal, men are ready, sooner or later, to make amends. Buttmann, having discovered the futility of an insinuation which he had repeated against Sappho, said, among the last words he ever wrote, "to expunge this charge against Sappho, and to atone for my real sin against her, I hold to be one of my most sacred duties before I depart out of the circle of mankind; and thus accordingly I fulfil it." If this be admirable, what ought not to be the retractions of a learned and philosophic man, cui vivere est cogitare, when he is led to see the injustice of the accusations brought against the saints and the Holy Church of God? But the deed of separation has been accomplished. What is there accomplished to a wise man that cannot be restored? Hear what the Roman philosopher says, when he retracted his opinions in full senate: "Cujusvis hominis est errare; nullius, nisi insipientis, in errore perseverare: posteriores enim cogitationes, ut aiunt, sapientiores solent esse. Quodsi est erratum, patres conscripti, spe falsa atque fallaci; redeamus in viam. Optimus est portus pœnitenti, mutatio consilii."* When will such noble words be heard in senates now, where systems are propped up with votes long after detection has laid bare their vanity; where majorities are sought for annual extension of the plant, that, from the vine it once was, has long since grown an unsightly bramble? As when a fog disperseth gradually, our vision traces what the mist involves condensed in air; so, by degrees, some gentle spirits, some noble intelligences, are now learning to see things as they are in truth, and to deplore the madness of their fathers. Their complaints sound like those of Io when she first sees Prometheus:

"Whither, ah whither am I borne!
Say on what shore my wretched footsteps stray!
Distraction drives my hurried steps a length
Of weary wanderings; my ungovern'd tongue
Utters tumultuous ravings that roll high."†

Æschylus, describing elsewhere the happy event of her re-assuming her former shape, seems to pourtray the soul converted from these wide-wasting errors:

——— "All her toils at last,
Her wanderings wild, her tortures past,
What gentle hand?—Eternal Lord, 'twas thine;
Thy gentle hand, thy power divine
Soothed, softly soothed her frantic fear,
And from her glowing cheek wiped sorrow's modest tear."‡

To account for the contrasts between the spirit and the manners of the Ages of Faith and later times, some have had recourse to notions borrowed from the fatalists, and to the phraseology of that school which ascribes all such changes to an inexorable destiny, ordaining an oscillation and progress of civilization which, it maintains,

* S. Anselm. Ep ii. 19. † Dante, Par. v. ‡ Plat. Phædrus.

* Phil. xii. 7. † Æsch. Prom. Vinct. ‡ Suppl.

always follows an invariable and irresistible law. Learned and unlearned, they sit and trace analogies between periods and manners, and all this unconsciously, as St. Augustin says, "to defend sin." They refer the whole character of the Ages of Faith to the necessary consequences of such external causes as were connected with the stage in which society then existed. The men whom we have seen, say they, were the creatures of the time; the time called them forth; the time did every thing. Had they been born in the middle ages, they too would have been devout believers, for they are always most sure where there is the greatest uncertainty; but, since they are living in the nineteenth century, it is the world's tendency which doubts and sins when they doubt and sin, and they must be what they are, urging the excuse of Pothinus:

"Rapimar, quo cuncta feruntur."

The change is an inevitable thing. We must not blame men for it; we must lament their fate. Thus Neander speaks of the folly of Julian, because the spirit of the age demanded the progress of Christianity; so they would persuade us that the glorious and happy visions which supported our forefathers were in the progress of society, like those amusements of childhood, or those sweeter illusions of youth which man leaves behind him in the voyage of life, and which appear to him no longer worthy of the gravity of mature age. "It was a truth, and is none; The old was true, and it no longer is." This is what they call "not being unjust to the old." But on this point they lack wisdom; for, as Beatrice tells Dante, force and will are blended in such wise as not to make the offence excusable.* The fact of the continued existence of the Catholic Church is sufficient to dissolve all this texture in a moment. The works, and thoughts, and words of men change and perish; every human institution dies; but the Church never. The religions of the ancient world have vanished, the Romans, the Anglo-Saxons, the Normans, have passed away; but, notwithstanding boasts, like what St. Augustin terms "the foolish lie of the pagans, who determined that the Christian religion was to last only three hundred and sixty-five years;"† notwithstanding pompous monuments like those intended to eternalize the triumph of the early persecutors, on which we read, "Nomine Ch tianorum deleto—superstitione Christ ubique deleta, et cultu Deorum propag there are Catholics in England still. then, the present race of her sons let them seek in themselves the ca and find it there; or, as Dante says ag "The cause is not corrupted natur yourselves, but ill-conducting, that l turned the world to evil."* "For," St. Augustin, "the participation in Di wisdom is denied not to nature but to ligence; from men it is required as t made in the Divine image;"† and have power to reach it, else desire given to no end. Let them return to psalm, as St. Augustin says, and " Ego peccavi tibi; I, not fortune, not stars, not fate, not society following law, and obliging me; but I, with will, have sinned."‡ Nor is the diffic of a return to the thoughts of the Ag Faith so great, as those who resist th represent. Cæsar's counsellors, ind put in this caveat, "Non ad vetera in tuta revocans quæ jam pridem corru moribus ludibrio sunt;" but they could reckon upon the assistance which is at our disposal; so that we have m ground for hope than ever had Par nides.§ Therefore to the question: W remedy for these evils, O London? might reply in the poet's words:

ἔχεις ὁδὸν τιν', ὦ πόλις,
δίκαιον.‖

Let her be restored to communion w the Church, and therein she may rest e as the wild beast in his lair; let her e brace truth, and then she will live tr and obtain true riches; so may her line find at last repose, καὶ οὕτω λήγοι ὠδί πρὶν δ' οὔ.¶ No means of recovery (sea all methods out as strictly as she m save to stoop, obeying in humility as l as high she disobeying thought to so Free of her own arbitrement, like e one of her sons, to choose, discreet, ju cious; after so much experience and c covery, to distrust her sense, were hen forth worse than error; all are invest then with crown and sceptre, soverei over themselves.** But as they who h been confined in a dark prison, amidst

* Dante, Par. iv. † De Civ. Dei, xviii. 54.

* Purg. xvi. † In Ps. ciii. ‡ In Ps.
§ S. Clem. Alex. says he wrote a poem hope, Strom. v. 2.
‖ Eurip. Heraclid. 896. ¶ Plat. de Repub.
** Purg. xxvii.

imprecations and groans and tears of the miserable, when invited, after many years, to come forth, find no pleasure in freedom, or sweetness in the view of trees and mountains, so these think nothing better than the atmosphere of that Babylon where they had been long in captivity, and from which the transit is to the peace and light of Jerusalem. To such the old poet seems to speak in these words:

"You sad-faced men, people and senators,
By uproar sever'd, like a flight of fowl
Scatter'd by winds and high tempestuous gusts,
O let me teach you how to knit again
This shatter'd corn into one mutual sheaf,
These broken limbs again into one body,
Lest England be a bane to her own heart;
And she, whom mighty kings courtsy to,
Like a forlorn and desperate cast-away,
Do shameful execution on herself."

How is it possible, you ask, that we should ever be brought to agree? But Plato even could answer that question. How? *εἰ Θεὸς ἡμῖν, ὡς ἔοικεν, ὦ φίλοι, δοίη τις συμφωνίαν· ὡς νῦν γε σχεδὸν ἀπᾴδομεν ἀπ' ἀλλήλων.**

"Indeed, Socrates," says Glaucon, "you seem to me to say all this with great fervour; but yet I am of opinion, that the majority of those who hear you, will oppose themselves to what you advance, with still greater fervour, and that you will not persuade them, beginning from Thrasymachus." "Do not calumniate Thrasymachus," replies Socrates, "who has lately become my friend, and who was not before my enemy, (through all the discussions of the Republic, he had most violently opposed Socrates in every thing,) for we shall not abandon our attempt until we succeed in persuading him, and not him only but the others, or at least until we shall have gained some step in advance preparatory to that future life." "Indeed," says Glaucon, "men in general, have seldom heard any discussion sufficiently noble and free, undertaken for the sake of truth; but they have only been presented with elegant harangues and controversies, never tending to any other end, excepting to glory and disputation, delivered by men, saluting one another from a distance, whether in the tribunals or in private society. Still I fear the multitude will never consent to you." "O my good friend," replies Socrates, "do not altogether calumniate the multitude, nor suppose that they will differ so much from you, if you will but show them the real lovers of wisdom, whom you call philosophers, and define, as you have lately done, their nature and occupation; that they may not suppose that you speak of the men whom they have in view; for otherwise how can you expect that they should have an opinion like yours? Do you think that any one, being himself void of envy, and mild, would be irritated against another, who never gave cause for irritation, or would envy one who never envied? I will precede you in making answer that such a perverse nature is only found in some few individuals, and not in the multitude. Therefore agree with me in saying, that the real cause why the love of wisdom is reproached by the multitude, arises from the men who introduce themselves from without, pretending without any qualification to be philosophers, blaming and reproaching, and nourishing hatred, and always making discourses about men and not things, *καὶ ἀεὶ περὶ ἀνθρώπων τοὺς λόγους ποιουμένους*, which least of all agrees with philosophy.

Socrates, indeed, had more hope to convince his friends of truth, than his judges to whom he spoke;* and with us there is great need of lively hope, to wing the prayers sent up to God, and put power into them to bend his will; but why should we not hope? for if the truth and beauty of the Catholic religion be shown, where is the wonder and impossibility that other men, since all can have assistance now, should come to be of the same opinion with ourselves respecting the excellence of this philosophy?† "That others should recover by charity," as St. Augustin says, "the wings which they had lost by cupidity? for all have need of wings to gain the liberty of the children of God."‡

There is indeed scope for calumny in all things, as Socrates adds, *διαβολὴ δ' ἐν πᾶσι πολλή*.§ And it is easy, as St. Augustin says, "to seem to answer for whoever chooses not to be silent; for what is more loquacious than vanity? which, however, can never become truth, though it may be able to cry louder than truth. But let them consider all things diligently, and if, judging impartially, they find such things which can be rather disputed than disproved, let them cease trifling, and choose rather to be corrected by the prudent, than to be praised by the foolish;

* De Legibus, ii.

* Phædo, 63.
† De [redacted]
‡ In Ps. cxxxviii.
§ [illegible]

education, which instilled into them a contempt and aversion for the Ages of Faith, and it is not easy for the mind to put off these confused notions it has imbibed from custom, inadvertency, and common conversation: their understanding being its own mirror, they cannot see "what a small pittance of reason and truth, or rather, that none at all is mixed with those huffing opinions they are swelled with; they cannot look beyond popular sounds, and observe what ideas are, or are not, comprehended under those words with which they are so armed at all points, and with which they so confidently lay about them." Of Catholics, one may truly say, in the words of the Roman orator, "Dum hominum genus erit, qui accuset eos non deerit." Thus many will be kept at a distance from that Jerusalem, where they would find peace. "O celestial city," exclaims St. Augustin, "I who am a poor pilgrim in this life, not yet enjoying thy peace, but proclaiming thy peace, not for my own sake proclaiming it, like those who seek their own glory, saying, Peace, and not having the peace which they preach to the people, for if they had peace they would not sever unity: I will proclaim thy peace: but wherefore? Propter fratres meos et proximos meos: not propter honorem meum, not propter pecuniam meam."

As for the preceding narratives and disputations, against which some teachers of the modern philosophy warn men as

had written. From other s
fore, than from charity, f
the poor alone, this wo
which the cost to the las
paid by him who wrote it.
prove dangerous in a c
some; for from its pages, r
mayst mark what reason th
plead, by whom the holy
stood; but the cry it raise
wind doth the proudest s
is of honour no light argu

I can truly say with
sought not to seduce the s
rate; my errand was t
choicest and the learnedes
high gift of wisdom, to a
to be convinced."

And indeed, to use the
ancient writer, since the c
wisdom of the Catholic C
virtue, breeding delightfu
of no gift that ought to
name of learning; since
against it are either false
the cause why it is not es
land is the fault of cal
perhaps, of apes of religio
Crito say to Socrates, that
at the sophists he coul
instructing his son in pl
the religion itself, not αὐτ
as Socrates would observ
our tongue was long fo
honour it, and to be hon
should we despair of Eng

priests having from Rome their mis-
were the first bringers-in of all civility;
ieve with philosophers, so well repre-
d by Picus of Mirandula, that without
morality is an empty sound; to
e with political economists, of whom
admit Degerando as a leader, that
institutions can alone preserve society
the horrors of pauperism, and servile
to believe with those who have found
ure in the preceding books, that the
iers which they taught, were truly
inculcated from the mountain; lastly,
ieve the one voice of these past ages
selves, when they tell her that they
nake her happy and glorious by their

Yes, let us hope England may be
that the words of Isaiah may be
cable to her: "Quæ erat arida erit in
a, et sitiens in fontes aquarum;" for
enlightened, her wishes rest for ever
—won by that she of her own generous
e covets most—won, the country of
er by fervent, true, and undefiled
ion; the country of Johnson, by the
mable riches of good sense, of which
olicism is full in all its parts; the
ry of Milton, by the love of heavenly
ngs, and of embodying the sacred lore
ight poetic forms; the country of
n, by whatever tends to the augmen-
n of solid learning and to the stability
decorum of the social state; the
ry of Addison, by the food prepared,
expressly for its instinct of the correct
orderly, which every unruly passion
s; the country of Shakspeare, by that
n makes every flower of genius to
in in eternal peace; the country of
e, by pity mild, relenting mercy, deep
tender sentimentality; in fine, the
ry of so many saints, poets, moralists,
philosophers, by the tears and graces
at Holy Mother, of the everlasting
el pre-ordained to be to mortal men,
pe, of charity, and love, the living
g, the sole ennobler of their nature.
will she learn from her own ex-
nce, that, in the holy Catholic and
n faith, is all sustenance for the high
ectual and moral life of a people;
it alone possesses the great secret for
iting both earth and heaven, all that
sweeten and compose to order the
tain wanderings of the human exist-
and all that can exalt with innocence
preparation for everlasting beatitude,
ignity and happiness of man.

Sebus cunctis inest quidam velut orbis,
nemadmodum temporum vices, ita
morum vertantur."* Such was the idea of the Roman historian, which, at present, some repeat, in whose looks is marked expectance, as if time were to extend their span beyond their country's chastisement; but, in divine things, we have no reason for assurance, that such recurrence is in the order of Providence ordained. "It is a mysterious indescribable process, that of acquiring faith—indescribable as all vital acts are." If we are to credit some, to dignity thus lost, for nations there is no return, and if we hear the voice of old philosophy, the prospects for the future are dark indeed.

Hermes Trismegistus predicts the horrible depravity that will reign in the world immediately before the final judgment. "The soul, and all that concerns it," says that mysterious voice, "will be derided as vanity, and it will be deemed a crime worthy of death to apply the mind to religion. New laws will be constituted; nothing holy, nothing religious will be believed; wicked angels only will remain, who will impel wretched men to wars, rapines, frauds, and all things that are contrary to the nature of souls. This will be the old age of the world, irreligious, disordered, and insensible to all good. Lo the signs of an universal judgment!"

On the other hand, in various ages of the Church, some have anticipated an age of untroubled order, in which the Church would reign as if triumphant upon earth. The angel of the school had to combat in his sum the execrable book, entitled the eternal Gospel, which was burnt by order of the Holy See, whose adherents, termed Joachimites, as it was ascribed to Joachim, were again condemned by the Council of Arles, and long after it, by Pope John XXII. The words of St. Thomas are, that we must not expect any future state on earth, in which men will possess more perfectly than hitherto, the grace of the Holy Spirit.† But whether nations once by sin disfranchised will return to the faith which they formally renounced, and from the chief good receiving light cause Catholic manners, in their freshness and simplicity, to revive again; whether men separated from truth will be vouchsafed the justice "to put down their own selfishness at every turn, and the courage to stand by the dangerous true at every turn," whether, when they have power to seek the hallowed place again, the inquirers we hear about

* Tacitus, An. iii. † L. 2. Q. 106. a. 43.

will be themselves led to quaff of the clear spring, or, what may Heaven avert, act only as those who, journeying through the darkness, bear a light behind, that profits, not their own feet, but makes their followers wise, are questions which posterity will be more able to answer than ourselves. To some historical events we might indeed look back to warrant hopes, such as to the reconciliation of Sargans with the Catholic Church, after its professing Protestantism for a long time, and to the return of the Toggenburgers to faith, after an interval of forty years, during which mass was never said, and to the reconciliation of the Church of Bernardzell, in 1588, "quæ facta fuerat spelunca latronum," as old historians add.* But these precedents it must be allowed are not adequate to the desires of an historian. Still our cry must be, "Benigne fac, Domine, in bona voluntate tua Sion; ut ædificentur muri Jerusalem;" for, as Manfredi says to Dante:

> "Yet, by their curse we are not so destroyed,
> But that th' eternal love may turn, while hope
> Retains her verdant blossom."†

To the omnipotent Physician, as St. Augustin says, no languor is incurable,‡ and through pious prayers below, to-day's is made to-morrow's destiny.

Englishmen, it is true, at present, are not such as adored at Calvary when they followed Richard to the Holy Land; their manners are not those of the beatitudes; yet

> "This need not be; they might arise, and will
> that gold should
> Lose its power, war its glory—that love, which none
> May bind, be free to fill the world with light."

As Lucan says, that his country, after so many battles, would not reject peace, even though that peace came with a master:§ so might one suppose that this poor country, unless she absolutely prefers the furies to the angels, would return with joy to the bosom of that tender mother, so dear to Him, from whom is all that soothes the life of man, his high endeavour, and his glad success, his strength to suffer, and his will to serve.

O! England, what monitors hast thou had even from thy wandering fold to reprove thy devious ways! But why are the same complaints from age to age re-echoed? Why are thy Cowper's woes the woes s
of all the good that love thee? Alas! these monitors themselves! This is reward of ignorance of good, τῆς ἀπειρ
λίας.* Like him they rail at the rec
of France, even in their works on cha
denying that he had charity; and yet only wished what they wished. They at Italy; and yet in that fair land of pe
ful joy are ever found the fruits they t
sured most, domestic peace, contentme
large munificence, and contemplation t
always Heaven with love and awe regar
They rail at old England's "priests w
bulls and briefs, and shaven crowns," know not that these were the men gathered the people together into Church, and kingdoms that they sho
serve the Lord, producing thereby manners that they would see revive flourish. The holy name is on their li
"but of what avail is it," asks St. Augus
"to give no offence to the father who avenge the injury of the mother? Of w
avail, if you confess the Lord and hon
God, and preach Him and acknowle
His Son and blaspheme His Churc
Let the examples of a human marri
teach you."† Books they send forth be
tiful and sad, but what skills this perpet
loquacity? while you, like the philosoph
of old, are writing your letters in the mi
of the proud, the Church is fixing the cr
in the hearts of the humble, many of th
kings. So long as you seek only how talk, St. Augustin says, you can never directed. "Cognovi, quia faciet Do
nus judicium egentis." The needy is fu
not of words, but of desires; the talkati
abounds. "How much better would be," says St. Augustin, "if we should know, and no one should teach anothe
that there should not be one talking a
another hearing, but that all should hearing that one voice, of which it is sa
'Auditui meo dabis gaudium et lætitiam
whence that John rejoiced, not because preached and spoke, but because he hear
This joy of taciturnity, this joy of hearin
is found only in the Catholic Church. you were truly benevolent, you would
wish to be always remonstrating, alw
teaching, which necessity must contin
where you are, if still relentless; but y
would desire that there should be no one w
required the teaching of man; and, inst
of persevering to teach without, you wo
invite all to return with you to hear with

* Ildefons von Arx. Gesch. des S. Gallen, iii.
† Purg. iii. ‡ In Ps. cii. § vii.

* St. Clem. Alex. Pædag. † In Ps. lxxx

From early times there have been men without the Church, who seemed to think that they were within; that all might be well again without a palinode; that things were still as in days of blessed unity, and as they had ever been from the first, saying, "Peace be with you" to those whom they separated from the peace of the universal Church, and who replied, "And with thy spirit," while embracing dissensions and perpetuating the breach of unity. But, at his own discretion, none may shift the burden from his shoulders, unreleased by either key, the yellow and the white.*

"God helpe the men, so wrapt in errour's endlesse traine."

Did they not fear to hear the words of St. Augustin addressed to themselves: "Non hoc indicat superbia vestra, non hoc indicat vanitas vestra. Non sapitis, et foris estis."† There were moments when they seemed to look back on the Catholic unity which their fathers had broken, and on the Church which they had left, like fallen angels turning back their face to paradise. Yet their habitual disposition with regard to it was indifference; for, like the French minister who suffers sublime monuments of history to be demolished, content with having procured copies of them on paper, they were willing that the original should be destroyed if they could but have its portrait; as if a printed page could be a substitute for the living book. So they spoke much about ceremonies and practices of piety, rather as religious antiquarians than simple believers; and observed them, as Timon says of his contemporaries, more through choice than obligation, *καὶ οὗτος οὐ πάνυ ἀναγκαῖα ποιεῖν δοκῶν ἀλλ' εἰς ἔθος τι ἀρχαῖον συντελῶν.* They procured copies of pinnacles and crosses, and even of the iron hinges of the old doors of churches; while the spiritual hinge, on which the whole system of religion turns, they were content to suppress for ever, forgetting that poetic delineations are not necessarily religious faith; that "faith itself must first be there, and then that these will gather round it, as the fit body round its soul." They spoke Catholically often, but they did not try to speak consistently. They said, "There is one remedy for our calamities—the Catholic Church." Admirable! if St. Augustin or St. Anselm, or if St. Thomas of Canterbury had said it, who laboured and died in its defence, and whom the truth of God surrounded as with a shield; but these men, naked at all points, separate from her communion, lending all the authority of their station, their learning, and their virtue to her declared enemies; how could these take advantage of the privileges of faith? for they were, alas! despoiled of that treasure; "Atque his capiuntur imperiti," as Cicero says, "et propter hujusmodi sententias, istorum hominum est multitudo." Thus it was here. Men who, at least upon their verge of life, desired peace, were caught by the smoothness and dignity of a sentence; but their teachers would never have spoken as they did, if they had heard themselves; for what could be less consistent? The sequel of their words cloked their beginning; the last they spoke agreeing not with the first. Such men ought to have been met with their own handwriting, containing their oaths, and sealed with their seal, as Cicero says, "Tabellis obsignatis." What a contrast between their borrowed plumes and the colours which essentially belonged to the camp in which they served? Their brethren, whom they describe as most amiable men writing most unamiably, spoke out openly, and disputed against the Church; whether well, we do not ask, but certainly they spoke consistently; and I am not accustomed to reprehend a conclusion when the premises have been admitted by those who draw it. The others denied that any thing could be said by a Christian less like what is primitive and true; but I think nothing could be said more consistently, and, to those who differed from them in language, the words of St. Augustin might have been well applied: "Melius est ut tu vituperares quam dolose laudares." Both alike exemplified what St. Augustin said: "Opinio diversa est, vanitas una est;" for they still viewed, as one who hath an evil sight, plainly objects far remote; but when they approached, or actually existed near them, their intellect then wholly failed: nor of the faithful, except what old annals tell them, knew they aught. Hence their opinion, though nearest to the truth, led to no results. As Shirley says, theirs was the charity of some rich men,

"That, passing by some monument that stoops
With age, whose ruins plead for a repair,
Pity the fall of such a goodly pile,
But will not spare from their superfluous wealth
To be the benefactor."

* Par. V. † In Ps. ci.

Augustin, "are fed with the honey of the rock, which is the wisdom of Christ: how many are delighted with His word, from a knowledge of His sacraments, and by the solution of His parables; how many express delight, and say, nothing can be conceived sweeter or better: 'et tamen inimici Domini mentiti sunt ei.'"*

Obey the Church, they said. True, obedience is necessary. "But," as Dante asks, "is he to be called obedient who follows perfidious as well as he who credits wise counsels? I answer," he continues, "that, for the first, his act is not to be called obedience, but transgression. If the king should prescribe one road and the servant another, to obey the servant would be to disobey the king. There would be transgression."† Why veil their cause beneath another standard. Ill is this followed of them who sever it and Rome. While some compared these yielding adversaries to naked champions smeared with slippery oil, who watch intent their place of hold and vantage, ere in closer strife they meet; others acquitting them of hostile aim, were wondering why these admirers of antiquity, instead of resting satisfied with a logician's transeat to an out-of-the-way argument, did not pass over at once to join the faithful; but, supposing the latter best informed, their surprise was groundless; for, as the old man observes in the Tables of Cebes, "those who think that they know what they do not know," and, from a necessity arising

own spirit. It is good for
should lose his spirit, and h
of God. As yet he is proud
princes. It is good for him t
return to his dust, and say,
mine, quia pulvis sumus."*
"ut videant qui oderunt m
dantur;" for in the judgmen
founded, to their destructio
now are unwilling to be c
their recovery. Let them
founded; let them accuse th
let them keep the good wa
lives without confusion, unle
been made alive again after
confused. God will furnis
the means of a wholesome
they do not despise the med
fession; but if they are un
confounded now, they will b
hereafter, when their error
them to it against their will
many churches. "Indeed,"
the Bacchic reveller in his
"it seems to us as if we saw
two Thebeses."‡

Then St. Clement of Alexa
his language according to that
have invited them to the ch
of the word, to the mountain
not sung by tragedians, but
the drama of truth: a cloud-c
shaded with a holy grove, w
are the chorus, virgins the so
the ministers, prophets the
the praises of God, the musi

who could not discern Thebes, the spectacle of Heaven. O mysteries," he exclaims, "truly holy! O pure light that imparts holiness and delivers from night for evermore!"* They listen, but, alas! enter not as the initiated to be restored by the solemnity to Him who seeks to anoint them with the unction of faith, that they may be able to join in the common hymn, encircling His throne. They will pursue the insane dance, and cling to the dim torch, even while confessing that in their bewildered course it will never be sufficient to enable them to see their way.

It is a prophet's sentence, "Populus iste dicit, Nondum tempus est ædificandi domum Domini. Miserrime, cur opus commendabile in biennium differs?" At present also procrastination has its votaries. Why do you delay, and thus revive disputes for ever? "Are you waiting," as St. Augustin asks, "for some one to rise from the dead, to show you which is the Church? You have the prophets. Hear them while you have ears to hear, while you have a heart that can be moved."† "Plausibility," says one of your own guides, "must have an end, empty routine must have an end. Dilettantism, hypothesis, speculation: this kind of amateur search for truth, toying and coquetting with truth, all this must have an end."‡

It is not safe to reckon upon the transitory vapour of mortal life, as St. Augustin styles it,

> "Labitur occulte, fallitque volabilis ætas,
> Et nihil est annis velocius."

The time when "all shall changed bee," as Spencer says, "and when thenceforth none no more change shall ever see," will come at all events too late for many.

γήραντα δ' ὀρθοῦν φλαῦρον, ὃς νέος πέσῃ.§

And as for books of fair promises and tardy concessions, many will have to say, like Gardiner, "Let them, with Latin and Greek, continue as long it shall please God: we are almost past heeding them." "Men are slow to wisdom," says a Platonist, "and quick to death." Not for ourselves we shape, but for their sakes who after us remain.

When Ulysses prepares to escape from that island of Calypso, the wise poet represents him exerting himself, and labouring with his own hands to secure the means, cutting down the timber for the ship and forming it.*

So man, when he seeks to return to his true country, must not expect to arrive at it waiting, expecting, sleeping, without any personal exertion.

—— πάντα τὰ ζητούμενα
δεῖσθαι μερίμνης φασὶν οἱ σοφώτατοι.†

Homer too, observe, makes no mention of Ulysses taking formal leave of the goddess: he only says, "that on the fifth day of his preparations he departed." In all this we have lessons for ourselves, as clear nearly as those of holy men, when they tell us with the great St. Anthony, not to return to a city in which we may have sinned against God.‡

Men take leave of error with too much ceremony; they speak too much about their nation, about the world; seeming to forget that each one of us here, let the nation and the world believe or not believe, "has a life of his own to lead, one life; a little gleam of time between two eternities; no second chance to us for evermore."§ You should, therefore, look to yourselves; and, having once caught sight of truth, hoist all your sails to follow her, heedless of the nation or the world's remonstrance. If you must wait for all to follow, I fear as Dante says,

"Your choice may haply meet too long delay."

> "Eia age, rumpe moras; quo te spectabimus usque?
> Dum, quid sis, dubitas, jam potes esse nihil."‖

Ulysses again, through desire to save them, makes his companions weep. After they had tasted the lotus, none of them wished to return.

ἀλλ' αὐτοῦ βούλοντο μετ' ἀνδράσι λωτοφάγοισιν
λωτὸν ἐρεπτόμενοι μενέμεν νόστου τε λαθέσθαι.
τοὺς μὲν ἐγὼν ἐπὶ νῆας ἄγον κλαίοντας ἀνάγκῃ,
νηυσὶ δ' ἐνὶ γλαφυρῇσιν ὑπὸ ζυγὰ δῆσα ἑρύσσας.¶

Thus should men act towards brethren, when they find them so infatuated, as to think no more of escaping to their true country. "Vox Domini commoventis solitudinem:" there has been often heard in our land a voice moving to faith those who were without God and hope in this world,

* Protrept. 12. † In Ps. cxlvii. ‡ S. Antonii Sermo. § Carlyle. ‖ Martial. ¶ Od. ix. 95.

where no prophet, no preacher of the truth was heard. The whole Church militant on earth was praying for them, "that to their eyes unveiled might shine at last the light, sole object of their wish, that so might heaven's grace clear whatsoe'er of foam floats turbid on the conscience, that thenceforth the stream of mind should roll limpid from its source."

To those who heard that voice and followed it, the words of the ancient tragic muse might have been without irreverence addressed; For you, O redeemed of men, beheld an image of yourselves in that afflicted wanderer, whose crime and deliverance have been immortalized by poets. O you, the wise might have exclaimed, who by the unsearchable counsels of heaven have been employed to kill your mother, that mother of Christians, that Church which claimed you as her own from the baptismal wave; you who have wandered from shore to shore, driven an exile through all the wastes of human speculation, till instructed at length by the God of love and harmony, you have sought to lay hold of the sacred emblems which belong to faith and primal sanctity,—O seize the happy hour, and fly from that inhospitable port, more fatal than that of Scythian Taurus, where the souls of strangers are daily offered up on the shrine of a cold and barbarous misbelief. Fly from that benighted region, from that horrid servitude, to the assemblies of your native clime, to the sweet groves where the palm-trees with luxuriant foliage, and the laurel with rich boughs, and the branches of the green olive, proclaim final victory and endless peace, to the cool waters that will for ever quench that ardent thirst, which has so long oppressed you; to that lake which rolls the water frequented by swans, where the swan with his melody will invite you to join with him in the songs of praise that rise to God from all his faithful creatures. But be prepared for danger, when you first throw off these chains of the ministers that thought to attend you to your death. While within their port, your bark seemed to move securely; but it will no sooner pass the mouth, than the waves of the great ocean will rise to oppose your passage, and the dreadful wind which blows upon it will suddenly raise them into mountains, to force you back if possible. O how terrible it would be, were you forced back again upon that shore where all is death, and to lose for ever these bright prospects which were opening to rejoice you. Take courage then, and make proof of heroic piety, and, like that son of Agamemnon, fall to your prayers and cry,—Save me, save me to my country from the barbarous land! and cease not to labour with naked arms for your own deliverance, straining every nerve to ply those oars that are to make head against the billows' force; while the ministers of fate will hasten to their deluded chief, demanding aid and vengeance; for men too, those whom you have left behind will prepare to follow you with all temporal terror, and to take advantage of these elements which seem to oppose themselves to your escape; they will hasten, like Thoas, invoking God, and encouraging each other to pursue impious men, for such are the titles you will hear from them. There will be a spectacle worthy of angels, while your frail bark is buffeted by these furious waves, and driven between horrid rocks; and the furious men that are indignant at your escape will stand on the shore with outstretched arms ready to seize you, being already confident of making you their prey! O then it can only be the descent and intervention of God, that can save you. It is God that will proclaim the everlasting decree that delivers you from wrath; then may the joyful chorus rise to you:

"Ιτ' ἐπ' εὐτυχίᾳ, τῆς σωζομένης
μοίρας, εὐδαίμονες ὄντες.
Ὦ μέγα σεμνὴ, Νίκα, τὸν ἐμὸν
βίοτον κατέχοις,
καὶ μὴ λήγοις στεφανοῦσα.*

Yet, even after having escaped these rocks, there may be dangers still; for, as St. Augustin says, sometimes where there are no rocks ships run foul of each other and perish; so that there is not security even in the true harbour, though it is safer in the harbour, where, if ships are well managed, there will be no collision. Let there be only observed equable rights, the constancy of charity, and, when the wind blows strong from the mouth, a cautious look-out.† What are your dangers in the harbour of truth? First, say our masters, those that are internal within your own breasts, from the impatience of a mind long unused to discipline. "We see a man," says St. Augustin, "who was indifferent and indolent before he was a Christian. You cry to him daily; it is almost impossible to convert him. At length, being converted, he cries to others; he wishes that all were immediately Christians; and he wonders that they are not so as yet."‡ And besides, in

* Euripi. Iphy. in Taur. † In Ps. xciii. ‡ Id. ibid.

truth, it takes a long time to initiate the mind in wisdom, and of the raw material, which is found in the wild forest of the moral world, to make a Catholic. Many years may be required. If one long undisciplined, soon as his feet are to the Church reclaimed, should instantly suppose that all was done; and begin to pull and push, and haul, and fling away, and modify, and bring back, and re-model, and innovate, just as his own opinion or his own standard of taste may move him, saying, with Ulysses,

ἀλλὰ μάλ' αὖθ' ἕρξω, δοκέει δέ μοι εἶναι ἄριστον.*

he may injure both himself and others, before an alarm is given. He must wait, they tell us, and become a child again, put his old habits off, pass as a pilgrim, as an exile to foreign lands, pray in churches where he is a stranger, where only Christ, in sacramental presence, His blessed mother, and the saints, know who he is, join in the loud psalmody of their choirs, and meditate on what he sings; meet with rebuffs, privation, and indifference, till he acquire the patience and self-renouncement which are only formed after long seasoning; for the essence of that material, in its green state, is to be headstrong, passionate, easily provoked, rash, self-opiniated, destructive. Again, within the Church you find rocks of offence; some that have been deplored by others before you from the commencement, and others that may be peculiar to your age and country; for, though you have believed, and obtained the two wings of the twofold charity, the iniquity of the world abounds; and therefore the charity of many will grow cold. In this life amidst so many scandals, so many sins, such a crowd of daily temptations, of daily evil suggestions, you have a great sea to pass, and in the night too, when you may fear that the darkness will prove your ruin:† first, you may be greeted with words from feeble, decrepit brethren, that will seem to have regard to those of Galgacus to the mountaineers of Caledonia: "In the family of slaves, the last comer is the laughing-stock of his companions." Thus each catechumen may be received in some countries through disastrous influence of the place, where, instead of that certain divine influence, which Plato attributed to some lands,‡ custom goads to evil, and where the perfection of charity does not supply the imperfection of knowledge, as Pope Innocent desired.* Again, you will find chaff amidst the wheat, as was always found. Instead of pitying the dust of Zion, the dust from the ruined Jerusalem, and praying that He who formed Adam from dust may convert this dust into fervent believers, you fall into discouragement, and say with poets:

"The ample proposition that hope makes
In all designs begun on earth below,
Fails in the promised largeness; checks and disasters
Grow in the veins of action highest rear'd."

You entered the harbour hoping for perfect security, not knowing that the wind could sometimes blow from the mouth, so as to cause a collision between ships within it. You entered an uncautious praiser, suppressing all mention of the evil, not knowing that you should praise the Church as the Scriptures of God praise it, saying, "Sicut lilium in medio spinarum, sic proxima mea in medio filiarum;" not knowing that if the lily pleaseth, you must bear with the thorns; that if those who condemn ought to say that there are good amongst the evil, those who praise should say that there are evil mixed with the good. "For, let no one deceive you," adds St. Augustin, "if you wish not to be deceived, and if you wish to love your brethren, know that in every profession of the Church there are counterfeits."† You entered, expecting to find Catholic manners wherever men professed to have faith, and justly requiring them; for if they remain not in our land, those glorious architects, who rear once more her churches upon the ashes left by Cromwell and Elizabeth, will labour without profit of their toil; and, instead of the supernatural virtues which belong to faith, you may happen to witness merely those of uninitiated human nature. For, to use the words of a great historian, "Ut corpora lente augescunt, cito extinguuntur; sic ingenia studiaque oppresseris facilius quam revocaveris. Subit quippe etiam ipsius inertiæ dulcedo; et invisa primo desidia, postremo amatur."‡ Thus, while you look for the choral worship and psalmody of the holy hours, or at least the peace of the inviolable sanctuary, you may find every sacred portal, excepting at a few rare intervals, barred; as if, during an interdict like that in the year 1200 within France, when a contemporary exclaimed: "O quam hor-

* Od. v. 356. † In Ps. cxxxviii. ‡ De Legibus, lii.

* Lib. i. Decret. i. 10. † In Ps. cxix. ‡ Tacit. in Vit. Agric.

rificum, imo quam miserabile in singulis civitatibus per id temporis erat spectaculum, valvas ecclesiarum obseratas cernere."*

While you look for the alms of the middle ages, and repeat the words of the philosopher, "tanto laudabilior munificentia, quod ad illam non impetu quodam sed consilio trahimur,"† you will hear that men are not taken well who have not dined:

"The veins unfill'd, their blood is cold, and then
They pout upon the morning, are unapt
To give or to forgive; but when they've stuff'd
These pipes, and these conveyances of blood
With wine and feeding, they have suppler souls
Than in the priestlike fast they deem so mischievous."

And those you meet with, perhaps, will even heartily agree with the old satirist, in affirming that, "En quaresme sont toutes maladies semées, et que c'est la vraye pépinière, la maisve couche et promoconde de tous maulx." You entered, thinking that no greedy corsair, full of party zeal, could pass the bar that hems the peaceful port; and you find priests whose aim is how to keep off not the wolves, but fellow-labourers from the fold, that their unaided efforts cannot tend. There will be occasions, too, which might demand the laugh of Hannibal, not so unseasonable as the absurd tears that may be shed for the loss of money, when vanity must pay the forfeiture; for the time for tears was, when they first exchanged the bright golden armour of the old Catholic saints for this brass lacquered over by modern hands, giving up usages like that priest-like abstinence of ancient sanctity, and of the old knightly honour well approved; choosing to dwell in the tents of sinners, of dull, proud, prosaic sinners, rather than continue abject, according to their silly estimation, in the house of the Lord; conforming, in manners and rules of life, to the base rout that holds the Church, and all the majesty of ancient worth, in scorn, as far as such corruption can have any sense. It was then that they should have wept: but when they complain like children on reaping the fruits which they have sown with their own hands, and weep like women appalled at the events which are merely the natural consequences of the kind of pre-eminence their hearts were bent on, to obtain which they had long been moving heaven and earth with prayers and murmurs, surely there must be some spectators, whatever may be their agony within, more inclined to laughter than to tears. "Amittit nummum, gemit," says St. Augustin; "amittit fidem, non gemit. Gemo et ego, et hoc gemo quia male gemunt."

"Some men," says St. Augustin, "see to be just; we rejoice; and we must not rejoice, for charity cannot be without joy. But afterwards, if anything evil be discovered in these men, which often happens, there follows a sadness proportionate to that first joy, so that a man fears again to give the reins to rejoicing; and, struck with abundant scandals, as if with many wounds, he closes human consolation against himself, and refuses to be consoled." Ego autem in te speravi, Domine. Nothing better, nothing more secure. You wish to imitate I know not whom, and you have found him not to be good. Well, you abandon him and seek another. In him, too, there is what displeases. You seek a third, and neither does he satisfy you. And because this or that man displeases you, are you to perish? Cease to place your hope in man. Recedant humana nomina, humana crimina, humana figmenta. In te, Domine, speravi."

But to resume our retrospect, since it is time for parting. All is seen; and now, methinks, some who have found in the preceding books answers to their doubts, as Dante says, "look at each other, as men look when truth comes to their ear." There are not wanting from among followers of the opposing banner voices to repeat the praises of the Ages of Faith; but I list not to defend them with the help of these concessions of scornful men, who often aim their darts most keenly when they most concede. "I know thee, for thou art the Holy One of God," said even the malignant one himself; but as a holy writer observes, "far otherwise, and with a different affection is that name sanctified in heaven, where with such unutterable joy is shouted, Sanctus, Sanctus, Sanctus, Dominus Deus Sabaoth."§ Others may apologise, plead for Catholic ages, for canonized pontiffs, and for holy kings, as for culprits before the world; but after such a course as ours has been, for some at least, the saints and the world have already changed places, and instead of talking of arraigning them at its bar, and of attempting to excuse them, it is for them to find it shrink and vanish. We have seen that these ages are worthy of all praise, and that what dispraise may be set upon them is either easily overcome or transformed into just commenda-

* Rad. Cogesh.
† Plin. Epist. viii. 1.

* In Ps. lxxvi.
† In Ps. xxx.
‡ Heb. xvi.
§ Theom. Kempi. Serm. ii.

tion; but since their excellence may be so justly confirmed, let us rather seek to imitate than to praise them; for, though their fame I would with duteous zeal embalm, they need not our praises; therefore, St. Bernard, in a passage which the Church reads during the octave of All Saints, exclaims, "Of what avail is all our praise? to what end our glorification of them? What is the use of this our solemnity itself? Clearly not they, but we, are interested when we venerate their memory."

As the Roman philosopher, on his return to Italy, after Pompey's death, betook himself to his books, saying, "A quibus antea delectationem modo petebamus nunc vero etiam salutem;" so our contemporaries, by means of their writings, should live chiefly with the men of better, wiser, happier ages, whose lively words can still shed new heat and vigour through their souls. As another philosopher said, *πείθεσθαι δὲ ὄντως ἀεὶ χρὴ τοῖς παλαιοῖς τε καὶ ἱεροῖς λόγοις,** so they should trust their testimony; for they had a practical faith in the great traditions of religion, which later times only profess coldly with the lips. "Youth," says Dante, "on entering the deceitful forest of this life, cannot find the right path, unless those who have more experience point it out."† Let the race of men then now living, as an ancient father says, "study the lives and writings of those who preceded it, who could penetrate to the deep and secret things of moral truth more easily than it can do, now that the charity of many is growing cold, that iniquity is abounding, that the improbity of unbelievers is gaining strength, that the deceits of Antichrist are drawing nearer."

In the middle ages was constituted a state of Christian society which in the days of the apostles had not been completely organized; but as art does not exclude nature, as that is greatly natural in art, which nature admits of being done well, so that is primitive in Christianity, which can be done with charity, humility, and justice. If men lose all trace of those who walked in the path of the beatitudes, they will find themselves indeed bewildered in this life's fretful fever, and driven sooner or later to the bitter avowal made by Cicero: they may then repeat despairing, "Habeo quem fugiam; quem sequar, non habeo." But if they follow patiently the clue thrown out to them by those who went before in these Catholic ages, there need be no fear of not arriving at their wished-for end; for they will then have admirable examples and express rules for each emergency, which even the wisest of the moderns admit to be infallible, as when Grotius, speaking of the scholastic doctors, says, "Ubi in re morum consentiunt, vix est ut errent."*

In marking well their footsteps, they will have that resource which the wise ancients would have prized,† as furnishing the most effectual means of making progress in high worth; for virtue here assumes a body, so that men cannot be insensible to its presence. Here are no metaphysical abstractions or ideal characters, like the poet of Juvenal,

> "Hunc, qualem nequeo monstrare, et sentio tantum,"‡

but living realities, imparting almost that result of personal experience, which makes Lear in the rough night remember the sufferings of poor naked wretches,

> "That bide the pelting of the pitiless storm!"

and exclaim,

> "O, I have ta'en too little care of this!"

Consorting with these worthies of a believing age, pomp will thus be led to feel as if it had exposed itself to suffer "what wretches feel;" and similarly, all the vices in level opposition with the eight graces of beatific life, like full sails bellying in the wind, which if the mast break suddenly collapse, will shrink down discountenanced. He whom each perverts will return to himself and say, as if a pilgrim visiting some holy place, O! I have taken too little heed to become like these men, poor in spirit, meek, and apt for blessed mourning, too little care to desire justice, to feel and exercise compassion, to cleanse my heart, to be pacific, and to suffer persecution on account of justice. Memory will be hope and faith itself, to chase for ever what some now call the delusion of disenchantment; for of the joy to come, it will yield sure expectance, teaching men to lift up their eyes unto the mountain, and rejoin those who are already in the life of glory far advanced; that they may climb stairs which other feet have overcome; that they are not the first along this upward way, that they follow others as

* Plat. Epist. vii. † Convito, xxiv.

* De Jure Bel. ac Pac. Prolog.
† Xenophon, de Venatione, xii. ‡ vii.

St. Bernard says, "Prædecessores sequimur." They not only follow, but they see them, and they know too that they are seen by them: so that having this resource, none can refuse to ascend the steep without a sense of shame, that can of itself invigorate.

Whether they ride through groves and meadows, discoursing like Lorenzo de Medicis with Angelo Politian,* or remain solitary in the secret laboratory of their houses, like Cardan, who says he is addicted to perpetual cogitation, revolving many and great things, and such even as cannot be,† they may be said to hear the voice of our fathers, speaking to them out of the depths of ages. And what a voice is that! The philosopher said, that we ought to choose some man of exalted worth, and have him as it were always before our eyes, that so we might be constantly under his inspection, and acting as if he saw us.‡ Here they have found not one only, but innumerable observers; each of whom seems to address them in the words of Hecuba,

——— ὡς γραφεύς τ' ἀποσταθεὶς
ἰδοῦ με·

not beings of another order, from their own nature, at infinite distance eternally removed, stars in the moral world fixed, and without parallax; but men like themselves, who, as St. Ambrose says, "we know were not of a better nature, but more observant, nec vitia nesciisse sed emendasse," the memory of whom alone can impart that high spirit, which Dante ascribes to the illustrious race of Conrad Malaspina, the privilege that while the world is twisted from his course, it should walk aright, and have the evil way in scorn; privilege he well might prize, seeing how fare the multitude who have that way, not in derision, as they should if honour could be heard, but in very great respect, as worthy of imitation, as far as can be without an open avowal of apostasy. Here in these books they stand like mirrors, from which to men reflected shine the judgments of our God. Let them study these as a painter stands before an original, gazing upon it. Wondering they may gaze, like Dante, on the universe of love, and admiration still be kindled as they gaze.

The noble mansion, we are told, is most distinguished by the beautiful images it retains of beings passed away; and so is the noble mind. It most resembles that divine mind, which, as the great Æschylus s "sees all things in itself painted as on leaf comprised:"

δελτογράφῳ δὲ πάντ' ἐποπτᾷ φρενί.*

But since "each lesser nature is but s receptacle unto that Good, which knows limit, measured by itself alone,"† let remember ever that the visage of th saintly lights was to the sun that filled th ever turned, as to the good whose plenit of bliss sufficeth all,—that these bri trophies of Christ's triumph won with eit palm, were but lowly followers in the t of the Omnipotent Sire, who dwelleth s in himself, and of himself is solely und stood, who by His grace to this percepti has lifted them,—that they ever proclaim themselves to be but mere reflected spl dours, satellites that wait in faint distan circling upon the sun of angels from wh all drew their radiance. So that when t book is closed, and the long pageantry sh have passed away, the lesson may be th which I once read upon the funeral da hangings after a mass of requiem, whi bore the motto of the dead man's house, the old language of his province, "Re q Diou."

The solemn train went forth; the den crowd followed it; the noise of horses a of marshals grew fainter and fainter; sou few devout contemplatists, who had remain to pray, by degrees passed out after tho who had gone before: at length all soun died away, and silence reigned alone, whi in large characters inscribed upon the wal between the plumes, and scutcheons, a symbols of departed greatness, one st read, "Re que Diou."

So now you have the epilogue, lest yo should regard me as neglectful; and I ha protracted it as the poet took leave of h youth,

"Ter limen tetigi; ter sum revocatus; et ipse
Indulgens animo pes mihi tardus erat."

I only hope that it may have been profi able, as when the philosopher of old di puted in the groves of Tusculum, Εἰρηκ λόγος. Expect no more mimic signs fro me, who must fall into the rear, when truant fancy, rather than deliberate pr sumption tempted me to emerge, and hence forth own myself the lowest.

The anthems for the festival of All Saint

* Miscellaneorum Centuriæ, Præf.
† De Vita Propria, i. 13.
‡ Seneca, Epist. xi.

* Lumen. 275. † Par. xix.

which first suggested this course of historical inquiry, may be repeated as the best conclusion; and with the voice of holy choirs let us end. "Admirabile est nomen tuum, Domine, quia gloria et honore coronasti sanctos tuos. Domine, spes sanctorum, et turris fortitudinis eorum, dedisti hæreditatem timentibus nomen tuum, et habitabunt in tabernaculo tuo in sæcula." May the King of Angels lead us to the society of the supernal citizens. May they whose festival we have illustrated intercede for us to the Lord. May that blessed host of heavenly spirits drive from us all evils, past, present, and to come.

"Præterita, præsentia,
Futura mala pellite"

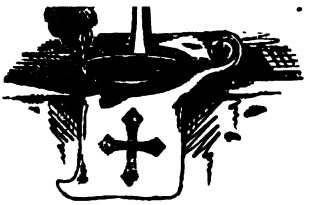
With Gervase, concluding his long Chronicle, I add,

"Finito libro reddatur gratia Christo:"

and with Ratherius of Verona, presuming to substitute another name, which here I am compelled to register:

"Qui cœpisse librum dederas finire dedisti,
Cunctipotens, famulo dando rogata tuo,
Hunc ego Kenelmus pro te quia ferre laborem
Suscepi, probra dilue Christe mea."

THE END.



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